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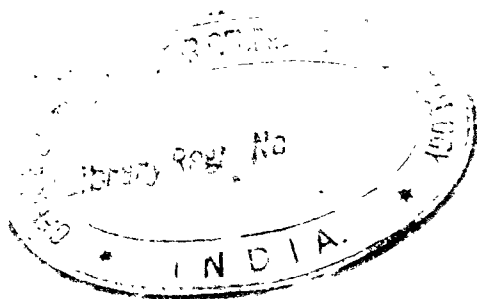
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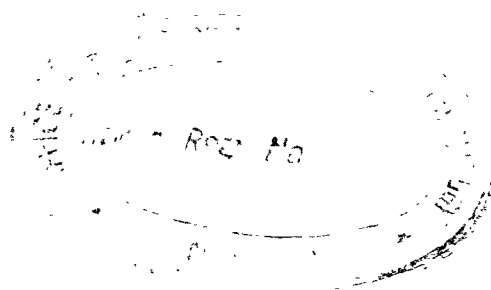
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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
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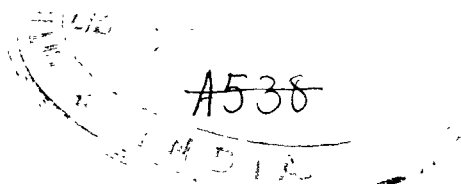


THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME XXX. (1910)

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J. H. S.



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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and it at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

---

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.



- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries :—

- a.* Subscribing Libraries are entitled to receive the publications of the Society on the same conditions as Members.
- b.* Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
- c.* Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
- d.* A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
- e.* A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
- f.* A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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**Bryn Mawr**, The Bryn Mawr College Library, *Bryn Mawr, Pa., U.S.A.*  
**California**, Stanford University Library, *California, U.S.A.*  
**Cambridge**, The Harvard University Library, *Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*  
**Chapel Hill**, University of North Carolina, *Chapel Hill, North Carolina, U.S.A.*  
**Chicago**, The University of Chicago Press, *Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.*  
**Cincinnati**, The Public Library, *Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
 „ The University of Cincinnati Library, *Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.*

- Cleveland**, The Cleveland Public Library, *Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
**Clinton**, The Hamilton College Library, *Clinton, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Columbia**, The University of Missouri Library, *Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.*  
**Delaware**, The Library of Ohio Wesleyan University, *Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.*  
**Evanston**, The North-Western University Library, *Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.*  
**Grand Rapids**, The Public Library, *Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A.*  
**Hanover**, The Dartmouth College Library, *Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A.*  
**Iowa City**, The University of Iowa Library, *Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A.*  
**Ithaca**, The Cornell University Library, *Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Jersey City**, The Free Public Library, *Jersey City, New Jersey, U.S.A.*  
**Lansing**, The State Library, *Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.*  
**Lawrence**, The University of Kansas, *Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.*  
**Lowell**, The City Library, *Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.*  
**Middletown**, The Library of Wesleyan University, *Middletown, Conn., U.S.A.*  
**Mount Holyoke**, The Mount Holyoke College Library, *South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.*  
**Mount Vernon**, Cornell College Library, *Mount Vernon, Iowa, U.S.A.*  
**New Haven**, The Library of Yale University, *New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.*  
**New York**, The Library of the College of the City of New York, *New York, U.S.A.*  
 „ The Library of Columbia University, *New York, N.Y., U.S.A.*  
 „ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York, N.Y., U.S.A.*  
 „ The Public Library, *New York, N.Y., U.S.A.*  
**Northampton**, Smith College Library, *Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.*  
**Philadelphia**, The Library Company, *Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*  
 „ The Library of the University of Pennsylvania, *Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*  
 „ The Museum of the University, *Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*  
**Pittsburg**, The Carnegie Library, *Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.*  
**Poughkeepsie**, The Vassar Library, *Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Providence**, The Brown University Library, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*  
**Sacramento**, The California State Library, *Sacramento, California, U.S.A.*  
**St. Louis**, The Mercantile Library Association, *St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.*  
 „ Washington University Library, *St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.*  
**Swarthmore**, Swarthmore College Library, *Swarthmore, Pa., U.S.A.*  
**Syracuse**, The Syracuse University Library, *Syracuse, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Urbana**, The University of Illinois Library, *Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A.*  
**Washington**, The Library of Congress, *Washington, D.C., U.S.A.*  
**Wellesley**, Wellesley College Library, *Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.*  
**Williamstown**, The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.*  
**Worcester**, The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*

#### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

- Budapest**, Antikencabinet des Ungar. National-Museums, *Budapest, Hungary.*  
**Czernowitz**, K. K. Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Czernowitz, Bukowina, Austria Hungary.*  
**Prague**, Archäolog.-epigraphisches Seminar, *Universität, Prag, Bohemia* (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).  
 „ Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Prag, Bohemia.*  
**Vienna**, K.K. Hofbibliothek, *Wien, Austria-Hungary.*

#### BELGIUM.

- Brussels**, La Bibliothèque Publique, Palais du Cinquantenaire, *Bruxelles, Belgium.*

#### DENMARK.

- Copenhagen**, Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek, *Copenhagen, Denmark.*

#### FRANCE.

- Lille**, La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lille, 3, *Rue Jean Bart, Lille.*  
**Lyon**, La Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Lyon.*  
**Nancy**, L'Institut d'Archéologie, l'Université. *Nancy.*  
**Paris**, La Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*  
 „ La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, *Paris.*  
 „ La Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Musées du Louvre, Paris.*  
 „ La Bibliothèque Nationale, *Rue de Richelieu, Paris.*  
 „ La Bibliothèque de l'École Normale Supérieure, 45, *Rue d'Ulm, Paris.*



## GERMANY.

- Berlin**, Königliche Bibliothek, *Berlin*.  
 „ Bibliothek der Königlichen Museen, *Berlin*.  
**Breslau**, Königliche und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Breslau*.  
**Dresden**, Königliche Skulpturensammlung, *Dresden*.  
**Erlangen**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Erlangen*.  
**Freiburg**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Freiburg i. Br., Baden* (Prof. Steup).  
**Giessen**, Philologisches Seminar, *Giessen*.  
**Göttingen**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Göttingen*.  
**Greifswald**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Greifswald*.  
**Halle**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Halle*.  
**Heidelberg**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Heidelberg*.  
**Jena**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Jena*.  
**Kiel**, Münz- und Kunstsammlung der Universität, *Kiel*.  
**Königsberg**, Königl. und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Königsberg*.  
**Marburg**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Marburg*.  
**Münster**, Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Münster i. W.*  
**Munich**, Archäologisches Seminar der Königl. Universität, *Galleriestrasse 4, München*.  
 „ Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, *München*.  
**Rostock**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Rostock, Mecklenburg*.  
**Strassburg**, Kunstarchäolog. Institut der Universität, *Strassburg*.  
 „ Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek, *Strassburg*.  
**Tübingen**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Tübingen, Württemberg*.  
 „ K. Archäolog. Institut der Universität, *Wilhelmstrasse, 9, Tübingen, Württemberg*.  
**Würzburg**, Kunstgeschichtliches Museum der Universität, *Würzburg, Bavaria*.

## GREECE.

- Athens**, The American School of Classical Studies, *Athens*.

## HOLLAND.

- Leiden**, University Library, *Leiden, Holland*.  
**Utrecht**, University Library, *Utrecht, Holland*.

## ITALY.

- Rome**, The American School of Classical Studies, 5, *Via Vicenza, Rome*.  
**Turin**, Biblioteca Nazionale, *Torino, Italy*.

## NORWAY.

- Christiania**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Christiania, Norway*.

## RUSSIA.

- St. Petersburg**, La Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, *St. Petersburg, Russia*.

## SWEDEN.

- Stockholm**, Kongl. Biblioteket, *Stockholm, Sweden*.  
**Uppsala**, Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek, *Uppsala, Sweden*.

## SWITZERLAND.

- Geneva**, La Bibliothèque Publique, *Genève, Switzerland*.  
**Lausanne**, L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, *Rue Valentin 44, Lausanne*  
 (Dr. H. Meylan-Faure).  
**Zürich**, Kantons-Bibliothek, *Zürich, Switzerland*.

## SYRIA.

- Jerusalem**, École Biblique et Archéologique de St. Étienne, *Jérusalem*.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE  
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, *Wellesley Hills, Mass., U.S.A.*).
- American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
- Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*.
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France*.
- Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool*).
- Annual of the British School at *Athens*.
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reiland, *Carlsstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
- Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).
- Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.
- Classical Philology (Editors of Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*).
- Ephemeris Archaeologica, *Athens*.
- Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
- Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedlaender Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
- Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, *Corneliusstrasse No. 2<sup>a</sup>, Berlin*.
- Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Türkenstrasse 4, Vienna*.
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
- Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
- Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
- Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Berlin, W. 50 Marburger Strasse 6, Germany*).
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
- Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Südende, Germany*).
- Memorie dell' Istituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
- Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
- Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome*.
- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.
- Neue Jahrbücher (c/o Dr. J. Ilberg), *Waldstrasse 56, Leipzig*.

- Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome*.  
 Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.  
 Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags  
 Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).  
 Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.  
 Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.  
 Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.  
 Revue Archéologique, 1, *Rue Cassini, 14<sup>ème</sup>, Paris*.  
 Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris*.  
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58*  
*Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).  
 Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Drerup, *Kaiser-Strasse*  
*33, Munich, Germany*).  
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

# PROCEEDINGS.

SESSION 1909—10.

During the past Session, General Meetings of the Society were held on November 9th, February 15th, and May 10th. Of these a full account appears in the Report submitted at the Annual Meeting.

The Annual Meeting was held at Burlington House on June 28th, Professor Percy Gardner (President) taking the chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan (Hon. Secretary) presented the following

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council begs leave to submit the following report on the work of the Society for the Session 1909-10.

In conjunction with the chairmen of the Managing Committees of the British Schools at Athens and Rome, the President of the Society has recently transmitted a joint address of condolence to H. M. King George V. In this they were actuated not only by the loyalty which the Society shares with other institutions, but also by their appreciation of the very special interest His late Majesty showed—as Patron of the British School at Athens—in the progress of archæological research.

**Changes on the Council, &c.**—Last winter the Council had the pleasure of electing Prof. Emmanuel Loewy one of the honorary members of the Society, and in a message to the Council Prof. Loewy expresses his high appreciation of their action. They have at their last meeting determined to offer the same compliment to M. Edmond Pottier, Prof. F. Studniczka and Dr. T. Wiegand.

Dr. F. G. Kenyon, for many years a member of the Council, who has given much valued help to the development of the Society's Library, has been nominated a Vice-President, and thus another tie has been formed between the Society in its new home and its august neighbour. Miss Jane Harrison, whose return to health and activities the Council are glad

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to note, is renominated on the Council, and will act as its representative on the Committee of the British School at Athens.

Shortly after the last annual meeting Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Arthur J. Butler, who had acted as auditors of the Society's accounts for many years, desired to be relieved of the office, and the Council provisionally appointed Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, by whom the current year's accounts have been audited. These gentlemen are now nominated for formal election to the office. As the son of their Hon. Secretary, the Council have particular pleasure in nominating Mr. Macmillan. The recent death of Mr. Arthur Butler deprives the Society of a member who has taken an active interest in its work ever since its foundation.

**New Premises.**—For several years past the Council in their Annual Reports have drawn the attention of the Society to the growing need of larger and better quarters for the Library and Offices. They now have pleasure in reporting that the move has been successfully accomplished, and they believe that the efficiency and usefulness of the Library will be maintained and increased in its new home at 19, Bloomsbury Square.

The premises secured are unpretentious but convenient, cheerful, and comfortable: there is more adequate provision for readers, and many of the larger books in the Society's possession are now for the first time conveniently accessible in the new cases designed by Mr. Penoyre.

It will readily be understood that the change has involved entire rearrangement of the books, pamphlets, slides and photographs, and that it will be some time before the details of this are complete and in working order. The Council, however, note that progress has already been made in this work, and that the new Catalogues in particular are well advanced.

Owing to the generous response made to their appeal for funds to defray the cost, they are able to state that almost the whole cost of moving, refitting, lighting, decorating, and cleaning has been met without touching the Society's small investments or increasing ordinary current expenditure. While they fully appreciate the generous donations that have made this possible, they earnestly desire to remind members that the larger scale on which the Library is now maintained does inevitably entail increased expenditure. This they hope to meet (as pointed out in Mr. Macmillan's letter to members of April last) not by soliciting donations but by asking all who have the interests of the Society at heart to help to secure a steady increase in the number of members. Much has been done by a few members of the Council and private members to this end, but if the request were taken seriously by the general body, the Council's somewhat anxious responsibility would be met once and for all.

**The Promotion of Roman Studies.**—It will be remembered that in their last Report the Council detailed what had been done in this movement down to the point at which it was determined to issue a letter to the interested public intended to elicit information as to whether

any scheme for the promotion of Roman Studies would meet with adequate financial support. This was done in November, 1909, and between four and five hundred favourable answers were received.

In the meantime, at the instance of the Council of the Classical Association, conferences were held between representatives of that body and of the Committee of the British School at Rome and of the Council of the Hellenic Society. At these Conferences the difficulties, on the one hand of adding to the list of learned societies, and on the other of finding in existing institutions a body able to fulfil the demand, were fully considered. Finally the Conference unanimously determined to recommend the creation of a Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Sundry provisions of the first importance were made for the conduct of the periodicals controlled by the bodies interested as friendly and allied publications normally occupying distinct provinces of learning; for reciprocity with the Hellenic Society in respect of Library, collection of lantern-slides, and the like; and for the establishment of such further co-operation between the Societies as may seem desirable and possible.

The Hellenic Council, who up to this point had borne the entire cost of the movement, noted with pleasure the successful inaugural Meeting of the new body under Dr. Kenyon's chairmanship on June 3rd, when Mr. Butcher, Professor Percy Gardner, Sir A. Geikie, Professor Haverfield, Lord Justice Kennedy, Sir F. Pollock, Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. H. H. Statham, Professor Reid and Professor Flamstead Walters were the speakers. At this Meeting a provisional Committee was appointed to draw up the Constitution of the new Society and to nominate the first Officers and Council, of which Committee Mr. G. D. Harding-Tyler is the Hon. Acting Secretary.

The Hellenic Council will be prepared at any time to consider proposals for reciprocal treatment when the new Society is sufficiently organised to make them.

**General Meetings.**—Three General Meetings have been held, at the first of which, held on November 9th, Miss Gertrude Bell read an illustrated paper on the Persian Palace of Ukheidar. The north-west frontier of the Sassanian Empire was protected against the inroads of the tribes by a small semi-independent Arab kingdom ruled by princes of the Beni-Lakhmid. Their splendid palaces are mentioned by the early Arab chroniclers, but the region has been so little explored that we are still in almost complete ignorance as to the existing vestiges of past civilizations. Chief among them is the great fortified palace of Ukheidar. The affinities between its plan and that of the Sassanian palaces, notably Kasr-i-Shirin, make it evident that Ukheidar was erected by Persian architects. The larger vaults, which are of brick, are constructed *par tranches* in the manner of the famous vault at Ctesiphon; the smaller vaults, in stone and concrete, are closely related to those of Firuzabad and Sarvistan. Arched niches are employed

to break flat wall surfaces and in places there are remains of stucco ornament. Characteristic features in arch and vault and decoration, as well as the square bastioned plan, connect the architecture of Ukheidar not only with Persian and Parthian art, but through these to the earlier arts of Mesopotamia. There is at Ukheidar but one example of the dome, and its complete absence in Parthian buildings points to the conclusion that it is a feature which does not occur till late in the history of Mesopotamian architecture. The dome of Ukheidar is set on corbels, but the squinch arch is found over the angles at the corners of the vaults. The groined vault is frequent and, as it is unknown in buildings of the Sassanian period, it seems probable that the palace should be dated early in the Mohammadan period, when some Hellenistic influence from Syria might be expected. This does not prevent it from being one of the finest known examples of Persian architecture; it is evident that the Umayyad Khalifs must have employed Persian builders to erect their hunting-palaces on the east side of the Syrian desert, just as they used Syrian builders in the western marches. Miss Bell's interesting communication (see pp. 69-82) provided a good discussion.

At the second meeting held on February 15th Miss Jane Harrison, whose return to activity after long illness was warmly welcomed, read an illustrated paper on "The Myth of Zagreus in Relation to Primitive Initiation Ceremonies." Miss Harrison first recapitulated the singular elements in this somewhat preposterous story. An infant god, Dionysos-Zeus or Zagreus, is protected from his birth by armed men, Kouretes or Korybantes, who dance round him. Wicked men, Titans, disguised by a coat of white clay, lure him away with the offer of toys, a cone, a rhombos, etc. They carry him off, slay him, tear him limb from limb. Zeus hurls thunderbolts upon them. The child is brought to life again, its heart saved, and set up in a mock figure of gypsum. The kernel of the myth is a death (*σπαραγμός, ἀφανισμός*) followed by a resurrection (*ἀναβίωσις, παλιγγενεσία*). The speaker said that she had long been dissatisfied with the conventional explanation of this myth, by which it was interpreted as a nature myth of the "John Barleycorn" type, the dead and revived child standing for the natural processes of spring and harvest time. She then read some very curious accounts of primitive initiation ceremonies in New South Wales in which boys, on reaching man's estate, had to go through a mock death. The resemblances between these ceremonies and the details of the story of Zagreus were very marked, and in particular, a meaning was found for the toys which play a part in the story of Zagreus. They were merely the symbols of the putting away of childish things on reaching manhood. Dr. L. R. Farnell and the Rev. A. C. Bather discussed the paper, and Mr. W. C. F. Anderson illustrated one point by giving a practical exhibition of the use of the "Bull-roarer," a curious primitive device for producing terrifying sounds at initiation ceremonies.

At the third general meeting held on May 10th the President Prof.

Percy Gardner), after some introductory remarks on the subject of the death of King Edward, and on the interest which, as patron of the British School at Athens, he shewed in classical archaeology, read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Some Bronzes recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum" (see pp. 226-235). The paper was discussed by Mr. G. F. Hill and Professor Ernest Gardner.

**Library and Photographic Collections.**—The progress in the various sections of the Society's work in this department may be seen at a glance from the appended table.

A. LIBRARY					B SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.			
Session	Accessions		Visitors to the Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired	Slides sold to Members	Photos sold to Members.
	Books.	Vols.						
1903-4	141	157	338	311	(Original Catalogue of 1,500 slides published.)	1,224	512	465
1904-5	97	122	375	401	154	3,053	787	366
1905-6	124	162	372	415	187	2,941	1,247	670
1906-7	165	198	277	396	148	1,357	871	294
1907-8	148	180	300	760	125	1,442	548	129
1908-9	192	244	617	675	400	2,619	968	359
1909-10	98	109	448	519	281	3,448	826	702

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies:—The Trustees of the British Museum, the Imperial Archaeological Institute of Berlin, the Director General of Archaeology in India, the Classical Association of Manchester, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, the University Press of the following Universities: California, Cambridge, Manchester, and Oxford.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works:—Messrs. Batsford, Beck, Bell, Bussy, Cimmaruta, Champion, Cohen, Constable, Cuggiani, Fock, Fontemoing, Frowde, Harper, Heffer,



Heitz und Mundel, Helbing, Hodder and Stoughton, Kundig, Leroux, Macmillan & Co., Mayer und Müller, Methuen, Quaritch, Quelle und Meyer, Reimer, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Teubner, Töpelmann, Unwin, Von Veit, and Weidmann.

The following authors have presented copies of their works :—Messrs. A. S. Arbanitopoulos, T. Ashby, Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Messrs. M. Chwostow, C. D. Cobham, S. Eitrem, Dr. A. J. Evans, Prof. P. Gardner, Messrs. P. Girard, H. R. Hall, A. P. Laurie, Prof. E. Löwy, Messrs. V. Macchioro, W. A. Merrill, J. A. Montgomery, J. Nicole, P. Orsi, E. Petersen, A. Profumo, J. Th. Sakellarides, C. W. Scheurleer, H. Schrader, J. A. Smith, Miss F. M. Stawell, Dr. J. N. Svoronos, Dr. A. Wilhelm, M. Xanthoudides, Mr. A. H. S. Yeames, and Dr. T. Zammit.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from Mrs. Wyndham Cook, Messrs. R. M. Dawkins, F. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, Miss Hutchinson, Messrs. G. Macdonald, J. Penoyre, G. Richards, and Prof. R. Phene Spiers.

Among the more important acquisitions are the magnificent volume on the *Parthenon Sculptures*, edited by Mr. A. H. Smith and presented by the Trustees of the British Museum; the *Descriptive Atlas of the Cusuola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the first fascicules of the large French publication on *Delos*, Dr. Evans' *Scripta Minoa*, and the *Catalogue of MSS. in the Monasteries of Mt. Athos*, by Dr. Lambros.

The photographic collections maintain and increase their usefulness, and despite the interregnum the statistics in some sections under this heading are larger than in any previous year. The Council hope that when the necessary time has elapsed for their reorganisation in their new home this department of the Society's work may be yet further extended. Generous assistance in the photographic department is acknowledged from Mr. H. Atchley, the late Mr. H. Awdry, Miss Awdry, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. F. R. Eaton, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Dr. W. D. Jefferson, Mr. E. Lindsay, Miss E. H. Mariette, Mr. R. P. Medley, Mr. J. B. Partington, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, and Miss Wilkinson, and in the library from Miss Virtue-Tebbs, Miss Fegan, and Miss Raleigh.

**Finance.**—Reference has already been made to the special appeal for donations to meet the cost of fitting up and furnishing the new premises for the Library and Lantern Slides. Under the account of the Emergency Fund it will be seen that the expenses incurred have amounted to just over £400, towards which the generous total of £327 has been contributed. Since closing the accounts at May 31, other donations have been received which are not included in the above sum, and the Council hope that during the current year the whole of the remaining balance of £80 may be received. If this result is achieved, and the entire cost met by special contributions, the new home for the Library will have been furnished without imposing any financial restrictions on the ordinary

work of the Society. By carrying the deficit balance forward in the present accounts, the year's revenues have not been debited with any part of the outlay, details of which are shown in the account referred to.

The Income and Expenditure account shows that the revenues of the Society have been well maintained. The ordinary expenses have, however, been heavier than usual, notably in connexion with the Journal. Special donations by contributors have been generously given towards the cost of a more than usually expensive volume, but in spite of this, the balance on this account is £170 more than last year. The expenses in connexion with the formation of the new Roman Society account for another £50. Apart from these two items, although there has been some variation in the amounts under different headings, caused largely by the moving of the Library, the total has not been greatly affected.

The amount owing by the Society under the heading of Debts Payable stands at £549 against £283 last year, but this amount is almost set off by the larger cash balance in hand, which stands at £955 against £754 last year. A further amount of £50 has been written off the valuation of the back volumes of the Journal. The amount outstanding for arrears of subscription due at May 31 is £127.

The Council are glad to report an increase in the membership and also in the number of subscribing Libraries. The figures now stand:—Hon. Members, 38; Ordinary members, 947; Student Associates, 6. The total number of subscribing Libraries has now reached 200.

In presenting the Financial Statement the Council desire to express their thanks for the special donations which have enabled them to submit so satisfactory a report for a year marked by exceptional demands. They are encouraged to hope that the further help requested in securing new members will be as readily given as the special donations have been for the Emergency Fund. If such help is forthcoming, the Council will be in a position to meet increased demands on their resources without any restriction, on financial grounds, in the Society's sphere of work, and they may then be able to report at the end of another year that the roll of members has been considerably augmented and that the present deficit on the Emergency Fund account has been cleared without trespassing on the ordinary revenues of the Society.

In moving the adoption of the Report the Chairman delivered the following address:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since we now receive every year, in the volume called '*The Year's Work in Classical Studies*,' an excellent account of all that has happened in the field of Hellenic Studies, it is not necessary or desirable that I should on this occasion try to recount new discoveries. Mr. Arthur Smith is to speak in regard to one interesting set of them, arising out of his recent rearrangement of the Pediments of the Parthenon.

There is, however, one discovery made at Athens on which I wish to touch. This is the excavation by Dr. Bruckner of a part of the road outside the Dipylon Gate, where was the chief burying-ground of early Athens. He discovered that, at a little distance out, the road to Eleusis divided into two parallel branches, and that between the two lay a line of great public tombs, one of which was yearly made to contain the bones, when they could be recovered, of the Athenian citizens who had fallen in battle during the year. A funeral oration by one of the most prominent of the citizens of Athens was pronounced over their remains: we still have, in the pages of Thucydides, a report of the immortal speech of Pericles on such an occasion.

There is thus good Hellenic precedent for our custom of referring at our annual meeting to members who have passed away during the year, fallen, if one may so put it, in the cause of civilization and learning. This year the list is, I am glad to say, a short one. Of nearly a thousand members, we have lost but thirteen. It would almost seem that Hellenic studies are greatly conducive to long life. Of the thirteen, not the least useful to our Society was Mr. Arthur J. Butler, formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and lately Professor of Italian Literature at University College, London. He took an active interest in our work; and had been from 1888 to 1909 an auditor of our accounts, toiling as it were underground to strengthen the financial foundation on which we rest. Mr. Herbert Awdry was an active member of our society, a writer on Greek topography, and a generous donor to our collection of negatives and lantern slides. He was a man of kindly heart: one of his last letters contained an offer to help in the rearrangement of the library. Through the kindness of his family, the Society will have in some measure the benefit of his photographic collections. Mr. Slade Baker-Penoyre was a Homeric scholar and an enthusiastic lover of Greek letters, retaining to the end of his life that Hellenic enthusiasm which marked the circle of Arnold and Stanley to which he belonged. Dr. Hornby, Provost of Eton, and Sir E. J. Monson, for many years the representative of Great Britain at Athens, were men who had in high position done service to Greek letters. The most noteworthy name in the list is certainly that of Mr. Goldwin Smith, a life member of our Society from 1886, a thoroughly original and powerful personality, and a writer of clear and incisive style. Mr. Goldwin Smith has for many years done much to keep up the standard of culture in Canada and the United States; and whenever great questions have been in debate in England, his voice has come booming across the Atlantic, with the freshness of the sea and the smell of the forests.

We have also lost two very distinguished honorary members. M. Henri Weil, of the French Institute, was a brilliant worker in the field of Greek literature, especially on the Attic Tragedians and the orations of Demosthenes. He did great service in editing and exploiting recently discovered texts, such as the Delphic hymn to Apollo and texts found in Egypt. On Hamdy Bey I may dwell for a few moments longer, for he was a new and a remarkable phenomenon, a man of Turkish race, but a savant, and proud to be a savant; a lover of the remains of Greek art, the founder of the great museum at Constantinople, in which are stored rich treasures of beautiful sculpture. Hamdy Bey's predecessors would have mutilated and destroyed these precious monuments, in accordance with the stern law of the Koran which prohibits the production of graven images. But in him the new spirit, of which we have seen many manifestations in Turkey of late, worked in producing a love of the beautiful in art. He was a skilful painter. And, what

more closely concerns us, he was ready to give help and patronage to attempts made by the scholars of Europe to discover and preserve the remains of Greek antiquity. His decease will be felt as a loss by all the learned societies; by ours not least; although we may hope that his brother, who has succeeded him in the direction of the museum, will carry on his other beneficent activities.

No greater misfortune has come upon Hellenic studies in general during the year than the death of Professor Krumbacher, the founder and editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Though he was not, unfortunately, one of our honorary members, yet a few words in regard to him may not be out of place. He was not old, having been born in 1856, but he had done much. His attraction towards Byzantine studies began with an enthusiasm for the modern Greeks in their struggle for national independence. While studying at Munich and Leipzig, he conceived the idea of working out the relations of later Greek literature, history, and religion to the culture of Hellenic antiquity, of the East, and of the Slavonic settlers in Greece. His great *Byzantinische Literaturgeschichte*, published in 1890, is not only a monument of erudition, and a model of scientific method, but also a great achievement in the clearing of new ground. Out of this grew his great and successful journal, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, of which he may be said to have been not only the editor, but the inspirer, and which reflects in a remarkable degree his personality. The comprehensiveness of his views, his admirable organization of material, above all his power of securing the co-operation of scholars of various nationalities, secured the success of the journal. By a high standard of work he won respect, and his character, genial and enthusiastic, made a strong personal impression. He created, or at least inaugurated, a whole series of studies, and inspired them with an energy derived from his own mind and character.

The year has not been one of extensive or remarkable excavation. The fact is that the most promising sites in Greece Proper are being fast exhausted, though there still remains a great field for research in Asia Minor. But work in Museums, as important in its way as field work, though not so attractive, has gone on apace. The great publication of the Parthenon Sculptures by the authorities of the British Museum has appeared. Three very important catalogues of sculpture are being produced, Professor Amelung's catalogue of the Vatican, on the whole the most complete and masterly catalogue of sculpture which has ever appeared, and two catalogues with which we are more closely connected. One is that of the sculpture of the Capitol at Rome, edited by Mr. Stuart Jones, and published by the Oxford Press. The other is that of the sculpture of the Acropolis Museum at Athens, which is so far by Mr. Guy Dickins, and is published by the Cambridge Press. The first volume of the catalogue of vase-fragments found on the Acropolis has also appeared. A fresh volume giving results of the great excavation at Pergamon, especially dealing with the friezes of the great altar, has been published; and a beginning has been made of the publication of the discoveries at Delos. One great work, long desired and expected, still delays, I mean the official publication of the results of the French excavations at Delphi. These excavations were finished many years ago; but we have still to go for information as to the monuments they have disclosed to papers published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* and the proceedings of the French Academy. We cannot wonder that some German savants who long ago specially studied Delphi have lost patience. Dr. Pomtow and Dr. Bulle have published in the journal

*Klio* a series of papers on Delphi in which they call in question many of the attributions of the French explorers, and discuss the monuments from other points of view. It is an unpleasant state of affairs; and meantime all the wonderful fruits of the excavation lie ripening, perhaps mouldering on the shelf, and remain inaccessible to all but specialists.

Another branch of Museum work which has flourished of late, especially at Munich, is the careful restoration by means of existing statues of great works of Greek sculptors. Carried out, as it is carried out, by eminent archaeologists, like Furtwängler, Amelung, and others, it becomes a way of helping the modern imagination to realize what the great art of Greece really was. Among the most recent restorations are Sauer's of Myron's group of Athena and Marsyas, and Amelung's of a great Pheidias Athena, built out of the magnificent Medici torso at Paris and a head of Pheidias type which exists in various replicas. It is to be hoped that some of our British galleries of casts may soon be enriched with casts of some of these restorations.

To turn to what are more specially our own affairs, we are glad to feel that to our society the year has brought usefulness and growth. Our new rooms are larger and more convenient than the old one, and give us room for expansion.

Some of the officers of the Society have during the year given much time and thought to an attempt to place Roman studies on a better footing. Some of our members have several times urgently represented that these studies would be better organized and reach a higher level if they had such support as Hellenic studies receive from the meetings, the library, and the help of our society. Our first impulse was to consider whether it was not possible to include Roman studies within the field of our society. But here we met insuperable difficulties. Our Society arose in 1880 on a wave, so to speak, of Hellenic enthusiasm. At first it included only those who had travelled in Greece, and thirty years ago it was not so usual for scholars to visit Greece as it has now become. Our constitution defines as our field Greek lands in ancient mediæval or modern times, and all sides of Hellenic activity. Our real inspiration was the debt of the world to Hellas, in literature, art, science, and religion. Obviously it was impossible to enlarge our geographical field by including in it Western Europe, or our historic outlook by including in it all that the world owes to the city on the Tiber. And, since our *Journal* only provides room for the papers on Hellenic subjects which come in, if we included Roman subjects also, we should need to double its size and to increase the subscription by which it is supported. After most careful consideration, the Council was driven to the conclusion that the desired end could only be attained by the institution of a fresh Society, to work in harmony with ours, but independently of it. We sent out, as is mentioned in the Report, a circular letter to all persons likely to be interested in Roman studies, to ascertain whether they wished such a society to be formed, and received nearly 500 favourable answers. The Council invited these signatories to a meeting at Burlington House, and the new society was formally inaugurated.

It has been a result of recent discussions between committees of this Society and of the Classical Association that a closer alliance and a more definite understanding has been reached between the two bodies. This is an excellent result, and one with which every member of this Society should be acquainted. A general agreement has been arrived at to divide the ample field of classical study

into provinces to be occupied by this Society, the newly formed Roman Society, and the Classical Association. The Journals of the three bodies will be kept from overlapping, it is hoped, by a friendly understanding among their respective editors. And possibly ways may be found for allowing certain definite privileges in regard to our library to the members of the other bodies, in return for help they may render to us. No definite understanding in this matter has yet been reached. And you may be quite sure that the Council will most carefully guard your interests, and agree to no plan which in any way sacrifices them. Your officers fully recognize that they have a trust to guard. But they are ready to move in the direction I have indicated, so far as they can go without in any way compromising your rights and privileges.

Co-operation between societies interested in classical studies has become the more necessary because it is undeniable that the prospects of those studies have become in this twentieth century somewhat overclouded. Narrow views which identify utility with mere material progress, and a self-confidence which dares to despise the history of the past, are tending to draw education violently in the direction of physical science and modern languages. These, of course, have a rightful place in education; but their domination would mean distinct retrogression in civilization. The proper study of mankind is man, and the noblest study which a man can undertake is the study of the great historic achievements of the human spirit in its highest functions. Such study would be indeed imperfect if it omitted to note the achievements of Hellas and of Rome. Whether any great civilization can be built up without a Greek and Roman basis remains to be seen; none such has ever, among white men, been built up in the past. We are guarding a sacred tradition, and keeping open the road by which hitherto have passed the great majority of those who have formed the intelligence and the ideals of modern Europe.

I beg to move the adoption of this Report.

The adoption of the Report having been seconded by Mr. G. H. Hallam the Report was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith (V.P.) then gave an illustrated communication on 'The recent rearrangement of the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon in the Elgin Room at the British Museum.'

The fragments of the central part of the west pediment had been placed on shafts of Istrian marble, and each could be readily revolved about its axis. In every case the setting of the torsos had been altered. The torso of the Hermes, formerly posed with the body strictly vertical, had been converted from a meaningless figure to that of one running lightly towards the middle of the pediment. The torsos of Athene and Poseidon had been placed on shafts calculated to represent these missing portions. Above, a moulding representing the bed moulding of the cornice at the centre of the pediment had been hung by chains from the ceiling, to give an idea of the full height of the pediment. The torso of Nike or Iris had been transferred from the east to the west pediment, which was now proved to be its true place, and, by a correction of its attitude, had gained life and movement.

A vote of thanks to the auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, was moved by Mr. C. Delaval Cobham, seconded by Mr. G. F. Hill, and carried unanimously.

As the result of the ballot the officers and members of the Council as named in the list issued to members were declared elected or re-elected. Dr. Kenyon was elected as Vice-President and Mr. J. P. Droop and Miss Jane Harrison Members of the Council.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables :—

## ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING —

	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions. Current . . . . .	636	628	646	672	709	789	753	759	773	771
Arrears . . . . .	10	13	13	205	76	90	72	70	82	82
Life Compositions . . . . .	78	78	94	126	94	94	47	47	15	31
Libraries . . . . .	179	185	202	147	154	168	173	188	190	197
Entrance Fees . . . . .	45	52	50	100	133	103	65	78	94	107
Dividends . . . . .	42	42	42	42	49	44	61	62	62	62
Rent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	10	13
Endowment Fund . . . . .	..	..	..	..	30	475	17	23	2	6
“Excavations at Phylakopi,” sales . . . . .	..	..	..	..	52	28	21	18	12	7
“Facsimile Codex Venetus,” sales . . . . .	..	..	..	..	93	8	17	3	..	..
Lantern Slides Account . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	15	3	5	..	7
Emergency Fund (for Library Fittings) . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	327
	990	998	1,047	1,292	1,390	1,814	1,239	1,263	1,240	1,610

\* Receipts less expenses.

## ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING —

	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent . . . . .	80	80	80	80	88	98	100	100	100	109
Insurance . . . . .	15	15	15	16	18	13	14	15	15	13
Salaries . . . . .	60	60	69	89	165	176	178	178	204	241
Library . . . . .	74	82	89	50	100	65	85	85	85	58
Cost of Catalogue . . . . .	..	..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc. . . . .	61	41	72	137	147	158	101	119	140	126
Printing and Postage, History of Society . . . . .	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..
Printing and Postage, Pro- ceedings at Anniversary . . . . .	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
Lantern Slides Account . . . . .	29	17	35	2	5	..	..	..	17	..
Photographs Account . . . . .	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cost of Journal (less sales) . . . . .	382	367	454	511	511	356	356	406	362	532
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol. XXIII. . . . .	..	..	..	..	122	..	..	..	..	..
Grants . . . . .	200	200	250	225	260	125	225	340	185	150
“Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes” . . . . .	..	..	210	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
“Excavations at Phylakopi” . . . . .	..	..	156	140	..	..	..	..	..	..
Roman Society, Expenses re formation . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51
Library Fittings . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	408
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications . . . . .	..	..	..	..	123	104	10	6	53	52
	916	865	1,432	1,335	1,573	1,095	1,069	1,249	1,161	1,740

\* Expenses less sales.



DR. "JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1909, TO MAY 31, 1910. CR.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XXIX., Part II., and XXX., Part I. ....	390	11	9						
" Plates .....	53	3	10						
" Drawing and Engraving ..	104	4	9			106	9	4	
" Editing and Sundry Contributions .....	94	9	0			36	9	4	
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members ..	69	9	10						142 18 8
				711	19	2			15 0 0
									7 5 8
									15 0 0
									531 14 10
									£711 19 2

"EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1909, TO MAY 31, 1910.

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1910.	Account for Current Year.	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1910.	Account for Current Year.		
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock) . . . . .	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account ..	165	10	8	6	19	6
	—			6	19	6
	£165 10 8			158 11 2		
				£165 10 8		£6 19 6

By Sale of 7 Copies during year	...	...	...	...	...	...
Deficit Balance from Publication at May 31, 1910 (excluding value of Stock)	...	...	...	...	...	...
	158	11	2			
	£165	10	8			£6 19 6

**"FACSIMILE OF THE CODEX VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1909, TO MAY 31, 1910.**

	Column showing Financial Result from Publication to May 31, 1910.		Column showing Financial Result from Publication to May 31, 1910.		Account for Current Year.
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£ s. d.
To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock) .....	101	3 8			
	£101	3 8			£
(No Sales during year)					
By Hellenic Society's Deficit Balance from Publication to May 31, 1910 (excluding Value of Stock) ..	101	3 8			
	£101	3 8			£

**LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1909, TO MAY 31, 1910.**

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale .....	29	8 1		
" Slides for Hire .....	7	14 3		
" Photographs for Reference Collection .....	3	15 2		
" New Reference Collection of Prints .....	7	16 11		
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ..	7	13 9½		
	£56	8 2½		
By Receipts from Sales .....				
" " Hire .....				
" " Sale of Catalogues .....				
	£50	8 2½		

**LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1909, TO MAY 31, 1910**

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Purchases .....	31	0 4		
" Binding .....	25	7 8		
" Sundries .....	3	1 0		
	59	9 0		
	£59	9 0		
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c. ....				
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....				
	£59	9 0		

**EMERGENCY FUND (a special account opened to meet the cost of fitting and furnishing the new premises).**

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Messrs. F. Sage & Co., for making and fitting, shelving, &c. ....	225	0 0		
" Furniture and Fittings .....	46	17 0		
" Electric Lighting and Heating .....	42	2 0		
" Painting, Cleaning, and Alterations .....	20	0 9		
" Builder and Architect for Strengthening Floor .....	14	3 10		
" Cost of Moving .....	6	15 0		
" Compensation to late Tenant .....	10	0 0		
" Sundry Expenses .....	12	15 6		
" Printing Circulars, &c., re Emergency Fund .....	9	17 11		
" Postage, Addressing, and Envelopes re Emergency Fund ..	11	3 0		
	£407	15 6		
By Total Contributions to the Emergency Fund to May 31st .....	327	14 6		
" Balance carried forward .....	80	1 0		
	£407	15 6		

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1909, to MAY 31, 1910.

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1910.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable .....	549 13 8½	By Cash in Hand—Bank ..	152 0 1
„ Petty Cash (over-drawn) ..	3 3 6½	„ on Deposit .....	800 0 0
„ Subscriptions carried forward .....	546 1 7	Assistant Treasurer .....	3 6 6
„ Endowment Fund .....	553 12 0	Petty Cash .....	—
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar)		„ Debts Receivable .....	955 6 7
„ Life Compositions and Donations—		„ Investments (Life Compositions) ..	136 13 9
Total at June 1, 1909 ....	£1825 19 0	„ „ (Endowment Fund) .....	1263 3 11
Received during year, 2 at		„ „ .....	500 0 0
£15 15s. ....	31 10 0	„ Valuations of Stocks of Publications .....	1763 3 11
Excess of Assets over Liabilities at June 1, 1909.....	1857 9 0	„ „ Library .....	490 8 0
Deduct Deficit Balance from		„ „ .....	350 0 0
Income & Expenditure Ac. ....	104 1 6½	„ Emergency Fund—balance carried forward .....	80 1 0
	265 13 5		
	<u>£3775 13 3</u>		<u>£3775 13 3</u>

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) { C. F. CLAY.  
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

EIGHTH LIST OF  
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS  
ADDED TO THE  
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY  
SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1909—1910.

*Note.*—The first four Supplementary Lists, which were issued in volumes xxiii–xxvi of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, have been reprinted, combined in a single alphabet, price 6*d.* (by post 7*d.*). The Catalogue published in 1903 and the Combined Supplement i–iv, and Supplements v–vii, bound together in a stiff cover, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 2*s.* 6*d.* (by post 2*s.* 10*d.*); price to non-members 3*s.* 6*d.* (by post 3*s.* 10*d.*).

This and subsequent Supplements may be had price 3*d.* each.

- 
- Abbott (G. F.)** *Editor.* Greece in Evolution. 8vo. 1909.
- Achélis (A.)** Le siège de Malte. See Vendosme (P. Gentil de).
- Aelianus.** See *Πρόδρομος Ἑλληνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης*.
- Aeschylus.** The Plays. Translated by W. Headlam, and edited by C. E. S. Headlam. 8vo. 1909.
- Aeschylus.** The Seven against Thebes. The Persians. Translated by A. S. Way. 8vo. 1906.
- Ahmed (Bey Kamal).** Tables d'offrandes. See Cairo, Catalogue général.
- Allom (T.)** Constantinople and the scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, in a series of drawings from nature. Ed R. Walsh. 4to. (N.D.)
- America, Archaeological Institute of, Bulletin of,** From 1 (1909). 8vo. New York. *In progress.*
- Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques.** 8vo. 1868–1880.
- Ansted (D. T.)** The Ionian islands in the year 1863. 8vo. 1863.
- Apollodorus.** See Nicole (J.) *Editor.*
- Apostolides (B.)** *Editor.* See Homer.
- Aquila (F.)** Stylobates Columnae Antoninae. Fol. Rome. 1708.

- Arbanitopoulos (A. S.)** See Volo Museum, Catalogue of.
- Archaeologia or Miscellaneous tracts relating to Antiquity.**  
Vols. 43-57. 4to. 1871-1901.
- Aristophanes.** The Comedies. Ed. B. B. Rogers. Vol. I. The Acharnians. The Knights. 8vo. 1910.
- Aristophanes.** The Acharnians. Ed. W. J. M. Starkie. 8vo. 1909.
- Aristotle.** The Constitution of Athens. Translated by T. J. Dymes. 8vo. 1891.
- Aristotle.** The Nicomachean Ethics. Translated by D. P. Chase. 8vo. Oxford. 1877.
- Aristotle.** The works of Aristotle translated into English under the Editorship of J. Smith and W. D. Ross.  
De mirabilibus auscultationibus. By L. D. Dowdwall. 8vo. Oxford. 1909.  
De generatione animalium. By A. Platt. 8vo. Oxford. 1910.
- Arneth (J.)** Reisebemerkungen . . . von Vindoba über Tergeste nach Salona. [Denksch. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. Philos. histor. Kl. I] 4to. Vienna. 1850.
- Arnold (B.)** De Graecis florum et arborum amantissimis. 8vo. Gottingen. 1885.
- Athens.** Acropolis Museum. See Schrader (H.)
- Autenrieth (G.)** Homeric Dictionary. Translated by R. P. Keep. 8vo. New York. 1879.
- Baikie (J.)** The sea-kings of Crete. 8vo. 1910.
- Ball (J.)** *Translator.* See Gyllius (P.) The Antiquities of Constantinople.
- Barnett (L.D.)** The Greek Drama, 8vo. (N.D.)
- Bartoli (P. S.)** and Bellori (J. P.) Colonna Traiana . . . con l'espositione Latina d'Alfonso Ciaccone. Fol. Rome. 1673.
- Bartoli (P. S.)** Columna cochilis M. Aurelio Antonino Augusto dicata. See Bellori (J. P.)
- Belaras (I.)** *Μῆθοι.* 8vo. Paris. 1865.
- Bell (G. L.)** See Ramsay (W. M.) The Thousand and one Churches.
- Belle (H.)** Trois années en Grèce. 8vo. Paris. 1881.
- Bellori (J. P.)** and Bartoli (P. S.) Columna cochilis M. Aurelio Antonino Augusto dicata. Fol. Rome. 1704.
- Bellori (J. P.)** Colonna Traiana. See Bartoli (P. S.)
- Berlin Royal Museums.** Verzeichniss der Sammlung der Abgüsse. I. Antike Bildwerke. 8vo. Berlin. 1860.
- Besançon (A.)** Les adversaires de l'Hellénisme à Rome pendant la période républicaine. 8vo. Paris. 1910.
- Blackie (J. S.)** Modern Greece [Forum] 8vo. 1897.
- Blum (K. L.)** Herodot und Ktesias, die frühsten Geschichtsforscher des Orients. 8vo. Heidelberg. 1836.
- Bosanquet (R. C.)** Recent excavations at Sparta. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1908.

- Botsford (G. W.)** The Roman Assemblies.  
8vo. New York. 1909.
- Boulard (A. M. H.)** Histoire littéraire des Grecs pendant le moyen âge.  
8vo. Paris. 1822.
- Brentano (E.)** Troia und Neu-Ilion.  
8vo. Heilbronn. 1882.
- British Association.** Archaeological and ethnological researches in Crete. Report on Cretan anthropometry by C. H. Hawes  
8vo. Sheffield. 1910.
- British Museum.**  
*Department of MSS.*  
The Codex Alexandrinus in reduced photographic facsimile : New Testament and Clementine Epistles.  
4to. 1909.  
*Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*  
The Sculptures of the Parthenon. By A. H. Smith.  
Text and Plates. Fol. 1910.
- Browne (E. A.)** Greek Architecture. [Great buildings and how to enjoy them.]  
8vo. 1909.
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*Slides Illustrating the Work of the Western Mediterranean Research Fund  
 Organised by the British School at Rome.*

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\* = From original or adequate photographic reproduction.

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= Photo from original.

☛ = Reproduction, of the picture subject only, from an adequate illustration.

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## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus  $\kappa$  should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ου* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαρπος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

*Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protophenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line : e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 123.



*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.  
*Ann. d. I.* = Annali dell' Instituto.  
*Arch. Anz.* = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).  
*Arch. Zeit.* = Archäologische Zeitung.  
*Ath. Mitth.* = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.  
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.  
*B.C.H.* = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.  
*Berl. Vas.* = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.  
*B.M. Bronzes* = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.  
*B.M.C.* = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.  
*B.M. Inscr.* = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.  
*B.M. Sculpt.* = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.  
*B.M. Terracottas* = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.  
*B.M. Vases* = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.  
*B.S.A.* = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
*B.S.R.* = Papers of the British School at Rome.  
*Bull. d. I.* = Bullettino dell' Instituto.  
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.  
*C.I.G.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*C.I.L.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.  
*Cl. Rev.* = Classical Review.  
*C.R. Acad. Inscr.* = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.  
*C.R. St. Pétr.* = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.  
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.  
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.  
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
'Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.  
*G.D.I.* = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.  
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Ausgeslesene Vasenbilder.  
*G.G.A.* = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
Head, *H.N.* = Head, Historia Numorum.  
*I.G.* = Inscriptiones Graecae.<sup>1</sup>  
*I.G.A.* = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.  
*Jahrb.* = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*Jahresh.* = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.  
*J.H.S.* = Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*Klio* = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).  
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.  
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.  
*Mon. d. I.* = Monumenti dell' Instituto.  
Muller-Wies. = Muller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.  
*Mus. Marbles* = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.  
*Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.* = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.  
*Neue Jahrb. Phil.* = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

<sup>1</sup> The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

<i>I.G.</i>	I.	=	Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
"	II.	=	" " aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora
"	III.	=	" " aetatis Romanae.
"	IV.	=	" Argolidis.
"	VII.	=	" Megaridis et Boeotiae.
"	IX.	=	" Graeciae Septentrionalis.
"	XII.	=	" insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum
"	XIV.	=	" Italiae et Siciliae.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

*Num. Chr.* = Numismatic Chronicle.

*Num. Zeit.* = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa. Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

*Philol.* = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.

*Rev. Arch.* = Revue Archéologique.

*Rev. Ét. Gr.* = Revue des Études Grecques.

*Rev. Num.* = Revue Numismatique.

*Rev. Philol.* = Revue de Philologie.

*Rh. Mus.* = Rheinisches Museum.

*Röm. Mitth.* = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

*S. M. C.* = Sparta Museum Catalogue.

*T. A. M.* = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

*Z. f. N.* = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

### *Transliteration of Inscriptions.*

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form, otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, <sup>†</sup>.

### *Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.*

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.



## THE DATES OF THE VASES CALLED 'CYRENAIC.'

THE literature dealing with the so-called 'Cyrenaic' vases is comparatively so huge that some excuse is needed for a fresh approach to the subject. That excuse is to be found in the new light shed on these vases through the recent excavations at Sparta by the British School at Athens, of which one result has been the discovery that Laconia was the home of the school which produced them.<sup>1</sup>

At Sparta this distinctive Laconian style is presented in good chronological sequence, and its course can be traced from its rise in the early seventh century, through its development and decline in the sixth and fifth centuries, to its end in the latter part of the fourth.

It is true that the finds of pottery at the shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta consist of fragments of dedicated vases, the refuse, in fact, thrown out from time to time from the temple, so that what is presented by the stratification of the site is the chronological sequence not of the manufacture of the vases but of their destruction. Yet the development of the style as a whole, even when judged by the stratification, is so regular that it may be assumed that in most cases the order of destruction corresponded with that of manufacture. In any case the destruction of the older temple at the close of the seventh century gives at least one point where such correspondence is certain. Vases thrown out from the new temple must have been dedicated after the destruction of the older building. It has, thus, been possible to divide the style with much certainty into six chronological periods called, and approximately dated, as follows:—

Laconian I. (700–625), II. (625–600), III. (600–550), IV. (550–500), V. (500–425), VI. (425–350).<sup>2</sup>

The first two periods are clearly cut off from the later by the sand by which the level of the site was raised at the time of the building of the second temple. Subsequent to this the refuse from the shrine accumulated in three main deposits. The earliest of these contained a preponderating amount of Laconian III. and some Laconian IV., the next contained some

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<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 47.

Laconian IV., and a preponderating amount of Laconian V., and the third contained some Laconian V. and a preponderating amount of Laconian VI. Above this last and partly mixed with it was some Hellenistic ware.

There is therefore clear evidence from stratification as to the relative dates of all these periods, though it may be that, as far as evidence from strata goes, no more than a good probability should be claimed for the position of Laconian IV. mixed as it was with both III. and V. That probability, however, becomes a certainty when the evidence of style is considered, which here rests on no mere *a priori* grounds but on the solid basis afforded by a comparison with the ware of Laconian II. and V., of which the relative positions are firmly fixed by the evidence of the spade. Laconian III. shows a close resemblance to, but clear development from, Laconian II., while in Laconian V. further changes due to development are to be observed. The vases of Laconian IV. are clearly rightly placed, for without abandoning all the characteristics of Laconian III. they show the developments of Laconian V. in an incipient stage.

It was to be expected, then, that the discovery of this pottery would have produced evidence that might assist in dating the exported<sup>3</sup> vases of this style more accurately than has till now been possible.<sup>4</sup> This hope has not been altogether disappointed, though it is not possible even now to be very definite in dating individual vases, for the periods marked by the evidence of stratification are rather too long. That a Laconian III. vase belongs to the first half and that a vase of Laconian IV. belongs to the second half of the sixth century we know, but to get nearer than this the characteristics of the vase must be weighed and a decision formed as to whether they most resemble those of the preceding or those of the following period. And this is as true of the vases found at Sparta as of the exported specimens.

The attempt is worth making, for the widely differing characteristics of the ware of the seventh and fifth centuries (Laconian II. and V.), which are new evidence, are now available as a guide.

The majority of the exported vases, it may be said at once, belong to the period covered by Laconian IV. This period, which is the beginning of the degeneration of the style, is marked by a growing tendency partially to abandon the use of the white slip characteristic of the style, which partial absence of slip is a marked feature of most of the exported vases.

Now during Laconian I. and II. the use of slip to cover the whole vase is almost without exception,<sup>5</sup> and this practice is characteristic of the earlier part at least of Laconian III. On the other hand the use of slip has been entirely given up by the beginning of Laconian V. It is clear, then, that

<sup>3</sup> By 'exported' vases I mean all those of this style known before the excavations at Sparta, none of which, so far as I know, were found in Laconia.

<sup>4</sup> It is impossible in the light of the new evidence to accept M. Dugas' tentative classifi-

cation, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, Tom. IX. p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> These exceptions (all in Laconian II.) are very few. The criterion still holds, because they are exceptions, but their existence weakens it a little.

the date of a vase of the intermediate period ought, other things being equal, to be earlier or later in direct proportion to the amount of slip used in the decoration. Also, as the evidence from Sparta points to a degeneration in the quality, that is the thickness and smoothness of the slip, concomitant with its partial abandonment, the state of the slip should also be taken into account.

The first criterion, then, to be applied is the quality and amount of the slip used.

The foot of the kylix, for the present purpose the most important, as it is among the exported vases the most frequent, shape, throughout Laconian II. and III. has a sharp thin edge. On the other hand in Laconian V. and VI. the edge is invariably thick and rounded. The shape, then, of the kylix foot is the second criterion.

Painted decoration (purple and black rings and tongues on a slipped ground) is characteristic of the stem of the kylix in Laconian II. and III., though the plain black variety is found all through. Channelled rings,<sup>6</sup> on the other hand, go with the rounded edge to the foot and are characteristic of Laconian V. and VI.

Slip, then, and painted decoration on the stem of the kylix are a certain indication of an earlier, channelled rings of a later date.

No sure deduction, however, can apparently be made from the comparative height or shortness of the stem of the kylix. It is true that in the later periods the stem is usually short, but the evidence of excavation indicates that the early form of kylix, that was developed in the seventh century from a bowl without a foot, was also marked by a short stem. And with the evidence tending to prove that the high stem was not invariable at the period of full development, it is unsafe to go further than to say that, other things being equal, Laconian III. or the early part of Laconian IV. is the more probable period for the high stem, while a short stem might belong to any period.

Another indication that deserves consideration, although too much weight should not be given to it, is the style of the lotus pattern. It is probable that the few instances where a certain width and amplitude are given to the flower and bud are earlier than those in which these are cut down to narrower proportions. The use of purple also for parts of the design, for instance for the cross-bar of the lotus, or for the bough of the leaf pattern, is not found later than Laconian III., the palmette, in which a purple centre is regular until a quite late date, being the one exception to this rule. The degeneration of the style is also indicated in many patterns through the carelessness not so much of their execution, in which they are matched by some of the best period, as of their conception. The gradual loss in the leaf pattern of the twigs to the leaves, and then of the bough, is a good example of this.

The palmette also on either side of the handle in the kylix and

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<sup>6</sup> *J.H.S.* 1908, p. 179.

lakaina<sup>7</sup> may afford some help, for one Spartan vase of the latter shape, which is dated definitely to the end of Laconian II., shows an example elaborate but without incisions (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> Such may be thought to be early rather than late. On the other hand very sketchy palmettes without incisions cannot be taken as an indication of anything but slovenliness on the part of the painter, and hence cannot be used as evidence for date, except that *a priori* such carelessness is more likely than not to belong to the period of decline.

Another point that is remarkable in the above-mentioned vase and others of Laconian II. is the fresh red of the purple, and the thickness with which it is applied. This is not found later at Sparta, wherefore it seems



FIG. 1. (Scale 1 : 3.)

reasonable to look on vases that show a purple resembling this as approximating to the date of these vases, that is, as early rather than late.

Prior to Laconian III. the purple, I believe, was generally applied directly on to the slip, whereas afterwards there was a tendency to put it over black.

Yet these last three points will not bear much pressure, and are perhaps only strong when they are corroborative of other indications or of one another.

More reliable perhaps is the evidence borne by the thickness of the rim of the kylix, of which it may be said that a greater thickness than .004 m.

<sup>7</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> I have to thank the Committee of the

British School at Athens for permission to use this photograph.

is likely, other things being equal, to indicate a date not earlier than the middle of Laconian IV.

It remains to be said that evidence is not forthcoming from the excavations at Sparta as to the date at which mythological scenes are likely to have been in vogue. And the Laconian style seems after its early years to have been so much apart from outside influences that we are not justified in drawing any conclusions as to the date of certain vases from the scenes depicted on them.

These, then, are some of the considerations that must be borne in mind in an attempt to classify the exported Laconian vases. I have used the phrase 'other things being equal' several times, but there is no need to point out that other things never are equal, and the indications will often be found to be conflicting, so that in the nature of the case personal impressions have to supply the absence of definite evidence.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Laconian I.*

Cassel, *Königliches Museum* (Dugas 81).

Oxford, *Ashmolean Museum* (Dugas 65).

Munich, *Pinakothek* (Two or three fragments).

Florence, *Museo Etrusco* 3881.

London, *British Museum* Inv. No. 1907. 12-1, 731.

These pieces are certainly in the style of Laconian I., but that style, universal in the early seventh century, probably lasted on till its end contemporaneously with the developments of Laconian II., so that it is not possible to fix a more precise date than the seventh century for these pieces.

The Cassel sherd is one that came from Samos and is the base of a plate of a kind that is very frequent at Sparta. It shows the cross design with purple circles<sup>10</sup> characteristic of Laconian I., and both slip and the black and purple pigment are early in quality.

The Oxford sherd found at Naucratis is a piece of rim perhaps of a typical early skyphos,<sup>11</sup> which has the square and dot pattern that went out of use, at least as a rim ornament, after Laconian II. The early date is corroborated by the purple line on the black ground of the inside, though this sometimes appears later.

In the Pinakothek at Munich are fragments of, I think, three bowls similar in style, which will be published in the forthcoming new catalogue, and should probably be grouped with Laconian I.

(In this museum there are also fragments of two or three bowls, which I believe to be Laconian, decorated with purple and white lines on a ground

<sup>9</sup> Three papers (*B.C.H.* 1893, p. 226, n. 1; *Rev. Arch.* 1907, Tome IX., p. 377; *J.H.S.* 1908, p. 175) between them give the bibliography of these vases, which is completed by a reference to Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, p. 66. An extremely useful feature of M. Dugas' paper

in the *Revue Archéologique* is the numbered catalogue, which shows at a glance the references for each vase. To this for brevity's sake I shall in all cases refer, thus (Dugas 1).

<sup>10</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 32, Fig. 2, d.

<sup>11</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 31, Fig. 1.



of black paint.<sup>12</sup> This style is frequently employed at Sparta for the decoration of small vases during the first three Laconian periods but shows no changes that would fix a more definite date.)

The vase in Florence is a bowl with an offset rim decorated with the square and dot pattern; the shoulder is black, and broad rays rise from the base to a purple line that is applied directly to the slip. The two handles are horizontal. The foot of an Attic vase has unfortunately been joined to this bowl by way of restoration. The black inside shows three thin purple lines on the rim, three thin white lines lower down and nearer the centre other three thin purple lines. The inside, in fact, is decorated, as is frequent in this period, in the same style that is used for the whole vase in the fragments at Munich just mentioned. Nothing could be more typical of Laconian I. than this vase.

The rim of a similar vase with the square and dot pattern is to be seen at the British Museum among the pottery found by Mr. Hogarth at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Paint, clay, and slip alike show it to be early Laconian.<sup>13</sup>

*Laconian II.*

Paris, *Louvre*, E 674.

Berlin, *Antiquarium*, 1647.

Cassel, *Königliches Museum* (Dugas 71, 72, 73).

Rome, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*.

Both the Louvre (Fig. 2)<sup>14</sup> and Berlin vases are small bowls (of much the same shape as the Florence vase), which might on a superficial view be

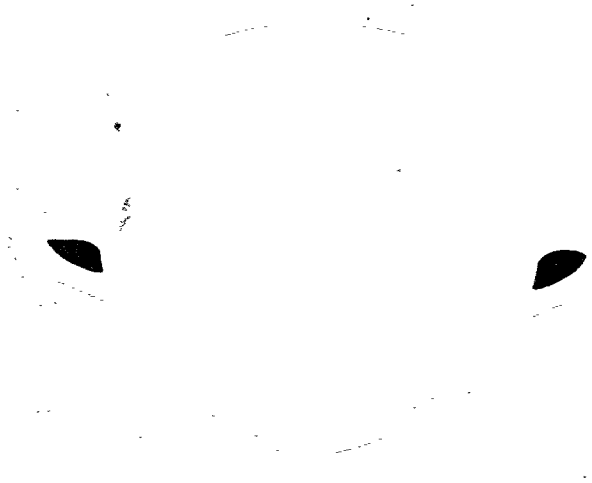


FIG. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 128; xiv. p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Inv. number 1907. 12-1, 731.

<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to M. Pottier for leave to publish this photograph.

grouped with Laconian I. Each, however, shows an element which would be inconsistent with such grouping, namely the small foot, for which in Laconian I. there is no evidence. The line without slip on the inside of the rim of the Louvre example is an additional reason for placing this vase towards the end of the seventh century in Laconian II., the partial disuse of slip, though extremely rare so early as that, not being unknown. Later than this these vases cannot be.

The three vases from Dr. Böhlau's Samian necropolis are placed to this period by the figures, which would not be found earlier than Laconian II., and by the square and dot pattern, which would hardly be found later. The cross design on the base of the aryballos (Dugas 71) is an additional reason for not putting this vase later, and one of the other pieces (Dugas 72) is apparently part of a lakaina and shows the outward curve of the rim that is

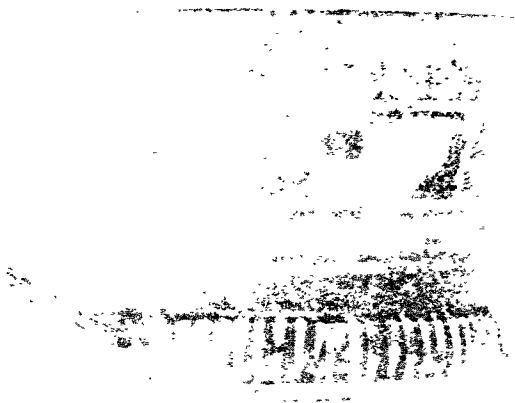


FIG. 3. (Scale about 1 : 2.)

not found earlier than Laconian II. All these vases apparently were completely covered with slip.

My attention was called to the small lakaina (Fig. 3) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori by Dr. Zahn. Of its provenance I have no knowledge. Clay, slip, and black pigment are quite characteristic, so that there is no reason to doubt that the vase is Laconian in origin. The thick 'sigma' pattern, which is not found at Sparta in any period except Laconian II., the square and dot pattern on the rim, which is not found later than that period, and the outbent rim, and a pattern of thin rays on the belly, which are not found earlier, combine to place it at the end of the seventh century.

Two points, however, of which I have no explanation, are strange, the absence of purple, and the appearance given by the rays of having been

painted not from below, which was the usual practice, but from above, downwards.<sup>15</sup>

*Laconian III., Early.*

Vienna, *Oestreichisches Museum* (Dugas 21).

Paris, *Louvre* (Dugas 17, 26, 29).

Oxford, *Ashmolean Museum* (Dugas 39).

London, *British Museum* (Dugas 10).

The quality of the slip, the fresh redness of the purple, and the careful elaboration of the patterns (this in particular on the Louvre krater) are the signs that lead me to place these vases in the earlier years of Laconian III. All are completely covered with slip except the Vienna and Louvre kylikes (Dugas 21 and 26), which have each one thin line reserved in the natural clay (round the top of the stem, and on the inside of the lip). On the other hand both show the unincised elaborate variety of palmette (cf. Fig. 1), which, so far as can be judged from the traces left, was also present on the Oxford kylix. Whether this type of palmette carries weight enough to place these vases earlier than the British Museum kylix (Dugas 10) is a question. It exists on these three vases, which are certainly early, and on a vase (Fig. 1) at Sparta, which belongs to the period of the first temple, and cannot therefore be later than the end of Laconian II.<sup>16</sup> Thus it is found in one case certainly earlier than any incised example, and to set against this there is only one later vase that shows it, namely that belonging to Mme. Mela in Athens, which probably falls early in Laconian IV. It is difficult to avoid arguing in a circle, but I certainly look on it as strengthening the early date of these two vases. The feet of the British Museum, the Oxford, and the Louvre kylikes are missing, but they doubtless had a sharp edge like that of the Vienna vase. The *deinos* (Dugas 17) might even belong to the end of Laconian II., but it is perhaps best to class it here with the krater (Dugas 29), which is shown by its very wealth of patterns to be not earlier than the full development of the style.

*Laconian III.*

Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Dugas 12).

Paris, *Louvre* (Dugas 35 and 32).

Brussels, *Musée du Cinquantenaire* (Dugas 19).

Cassel, *Königliches Museum* (Dugas 22, 74; 80; 82; 69; 75).

London, *British Museum* (Dugas, 24, 51, 54, 55, 61).

Oxford, *Ashmolean Museum* (Dugas 40).

Rome, *Castellani Collection* (Dugas 47).

Florence, *Museo Etrusco* (Dugas 45).

Athens, *Acropolis Sherds* No. 468.

Sherd found at Daphnai (Dugas 67).

<sup>15</sup> My thanks are due to Comm. Castellani and Yeames for procuring the photograph. for permission to publish this vase, and to Mr.

<sup>16</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 34.

These nineteen vases fall probably rather later than those just discussed. The Arcesilas vase (Dugas 12) has been described so often that it does not require detailed discussion, falling easily into the latter part of Laconian III.; and its probable date (on the most reasonable assumption that Arcesilas II. is represented) and the presence of a sherd of the same period at Daphnai<sup>17</sup> are two of the determining factors that place Laconian III. in the first half of the sixth century. The vase, in fact, is an elaborate but not very early work according to the standard set up by the finds at Sparta, for, though the whole vase is covered with slip, and the foot has a sharp edge, these marks do not do more than give it a place in Laconian III., and the incised palmette, which though elaborate, has no purple, makes it likely to be late in that period, while the white and purple lines round the stem cannot be held to fix a more precise date.

The kylix in the Louvre (Dugas 35) is rather a puzzle. I think it is of the good period and belongs here, for there is an elaboration about the ornament, especially about the palmette, that is hardly met with later. Moreover the lotus flowers are broad, which, for what it is worth, speaks for an early date. The work, however, does not seem very good, for the vase is thick, and the slip, which is applied all over,<sup>18</sup> is of inferior quality. The added purple (where it is left) has been too much touched up to be taken into account, and it is possible also that accident may have affected the slip. The foot does not belong to the vase. It may of course be that the vase is a good specimen of a later date, but provisionally it seems best to class it with Laconian III.

The two hydriai<sup>19</sup> (Dugas 24 and 32) both show elaborate ornamentation, in virtue of which, and of their complete covering of slip, they must be placed here, though the slip on the London vase is a little thin and washy, and that in the Louvre has suffered so much that the original state of its slip can hardly be ascertained. This vase and the krater both show purple additions to the lotus pattern.

The Brussels kylix in its outside decoration is an almost exact replica of the kylix found at Sparta in 1908,<sup>20</sup> even to the lotus flower that replaces the handle-palmette. There are, however, two reserved lines without slip on the inside of the rim, while the Sparta vase has but one, and there is no slip just between the branches of the handles. On the other hand the fresh redness and the thickness of the purple perhaps argue a slightly earlier date

<sup>17</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 46.

<sup>18</sup> I convinced myself, when examining this vase in the summer of 1908, that slip was used over the whole both inside and outside. Dr. Puchstein (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 218, No. 10, c) says that it has no slip, and M. Pottier (Dumont-Chaplain, *Céramique grecque*, vol. i. p. 299, 14) says '*pas de couverture blanche visible. Fond jaune sale.*' But M. Pottier, in publishing the vase fully (*B.C.H.* 1893, p. 238), says '*Terre rouge pâle... Décor intérieur. Il n'y a*

*pas d'engobe visible... Décor extérieur. L'engobe blanc sali paraît ne couvrir que la zone d'animaux et la zone de lotus placée en dessous.*' I submit that M. Pottier was right when he wrote '*fond jaune sale,*' and that this must be slip, as otherwise the light red clay would show.

<sup>19</sup> There is, I think, no doubt that the London hydria belongs to the Laconian style, and is no mere imitation. Both clay and slip are to me conclusive on this point.

<sup>20</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. Plate IV.

for the Brussels vase, for the Sparta kylix, which I judge rather late in Laconian III., shows it bluer and more washy.

The nymph kylix at Cassel (Dugas 22) may be compared with the Brussels vase for the technique of drawing nude women simply in outline on the white slip. It belongs to the best period of the style, and was, as Dr. Böhlau<sup>21</sup> points out, a masterpiece. The wealth of patterns and the incised palmette place it later than the immature period, while on the other hand, the general style, the complete covering of slip, and especially the square and dot pattern near the inner rim, and the frieze of birds that follow one another (both legacies from Laconian II.) forbid a date later than the middle of Laconian III. This is, I think, confirmed by the purple bough to the leaf pattern and by the slipped stem with black and purple tongue pattern (Dugas 74), which probably belonged to this vase and is interesting as showing for the first time the channelled rings that were later to supplant completely the painted decoration of the kylix stem.

From the description given by Dr. Böhlau I think it very probable that the foot of a kylix and other fragments of kylikes (Dugas 80, 82) at Cassel also belong to this period.

No arguments are needed to support the position here of the oinochoe at Cassel (Dugas 69), for it is completely covered with slip, and compares excellently with the Sparta vases of this shape that belong to Laconian III.

And from Dr. Böhlau's description<sup>22</sup> the other fragments of a jug (Dugas 75) probably have a similar date.

Little need be said as to the four kylikes in the British Museum. Only fragments are left of them, but enough to show that their position is here, for all four have a complete covering of slip on both sides. 51<sup>23</sup> is a careful piece of work, and 55 may even fall rather earlier than the rest of this group for the purple is very red, and the palmette, though incised, is rather elaborate, while 61 is part of a very fine vase, for the bars of the lotus are purple, which is a mark of the best style. The warrior on 54 compares well with that on a fragment found at Sparta also of this period. The fragment of a jug(?) in the Ashmolean Museum (Dugas 40) is careless work, but, I think, belongs to this period, for the covering of slip is complete. There are traces of a pattern of thin rays (not shown in M. Dugas' plate) that come down to meet the frieze.

Thanks to the kindness of Comm. Castellani I was able in 1909 to examine his Laconian krater (Dugas 47). The vase has a rectangular rim, which is black on top, but decorated on the side with chevrons alternately purple and black. Lower down on the neck is a rope-pattern, rather complicated, painted in purple and black on the white slip. Then on the shoulder below another row of chevrons is a pattern of black and purple tongues. On the belly is the pattern to which M. Dugas' note '*décoration florale*' refers. It is a frieze, running right round the vase, of palmettes facing

<sup>21</sup> Böhlau, *Aus ion. u. ital. Nekrop.* p. 128.

<sup>23</sup> Dugas' numbers.

<sup>22</sup> Böhlau, *l.c.* p. 126.

alternately upwards and downwards. In each case it is the same palmette, save that the upper portion in each is made wider and the lower part narrower. The work is open in black and purple on the white ground, the only incisions being horizontal lines across the base of the main palmette. Beyond this base facing the other way is a small fan palmette. Below this frieze is a pattern of double rays in black, while the foot, which has a black edge, shows a purple and black tongue-pattern. Both purple and black have been touched up in places. The handles, flat and forking below into two before joining the shoulder, are decorated with a white rosette on each side, but owing to retouching I could not determine whether they were white on black or reserved on the slip. The complete covering of slip (in good condition though dirty), the unincised nature both of rope-pattern and palmette frieze, and the fact that the purple is always applied directly to the slip fix the date of the vase as not later than the middle of Laconian III. It is the largest known Laconian vase (ht. about 75 m.) that shows a decoration of patterns only.

The kylix at Florence (Dugas 45) is very much broken, but appears to be completely covered with slip, except for a thin reserved line on the inside of the rim. The purple used on the inside looks very fresh without the appearance of retouching. The exterior decoration much resembles that of the Brussels and Sparta kylikes, except that the rim is black and that there is nothing between the lotus flowers that do duty for palmettes. There is therefore no reason for placing this vase later.

The fragment found on the Acropolis at Athens<sup>24</sup> appears to belong here, for it is slipped all over and the drawing of the leaf-pattern is careful.

*Laconian III., Late.*

London, *British Museum* (Dugas 25, 49).

Oxford, *Ashmolean Museum* Inv. No. '09. 955.

The Gorgoneion kylix in the British Museum (Dugas 25) and a fragment of another kylix also in London (Dugas 49) should, I think, be placed on the dividing line between Laconian III. and IV. The former is, it is true, a careful piece of work, but the clay is rather thick, and the bowl rather shallow, and there is no slip on the raised ring at the top of the stem, or on a line reserved on the inside of the rim. The palmette is somewhat elaborate though incised, and the purple is comparatively fresh. The vase cannot be later than this, and may perhaps be earlier. No one of the indications of lateness would carry much weight if isolated, but combined they overcome the evidence of the purple, which is weak, and of the palmette, which on a vase so carefully painted as this is negligible. It is a difficult vase to judge, and such that judgment must rest largely on personal impression.

The fragment of a kylix has a band reserved without slip on the outside,

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<sup>24</sup> B. Graef, *Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 50, Taf. 15.

but the work is careful, and the purple fresh and red, so that I hesitate to group it with Laconian IV.

The sherd shown in Fig. 4<sup>25</sup> was found at Naucratis and given to the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. C. C. Edgar in 1909. It probably formed part of a large vase of the *deinos* shape, for the curvature is very slight, and the inside is painted black, without which, indeed, it might well have come from the belly of an *oinochoe*. The period, I think, is Laconian III. late, for the workmanship is rather degenerate, yet the slip is not bad, and covers the whole surface, for what that is worth in the case of so small a sherd. It may, however, be Laconian IV. That is to say the date of this vase is probably not much earlier nor any later than the third quarter of the sixth century.



FIG. 4. Scale (1:1.)

The drawing clearly shows a return from hunting. To the left advances a figure of which little is preserved but the two hands, of which the left grasps a bow, and the right the fore-paws of a dead lion whose head hangs down. The object in the right upper corner is probably a stick carried on the shoulder of a second figure further to the right, from which are suspended the two birds that we see.

It is true that the string is not visible but just there the surface is defaced, and the birds are clearly hanging dead with limp feet. The lion has no purple, and that on the birds' upper wings above the incisions is dull, facts that point to the lateness of the vase.

*Laconian IV., Early.*

- Berlin, *Antiquarium* (Dugas 3).
- Bonn, *University Collection* (Dugas 43).
- Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Dugas 31).
- London, *British Museum* (Dugas 52, 53, 56).
- Athens, *Mme. Mela's Collection*.
- Rome, *Vatican, Musco Etrusco* (Dugas 11).

The beginning of Laconian IV. fits these eight vases. The absence of slip on the rim of the Berlin vase, and the slipless ring at the top of the stem, which suggests the slipless channelled rings of a late period, are enough to place it in Laconian IV., the more so as there are none of the marks that would indicate an early date. Yet the excellence of the drawing

<sup>25</sup> My thanks are due to Ashmole's keeper this fragment.  
(Mr. D. G. Hogarth) for permission to publish

forbids, in the absence of any very striking proof of lateness, our placing the vase far on in the period of degeneration, and confirmation of this may be found in the sharp edge of the foot.

The kylix in the Bibliothèque Nationale is rather puzzling. In favour of a date in Laconian IV. are the parts reserved without slip, namely the rim on both sides, and two lines on the belly. In favour of an earlier date are the three lines of added purple on black and one of added white below the rim on the inside, the sharp edge of the foot, and the length of the handle-palmettes. These last, however, were probably lengthened because of the decision to place no ornament between them. The purple has been too much touched up to be any guide. I should be certain that this vase

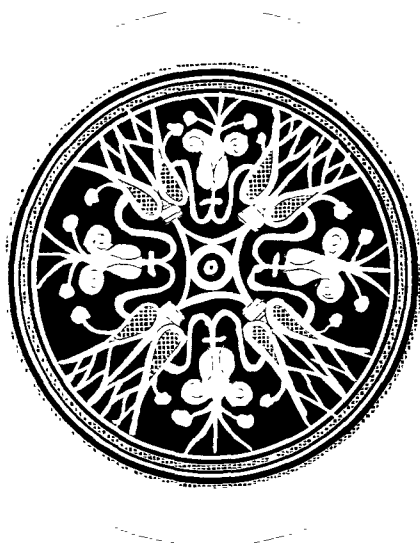


FIG. 5. (Scale 1 : 3.)

was quite late, if it were not so carelessly worked, which is an inducement to discount the marks of lateness, and give perhaps more than their due weight to the few signs of early work. The early years of Laconian IV. probably suit it best.

Of the fragments of kylikes in the British Museum 53<sup>26</sup> and 56 show no clay without slip, but the slip is of bad quality, and the purple is thin and washy, so that, though there is no definite reason against placing them somewhat earlier, this position fits them best. 52, on the other hand, clearly belongs here, for it shows a line reserved without slip on the inside of the rim, and the bough of the leaf pattern, to which the leaves are not joined, is black.

The fragment at Bonn is not late work, but, I think, belongs to

<sup>26</sup> Dugas' numbers.



Laconian IV. in virtue of a line without slip above the frieze, and of the thinness of the purple and slip.

The kylix (Figs. 5 and 6) belonging to Mme. Mela (to whom is due my warmest gratitude for permission to publish the vase) is a piece of very careless work on the painter's part, but not, I think, very late, in spite of the thickness of the rim, which measures about .005 m. through.

The dimensions are: height, .115 m.; diameter, .197 m. x .193 m.; height of stem, .040 m.

The slip is good and is only abandoned on the inside of the rim, where two lines are reserved, on a raised ring at the top of the stem, and on one bare line reserved on the lower part of the bowl outside.

The amount and quality of slip, and the foot, which has quite a thin edge, argue a fairly early date in Laconian IV., which is confirmed by the elaborate unincised palmette. The type of lotus bud with a cross-bar joining

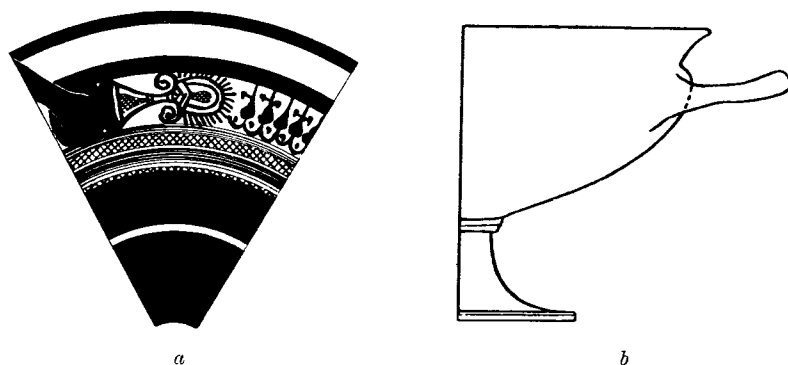


FIG. 6. (Scale 1 : 3.)

each pair of dots is, I think, new, and the confinement of the inside decoration to a floral design is unusual on Laconian kylikes.

The vase in the Vatican (Dugas 11) belongs here in virtue of the sharp edge of the foot, the high stem, the careful drawing, and the almost complete covering of slip inside, but can hardly be earlier owing to the absence of slip at the edge of the foot and at the level of the handles outside, and on the inside of the rim. The handle-palmettes, which have no ornament between them, are incised and careful but have very short stems. The purple being bluish, brown, and reddish in turn is no guide. The vase is a good piece of work but not of the best period.

#### *Laconian IV.*

It would perhaps be over tedious to examine in detail all the thirty-two vases that fall generally into Laconian IV. yet are not distinctive enough to be given a late or early date in the period. The absence of slip on portions of the vase is a feature so constant as to suggest that all these vases date from the time when the use of slip was gradually being abandoned. In

most cases, however, the foot has still a sharp edge. The purple for the most part is more blue than red, while the handle-palmettes are generally incised with purple centre. In general, that is, there is an equal absence of those elements that would suggest that the partial abandonment of slip is exceptionally early, or that would mark a vase as close on the time when the use of slip went out altogether.

These vases are :—

Munich, *Pinakothek*.

575 New Cat. (Dugas 42.) The foot is fairly sharp. No slip outside below rim. Three bare lines on the rim inside. Painted ornament, but no slip on stem. Careful work.

576 New Cat. (Dugas 37.) Very careless work. Palmettes very rude. Foot rather rounded. Slip over the whole inside, but outside no slip above the handles.

578 New Cat. (not mentioned by Dugas). No slip on either side of rim. Inside, a man attacking a boar, of which only half is shown. An eagle and palmette in field. Palmettes careless.

Würzburg, *University Collection*.

(Dugas 33.) No slip between the handles or on the rim inside.<sup>27</sup>

Leipzig, *University Collection*.

(Dugas 6.) Outside no slip till below level of handles. No slip on the rim inside.

Berlin, *Antiquarium*.

(Dugas 86.) Outside no slip till below level of handles. Inside no slip on rim. Handle-palmettes very rude. Sharp edge to foot.

Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

(Dugas 16.) No slip outside till below level of handles. High stem with sharp edge to foot.

(Dugas 5.) The foot of the Polyphemus kylix has a comparatively sharp edge, and the clay is thin. The incisions on the scene are careful. There is, however, a band without slip between the handles, and the slip is yellow and thin, so thin indeed that on the inner rim it is only partially applied, and that apparently not with intention but through carelessness. The use of white is ambiguous. On the one hand the white lines between the purple on a black ground are characteristic of Laconian I., II., and III. periods, to which it is impossible to ascribe this vase. On the other hand the use of white in details of the scene is a feature that is very characteristic of Laconian V. and is hardly met with earlier, for it was not until the disuse of the white ground that white became really effective. Thus the white dots and lines on the

<sup>27</sup> Von Urlichs' illustration (Von Urlichs, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, Pl. X.) wrongly

gives the impression that the whole of the inside of the vase is covered with slip.

fish in the exergue are a late sign,<sup>28</sup> with which, I think, may be joined the white rays rising from the foot. In fact I think this vase an early example of the late return to favour of white paint.

Paris, *Louvre*.

(Dugas 34.) Band by handles and line below without slip. No slip inside rim. Purple thin. Stem with exceptional channellings but with sharp foot.

(Dugas 9.) Band by handles and line lower down without slip. Purple thin. Bevelled edge to foot.

(Dugas 15.) No slip by handles. Purple thin.

(Dugas 4.) No slip by handles, and near stem. No slip on rim inside.

(Dugas 28.) No slip on either side of rim. Good drawing. Slip rather white.

(Dugas 18.) No slip on either side of rim. No purple on palmettes. Leaf pattern with black bough.

(Dugas 1.) This kylix showing Zeus and his eagle has indeed a foot with a sharp edge, and purple that is fairly fresh, but the lip has no slip on either side, and the space between the handles on the outside is also bare. The most, therefore, that can be said is that the vase does not fall late in Laconian IV.

London, *British Museum*.

(Dugas 27.) No slip between handles or on inside of rim. No purple on handle palmettes.

(Dugas 8.) Sharp edge to foot. No slip between handles or on inside of rim. Rude tongue pattern all black.

(Dugas 30.) No slip between handles or on either side of rim, and band without slip at top of stem. Palmette rude and unincised. Sharp edge to foot.

(Dugas 36.) Sharp edge to foot. No slip on inside of rim, between handles, and next to stem.

(Dugas 48.) Lip of kylix. No slip. Careful drawing.

(Dugas 50.) No slip on the inside. Careful drawing.

(Dugas 57.) Lip of kylix. No slip on the inside.

(Dugas 58.) Foot of kylix. Bevelled edge without slip. Slip on inside of bowl.

Oxford, *Ashmolean Museum*.

(Dugas 20.) Slip on rim outside, and traces of slip inside. Badly cleaned.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> I hesitate, in the face of the statement in M. De Ridder's Catalogue and the illustration *Mon. d. I. i. Pl. VII.*, to speak definitely of the two rows of dots on the snake, but when I examined the vase I certainly thought that they

had been white also, not purple.

<sup>29</sup> It may be that this vase should be placed earlier, but there is hardly enough surface left for a sure judgment.

(Dugas 64) Band without slip outside. Lotus pattern rather degenerate. Inside black.

Cassel, *Königliches Museum*.

(Dugas 70.) This vase has, indeed, painted rings round the stem, which might weigh in favour of an earlier date, if it were not for the large amount of surface without slip, which is found only on the lip and the under side of the bowl, and for the leaf-pattern with a black bough, to which the leaves are not joined, a piece of slovenliness that is the first step to the abandonment of the bough that is found later.

Florence, *Musco Etrusco*.

(Dugas 44.) High stem. Foot has bevelled edge bare without slip. Palmettes black unincised. No slip above handle level outside, and bare line on inner rim. Purple thin. Incisions careful.

Munich, *Glyptothek, Assyrian Room. Arndt Collection* (Temporary).<sup>30</sup>

The clay of this vase is very thick at the rim, I should think quite 0.06m. Inside are two lines without slip, one near the rim edge, and one below the rim. In the centre is a goat well drawn, with incisions, and purple on the haunches. The outside is slipped all over, and the patterns are careful. Apart from the thickness of the clay the vase cannot be earlier than this, for it shows a pattern of crescents which did not come into general use until Laconian V. Indeed I should put this vase quite late in Laconian IV., if it were not for the careful drawing, and large amount of slip.

Vases that I think belong to this period, but of which the fragments are too small for a fair judgment, are Dugas 59, 60, and 62 in the *British Museum*.

The Tholos kylix from Samos (Dugas 14) in the *Königliches Museum* at Cassel also has been too much damaged to be fairly judged, but I am inclined to place it in Laconian IV.

*Laconian IV., Late.*

Munich, *Pinakothek*, New Cat. 579.

London, *British Museum* (Dugas 23).

Heidelberg, *University Collection* (Dugas 41).

Cassel, *Königliches Museum* (Dugas 2).

Athens, *National Museum*.<sup>31</sup>

Cambridge, *Fitzwilliam Museum*.<sup>32</sup>

The kylix at Munich, which will, I believe, be published in the new catalogue, must be placed late, for there is no slip at all outside, and inside only at the centre of the bowl. Here the decoration consists of a rosette,

<sup>30</sup> Glyptothek, *Sammlung Arndt: Kurzer Führer*, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> *J.H.S.* 1908, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *J.H.S.* *l.c.*

which is, it is true, surrounded by the square and dot pattern, but in face of the large proportion of surface without slip this must be taken as a survival.

The vase from Naucratis in the British Museum, with a scene that has been interpreted erroneously, as I think,<sup>33</sup> as the nymph Cyrene holding the silphium plant, is an elaborate piece of work, but the patterns, especially the pomegranate on the inside of the rim, are of late form, the handle-palmettes have no purple, the rim inside is without slip, and there is no slip also outside till below the level of the handles, or on two raised bands at the top of the stem.

The kylix at Heidelberg is undoubtedly Laconian, for the slightly deeper colour of the clay only indicates the late date, to which the absence of slip on the outside, the row of single leaves without a branch between the handles, the channelled rings on the stem, the bad quality of the slip, and the thinness and brown colour of the purple all point.

In spite of the excellence of the interior the kylix at Cassel must be placed here on account of the presence of the crescent pattern, which became very popular in Laconian V., and of the channelled rings without slip on the stem. The foot, also, is thick and has a rounded edge, and there is no slip on the rim outside. The vase is a careful and good piece of work, but the foot, rings, and crescents are definite evidence for the late period to which it belongs.

Of the two vases published in this *Journal* (vol. xxviii), that in the National Museum at Athens (Dugas 87) in its exterior much resembles the Cassel kylix, and must belong to the same period, while that in the Fitzwilliam Museum is very careless work, and may even be later. Both show channelled rings and a rounded edge to the foot.

#### *Laconian V.*

Munich, *Pinakothek*, New Cat. 577.

Paris, *Louvre* (Dugas 13, 38).

Athens, *National Museum* (Petousi Collection).

Exported vases of a later date than Laconian IV. are few, but it is only natural that the degeneration of the style lessened the demand for Laconian vases.

The Munich kylix, which will be published in the new catalogue, has no slip at all, and the black paint has a metallic gleam that is found comparatively often in Laconian ware before and after the best period. The inside decoration shows nine fish with incisions and purple details. The outside ornament consists of lines and purple bands, and short careless rays. The palmettes are incised with purple centre. The work is careful, and the vase must be dated probably to the early years of the fifth century.

Of the Louvre kylikes 13<sup>34</sup> has no slip, and the foot has an unpainted

<sup>33</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 45.

<sup>34</sup> Dugas' numbers.

and bevelled edge, which is slightly bent upwards. The work, however, is careful, and there are three bands of purple on the exterior, and purple is also used for the centre of the palmette, so that the date is probably the same as that of the Munich kylix.

38 is a small kylix with a foot similar to that of 13, and is also without slip. The inside is black but for a bare line round the lip, and three circles reserved at the centre. The exterior shows a leaf pattern in which the bough is lacking, and there are no handle-palmettes.



FIG. 7. (Scale 1 : 2.)

The kylix which belonged to the collection of M. Petousi, and is now in the National Museum at Athens,<sup>35</sup> consists only of fragments, and has been still further damaged by a modern attempt to mend it with rivets. It is interesting as being a quite elaborate piece of work by a man who could not rise above the degeneracy of his time. Rim and foot are lost, but the parts remaining show no slip on either side. It is not easy to fit an interpretation to the scene depicted on the inside (Fig. 7). In front of, but not touching, a

<sup>35</sup> For permission to publish this vase I have to thank Dr. Stais, Ephor of the National Museum.

bearded figure on the left is a central figure in a bent and decrepit attitude whom the painter has been compelled by the desire of filling his space to make larger than the others. His left wrist is apparently grasped by the left hand of a figure to the right. This central figure is distinguished from the others by the long robe decorated in front with purple spots, and also by the peculiar fact that his hair is short behind. In places, indeed, the vase has been so carelessly painted that the black has washed to a very thin brown, and it may be that it washed so thin here that it has since worn off, as has happened to the raised left hand of the figure behind. I do not think so, however, for the incised line that would have been necessary to mark the edge of the shoulder, had the hair been long, is absent. The dress of the left-hand figure finds a parallel in the Hermes of the Cassel-kylix (Dugas 2), and the round archaic eye on so late a vase is noticeable as an indication that such stylistic distinctions are of little value on these vases.

The outside decoration (Fig. 8) confirms the impression of late date left by the absence of slip and extreme carelessness of the inside. The lotus is careless, the palmette has no purple, and the crescent pattern, that first becomes frequent in Laconian V., takes the chief place in the lower decoration between two purple bands.



FIG. 8. (Scale 1 : 3.)

The diameter of the kylix without the rim is .195 m. and the depth of the bowl .050 m.

It is possible that the painter meant to represent on this vase the blind Teiresias, who practised divination with birds. The moment chosen would then be the departure of the seer led by the figure to the right from the presence of Oedipus, who lifts his hand in horror or anger at the message that he has just heard. In that case, however, we should expect Teiresias to have his staff, and flying eagles are too frequently used on Laconian vases merely as space-fillers to be allowed any weight in the explanation of a scene.

I do not propose to write a defence of the view that the 'Cyrenaic' pottery was made in Laconia. The view is not new, and its correctness is proved absolutely by the finds at Sparta. Yet I think it perhaps to the point to remark that bearded figures on these vases invariably have the upper lip shaven, and that the shaving of the moustache, though, of course, not unknown elsewhere, was a notorious Spartan custom.

The crescent pattern where it appears on these vases has up till now<sup>36</sup> been connected with the similar decorations on the so-called 'Fikellura' ware. I am very doubtful if such connexion exists. The date of the 'Fikellura' vases has been, indeed, a matter for doubt, some authorities<sup>37</sup> inclining to place them in the second half of the sixth century, while others<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Böhlau, *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 189; Droop, *J.H.S.* 1908, p. 176.

337.

<sup>37</sup> Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, p.

<sup>38</sup> Böhlau, *Aus ion. u. ital. Nekrop.* p. 30.

put them in the seventh. The pattern, however, at Sparta does not begin to appear till very late in the sixth century and flourishes most in the first half of the fifth, so that direct connexion, though not impossible, if we take the later date for the 'Fikellura' ware, does not seem very probable. Moreover there are differences to be observed. The Laconian pattern is in all cases shorter and less slender, and invariably is convex to the left, while the crescents face both ways on the 'Fikellura' ware with, I think, a decided tendency to be convex on the right.

I have tried in the above classification to date, at least comparatively, the exported Laconian vases, using the fabric of the vase, and not the style of draughtsmanship as my criterion, being led to this not only by the conviction that for such a system the finds at Sparta have given us definite data, but also because it appears from those finds that the painter's style is almost valueless as a criterion of date, for in Laconia the art of the vase painter never got beyond the archaic stage, so that careless work of the earlier periods may well be confused with the careful drawing of a later date. Degeneration in fact, overtaking the style at a stage when it was perhaps on the point of becoming free, prevented its natural development from following its course, and the style died down in the fifth century as archaic only more slovenly than in the best period. The Teiresias (?) vase in the National Museum at Athens is a good instance in support of this. Though it can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the fifth century, it shows the more archaic form of eye.

It may perhaps be thought that such a chronological arrangement as I have attempted presents an unwarrantable appearance of dogmatism, and in the case of any individual vase (when, however, it must be remembered that no more than probability is claimed for it) this may be so, yet the scheme, as a whole rests, I believe, on the firm basis provided by the stratification observed at Sparta.<sup>39</sup>

It is perhaps in place here to point to another result of the excavations at Sparta. I have said above that from the end of Laconian IV. onwards it was characteristic of the stem of the kylix to show just below the junction with the bowl a reserved band decorated with channelled rings. This is not usual elsewhere, and seems to have been a Laconian speciality. Now there exists a group of Attic kylikes that also show this peculiarity, and these kylikes always approximate to the Laconian form, that is the late form

<sup>39</sup> M. Dugas catalogues eighty-seven pieces, two of which (22, 74) probably belong together, making eighty-six vases. Of these I have tried to classify seventy-four, with the addition of fourteen vases which M. Dugas did not know, making eighty-eight. Ten of M. Dugas' vases (Nos. 7, 46, 66, 68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 84) I have not yet seen, and two (63, 85) M. Dugas has included in his catalogue by an error. My reasons for rejecting the Copenhagen vase (85) I will give later, but 63 (Ashmolean Museum,

No. 187 c) is catalogued by Prof. Gardner as Naucratic, and has a clay different from that of the Laconian fabric, of which it may be a local copy. Thus the total number of known exported Laconian vases is ninety-eight. This is exclusive of the Laconian I. fragments in the Pinakothek at Munich, about the number of which I am not quite certain, and also of the fragments found at the Heraeum of Argos (*The Argive Heraeum*. ii. p. 173).



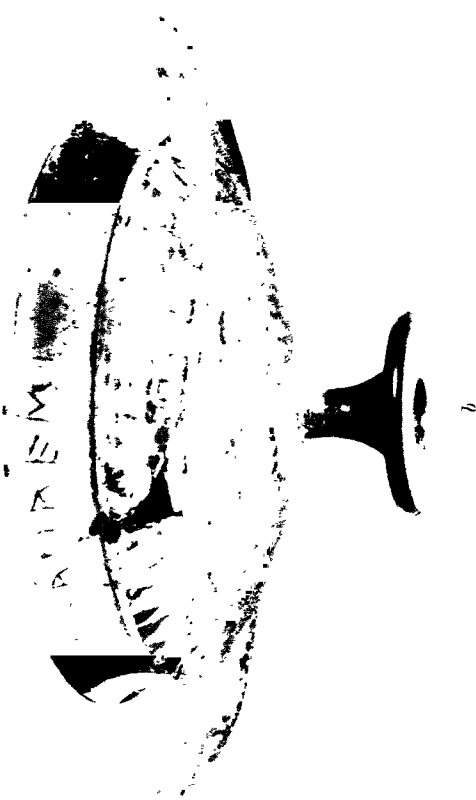


FIG. 9. (Scale 1 : 3.)

with heavy rounded foot, and show an exterior decoration that always presents in greater or less degree Laconian characteristics. Others, again, possessing the characteristic form and patterns do not show the rings, but even so there is invariably an unpainted band in the right place. These vases, which may be dated with great probability to the latter part of the sixth century,



a



b

FIG. 10. (Scale about 1 : 3.)

must, I think, be Attic imitations of the Laconian pottery. It is clear that in the sixth century Laconia did a considerable export trade in vases, and therefore it is probable that it was with a view to competition with this trade that some Attic potters began to copy the Laconian style. The odd thing is, however, that the majority of these imitations are very unambitious. An ambitious effort was to have been expected by the men who intended

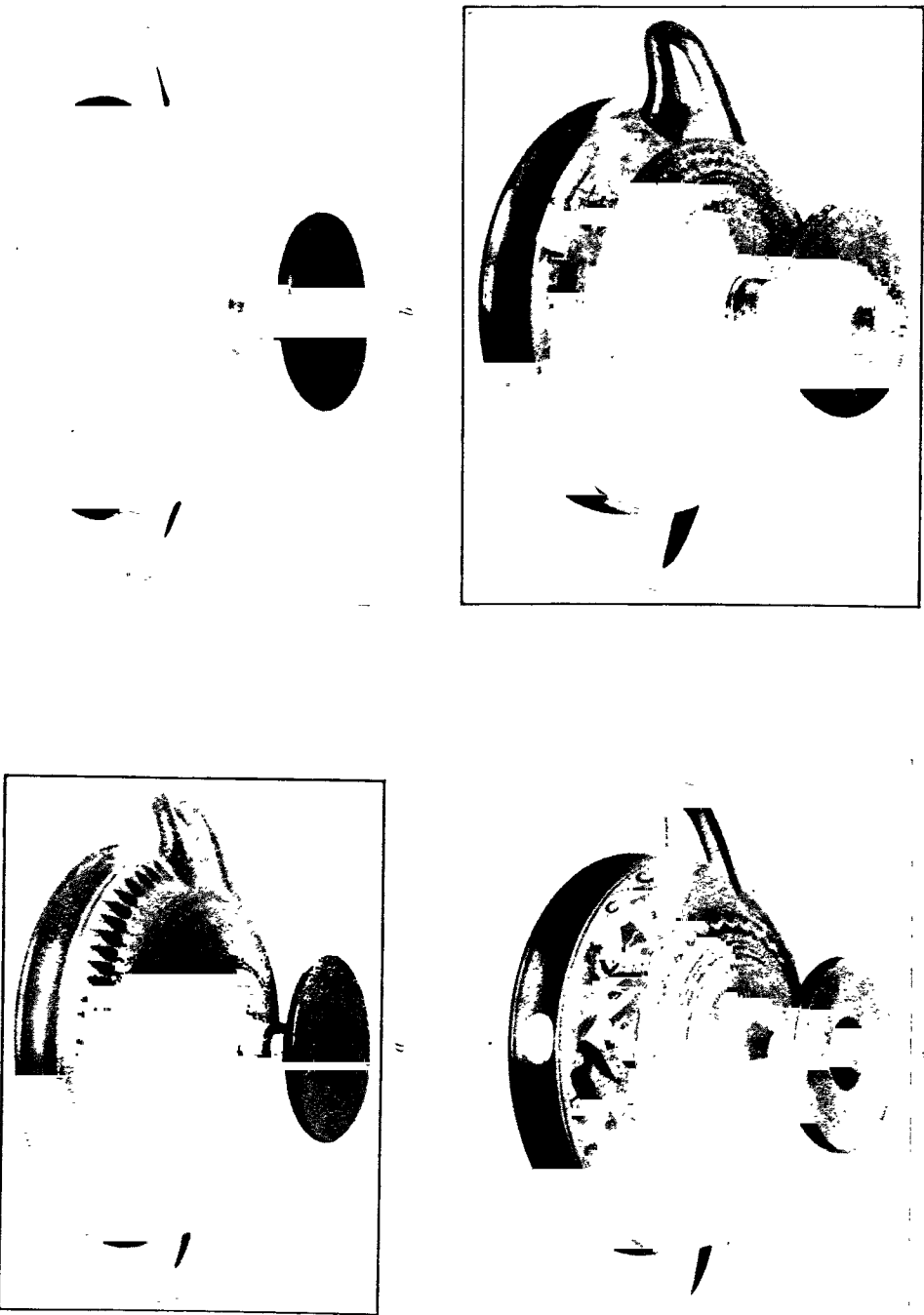


FIG. 11.

their wares to supplant the genuine Laconian style, but all are kylikes with no interior design other than circles reserved at the centre.

The vases known to me in this style are:—

Athens, *National Museum* :

12710 (Fig. 9, *a*); 12847 M (Fig. 9, *b*); 9711 (Fig. 9, *c*);  
Petousi collection, No. 78 (Fig. 9, *d*).

Munich, *Pinakothek* :

2257, New Cat. (Fig. 10, *a*); 2259, New Cat. (Fig. 10, *b*);

Munich, *Glyptothek* :

Arndt Collection (Temporary) A, 903.

Würzburg, *University Collection* :

157 (Fig. 11, *a*); 158 (Fig. 11, *b*); 341 (Fig. 11, *c*); 342  
(Fig. 11, *d*).

Berlin, *Antiquarium* :

2038 (Fig. 12, *b*); 2039 (Fig. 12, *c*).

Cassel, *Königliches Museum* :

Böhlau, *Aus ion. u. ital. Nekrop.* Taf. X, 2, p. 133.

Brussels, *Musée du Cinquantenaire* :

A 1580 bis (Fig. 12, *a*).

Gela, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 646, Fig. 459.

These kylikes, I think, speak for themselves. The clay is Attic, and the absence of slip is only to be expected in the case of Attic vases, and is all the more natural in that by this time the use of slip was lessening in the Laconian fabric.

Some of the patterns are, as is only natural in an imitation, not Laconian, the palmette frieze, for instance (Fig. 10, *b*), and the palmette alternating with the lotus in the frieze (Fig. 9, *a*). The reserved zigzag line (Fig. 10, *b*, Fig. 11, *a*) is also foreign to the Laconian style, as is also the band of ivy leaf<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 12, *a*). This, however, is an easily intelligible adaptation of the common Laconian leaf-pattern. The lotus also regularly shows a slight divergence from the model, in the absence of the cross-bar and the thinness of the stems. The resemblances, however, far outweigh the differences. Many of the patterns are purely Laconian, and the alternation of bands with thin lines is a particularly characteristic feature of the Spartan style, inherited from the 'Geometric' period.<sup>41</sup>

As for the vase from Samos, which Dr. Böhlau publishes as probably of some Ionian origin akin to 'Cyrenaic,' it falls, I think, into our category.

<sup>40</sup> I know this pattern only on three Laconian shields found at Sparta.

<sup>41</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 120, Fig. 1, *c*.

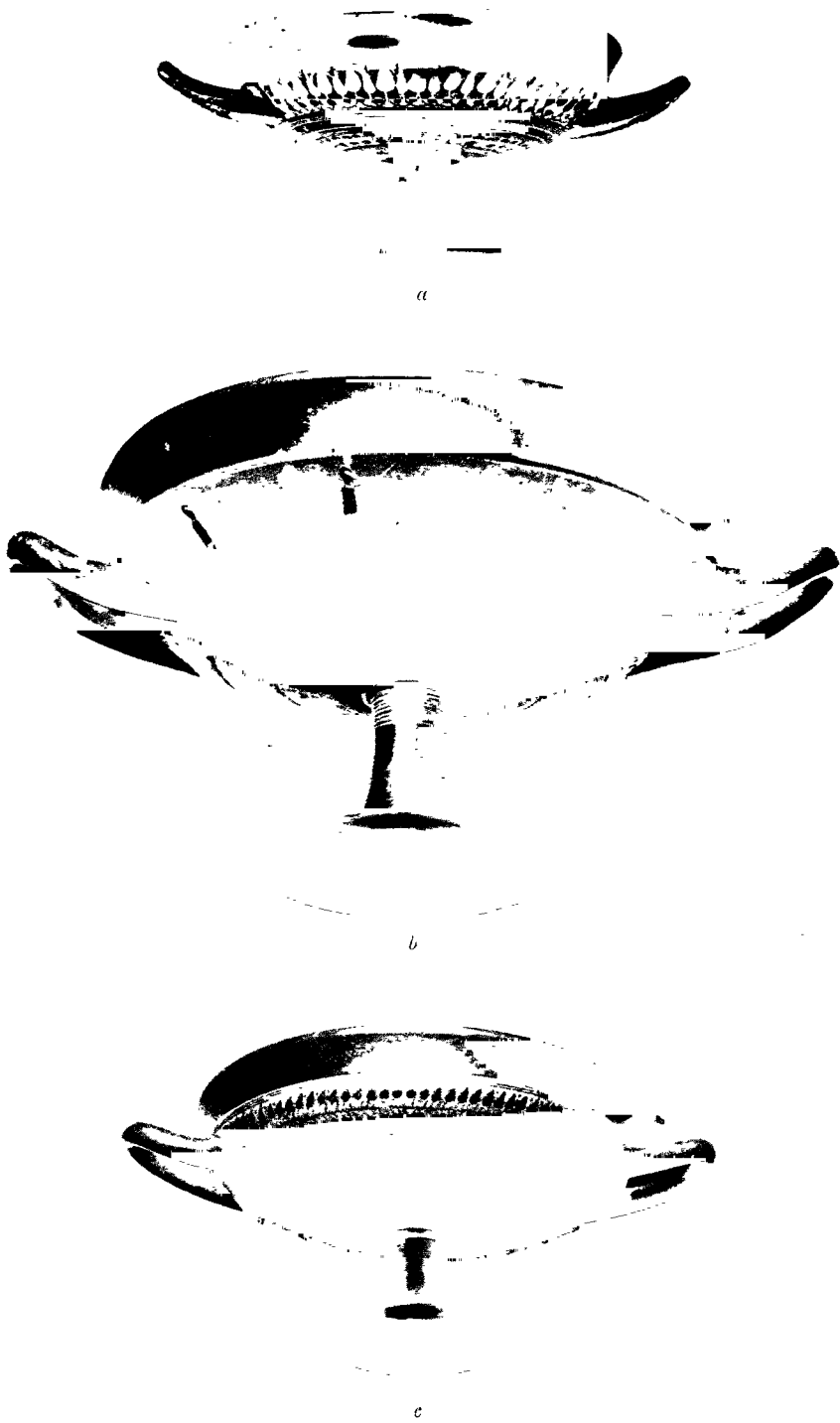


FIG. 12. (Scale 1 : 4.)

The clay and technique, he admits, can be called Attic, and to compare with it he instances Berlin 2039, about which I think there is no doubt. He finds it strange, however, that an Attic imitation of Ionian ware should be imported into Samos, and would rather doubt the Attic origin of the Berlin vase. This difficulty vanishes when it is seen that it was really a Peloponnesian and not an Ionian ware that was imitated. In fact we have here an actual example of an Attic imitation competing with the Laconian fabric on soil foreign to both. Other examples are the Brussels vase found in Rhodes, and the two Berlin vases from Italy, while one vase in Athens (12710) comes from Rhodes, and one (12847 M) from Tanagra.<sup>42</sup> The vase from Gela (which I have not seen) might from the illustration be a genuine Laconian vase from the IVth or Vth period, but for one point, namely the thinness of stem and absence of cross-bar in the lotus pattern, which therefore is not Laconian.

Four other kylikes in the *Pinakothek* at Munich (2256, 2258, 2261, 2262 New Cat.) (Fig. 13 *a, b, c, d*) and one in the *Museo Etrusco* at Florence (3885) are, I think, from the scheme of their decoration also imitations of Laconian ware. They much resemble the others, and there is no feature in their ornament that is definitely not Laconian. They are, however, to judge from the sharper edge to the foot, the higher stem, and the absence of channelled rings, somewhat earlier in date, contemporary perhaps with the earlier part of Laconian IV.<sup>43</sup>

In a different class, inasmuch as it is a far closer copy, and not Attic in origin, is the vase at Copenhagen<sup>44</sup> (Dugas 85), which after close examination I was satisfied is not the genuine Laconian fabric, though I should not like to hazard a guess at its real home. The points, which to my mind exclude it from the class, are first the clay, which, though no bad imitation, yet differs from that found in the genuine specimens, and next the waved bough of the external leaf pattern (Fig. 14), a luxuriance of decoration from which the genuine style is free. The vase also shows a lotus pattern on the outside, which, if it be Laconian, is unique in its elaboration and fullness, resembling rather in shape those found on the hydriai of Caere than the Laconian forms, while the purple pupil found in the sphinxes' eyes (Fig. 15) would, if I remember rightly, be unique on a Laconian vase. These four points in themselves are I think sufficient to differentiate this vase from the Laconian style, but what is most striking is that with its absence of slip, and plentiful use of white, this kylix, if it be Laconian, cannot be earlier than Laconian V., yet is too good and elaborate to have been made at that date in Laconia, and shows a lotus pattern of proportions that are perhaps conceivable in the

<sup>42</sup> An exact replica of this vase has been found by Prof. Burrows at Rhitsóna, No. 231, Grave 51 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 269, Fig. 14; Plate IX. *b*).

<sup>43</sup> For permission to publish these vases my grateful thanks are due to Dr. Stais, Ephor of the National Museum at Athens; to Dr. Sieve-

king, Konservator of the Vase Collection at Munich; to Dr. Bulle at Würzburg; to Dr. Zahn of the Antiquarium at Berlin; and to M. de Mot of the Musée du Cinquantenaire at Brussels.

<sup>44</sup> Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. Collection of Antiquities, No. 58.

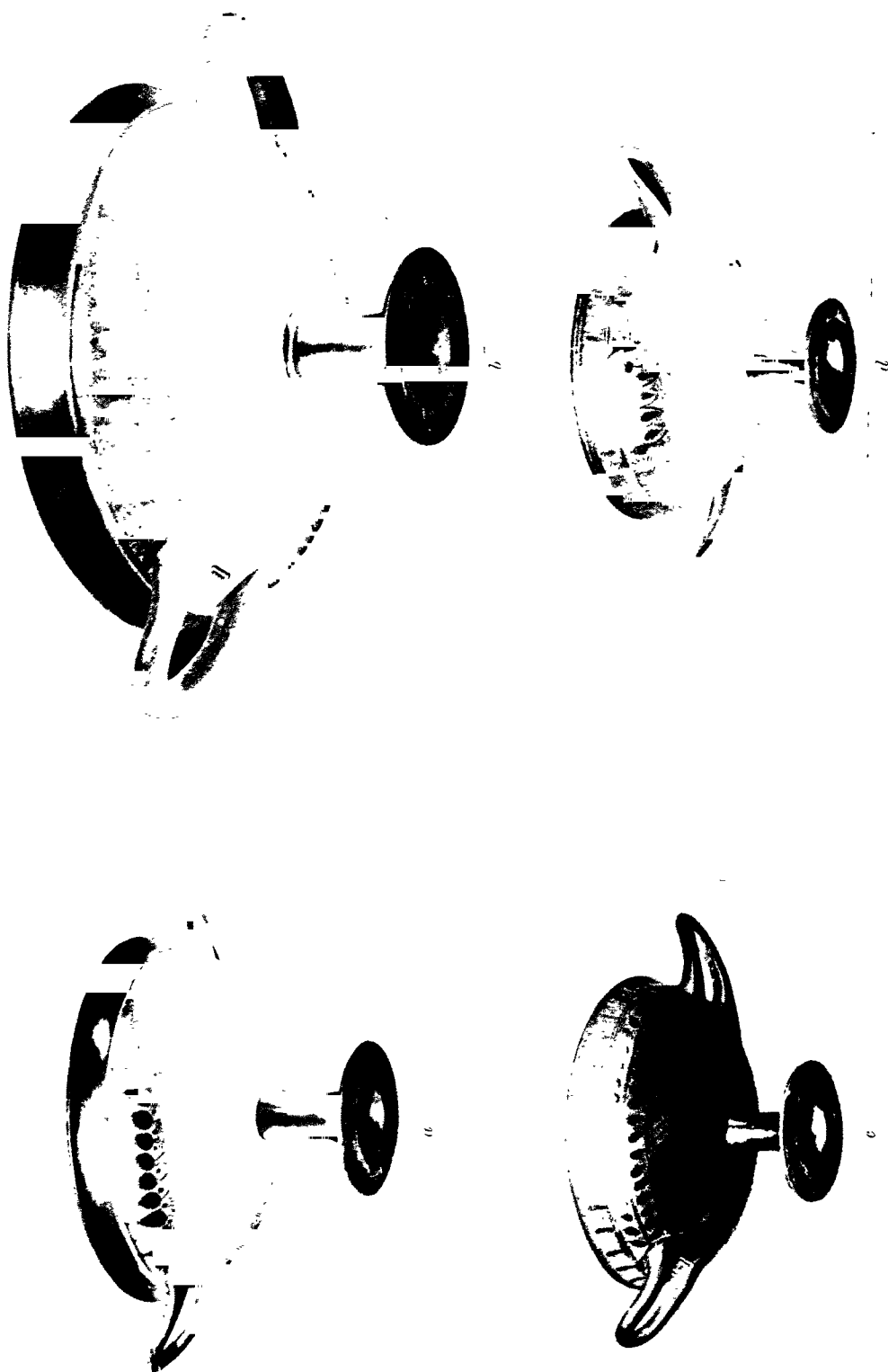


FIG. 13. (Scale *a*, *c*, *d*, 1 : 3 ; *b*, 2 : 5.)

very beginning of Laconian III. but could hardly in Laconia be found later. The stem is very short but has a sharp edge, and shows no channelled rings: so that, considering its general excellence, I should be inclined to place this close imitation of the Laconian style not later than the latter part of the sixth century.

M. Dugas<sup>45</sup> has suggested a connexion between the 'Cyrenaic' ware and the work of the Attic potter Nicosthenes. In addition to the fact that the amphorae of this artist and the Laconian kylikes and oinochoai alike seem to point to metal originals (one such, a small bronze oinochoe, has actually been found at Sparta), there is one feature common to the six oinochoai which must be connected with Nicosthenes' name (*Louvre*, F 116, F 117,<sup>46</sup> F 118; Munich, *Pinakothek*, 1829 A, New Cat.;<sup>47</sup> *British Museum*

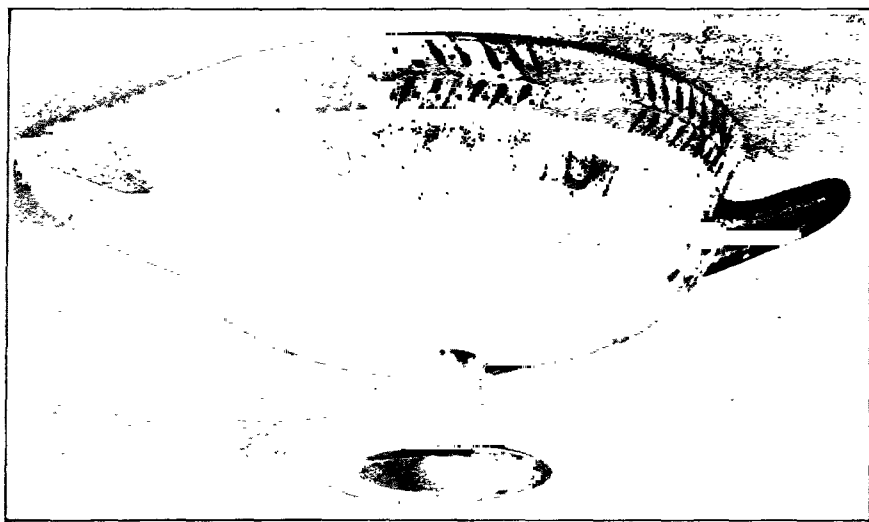


FIG. 14.

B 620, B 621<sup>48</sup>) that confirms M. Dugas' conjecture. This is the presence of heads modelled in relief either at the lip or at the attachments of the handle. Now such heads, either human or leonine, are the rule on the Laconian oinochoai throughout the sixth century. These white slipped jugs of Nicosthenes and his school show in fact two features, slip and relief heads, that are both the rule in Laconia, and both innovations in Attica.

An amphora in the Louvre (E 705) is thought by M. Pottier to be Ionian in style.<sup>49</sup> We can to-day, I think, substitute the definite word

<sup>45</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 1907, Tom. X. p. 47.

<sup>46</sup> Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques au Musée du Louvre*, pp. 754, 757; *Wiener Vorleg.* 1890-91, Plate IV. 1, 2; Loescheke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 36.

<sup>47</sup> Lau, Brunn und Krell, *Griech. Vasen*, Plate

XV. 1; Gerhard, *A.T.B.* lxvii; Loescheke, *loc. cit.*

<sup>48</sup> *B. M. Cat. of Vases*, vol. ii. pp. 285, 286; Loescheke, *loc. cit.*; Walters, *Hist. of Ancient Pottery*, i. p. 385. Plate XXX.

<sup>49</sup> *B.C.H.* 1893. p. 432.



Laconian for the vague term Ionian. Apart from the vexed question of the extent of Ionian influence shown in the Laconian style, there is no one of the patterns on this vase but is common on Spartan vases of Laconian IV., though they appear here in degenerate form, and the two lower friezes show cocks, sirens, and animals, which, though also sketchily drawn, find their prototypes on many vases of the same style. Now M. Pottier calls this vase '*proto-nicosthénien*,' and looks on it as a link between the ware of the Ionian School and the Attic potter. There is, I think, no doubt that Nicosthenes knew and imitated the Laconian style.



FIG. 15.

I do not propose to solve the vexed question of the influences, Ionian or Peloponnesian, that went to make the style that we know now to have been Laconian.

An admirable summary of the arguments for both views is to be found in M. Dugas' paper.<sup>50</sup> The derivation of the white slip from Melos or Thera there suggested is perhaps possible, yet the white slip began to be used at Sparta at a very early date, probably in the ninth century, and needs no more explanation than is afforded by the desire to find a better background than the natural colour of the clay.

<sup>50</sup> *R. v. Arch.* 1907, Tom. X. p. 37.

This year further excavation at Sparta has shed more light on the nature of Laconian II., the style of the latter half of the seventh century. It is now clear that during this period, which saw the introduction of figures, friezes of following birds or animals were the rule, and that for the short period, probably about the middle of the century, before the use of incisions began, the reserved technique was used. By the end of the century the first of these 'Ionian' features had been almost, and the second completely, abandoned.

Whatever the origin of the style I think that the influence of the Greek cities of the Asia Minor coast has been overmuch pressed, for to-day it is no longer correct to say that the style is without the ram, the deer, and the boar,<sup>51</sup> and that the lion is of rare occurrence. It savours, indeed, rather of special pleading to point to the friezes of following birds on the British Museum hydria (Dugas 24) and the nymph kylix from Samos (Dugas 22) as evidence of Ionian influence, while ignoring the friezes on those same vases in which the continuity is broken, and some of the figures face one another heraldically, a system which the excavations at Sparta have shown to have been much the more common at the date of those vases. To-day, at least, evidence for Ionian influence on the style cannot be argued on the same page from such friezes and from the floral nature of the decoration, for it was not until the adoption of the broken frieze had become general in the sixth century that the leaf-pattern and the lotus appeared. Earlier, except for the ray-pattern, presumably vegetable in origin, the scheme of decoration was almost geometric.

Again it is certain that the kylix was a favourite form with Ionian potters from the beginning of the sixth century, but the growth of the Laconian kylix from the low bowl without a foot<sup>52</sup> can be traced in the latter part of the seventh century, and there is less reason to think that that growth was forced by Ionian influence in that no trace is to be found in the Laconian style of the favourite Ionian type of kylix with a low foot and no rim.

The satyr is unknown in the style, the bird-siren never has human arms, the winged figures are content with one pair of wings, and in the only centaur-scene known to me (Dugas 17) only two of the six centaurs have human fore-legs. And even less Ionian influence is shown in the human figure. I agree with Pernice<sup>53</sup> in thinking that when the Laconian potter drew figure scenes his motive had ceased to be purely decorative. And the figures themselves are entirely free from the use of white for details even in the short period at the beginning of Laconian II. before the introduction of the incised technique, while the habit of painting the flesh white belongs naturally only to the period of decadence (Laconian V.) (when with the disuse of slip the white could show against the light brown clay), and then is confined to female figures in the manner of the mainland. This

<sup>51</sup> Bohlau, *Aus ion. u. dol. Nekrop.* p. 131.

<sup>52</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 32, Fig. 2, h.

<sup>53</sup> *Jahrb.* 1901, p. 193.

distinction of sex is also to be seen in the two vases of Laconian III. (Dugas 19, 22), on which a woman is drawn in outline on the slip. And I do not think this outline drawing (whatever may be thought of the earlier examples of outline work at the beginning of Laconian II.) can be claimed to show Ionian influence, for it is clearly a device to utilise the white ground in order to show the sex distinction, which is not Ionian. And when white paint is used it is never applied to the clay directly, but always has a backing of black in the mainland manner.

The question of the eye is indecisive. On the one hand no distinction of sex is made, the Ionian oval eye being often the only type in use. On the other hand the mainland masculine type is often found.

I do not think, then, that the fully developed Laconian style (Laconian III., IV.) can be held to be closely connected with the Ionian style of vase painting, in spite of the floral nature of its decoration.

On the other hand the first appearance of figures in the seventh century (Laconian II.) is marked by two points that are admittedly characteristic of Ionian vases, the frieze of following birds or animals and the reserved technique and heads drawn in outline. We do not yet know exactly the point from which Oriental influence reached Laconia. Mr. Thompson<sup>54</sup> has suggested that early Laconian art owed much to Eastern sources by way probably of Cyprus through Phoenician traders. In this connexion we may remember that the shoes with turned-up toes seen on the Spartan hero-reliefs and on two Laconian vases (Dugas 12, 19) are found also in Cyprus,<sup>55</sup> Etruria, and on Hittite reliefs.<sup>56</sup>

It is, of course, no new theory that the forms of some Laconian vases and the incised technique may have been imitated from Phoenician metal vases.<sup>57</sup> It may be, then, that Laconia and the Ionian schools of vase-painting were influenced from one common source, of which the hold on Ionia was lasting, while Laconia quickly altered the style, so that in later days its origin became barely perceptible. It is impossible, however, on such a theory to place the incised technique to the credit of Phoenician metal work, for that technique is one of the later changes of Sparta.

On such a theory it becomes unnecessary to strain the evidence to find more likeness between Ionian and Spartan vases than exists, and the isolation in which the Laconian style apparently developed makes it not

<sup>54</sup> *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 304. I see that Mr. Hogarth (*Ionia and the East*, p. 37) gives the Phoenicians credit for importing eastern influences to Laconia. How far the development of Laconian art at the end of the eighth century was also due to the revival of the artistic instincts of the older inhabitants of Aegaeon race (*op. cit.* p. 39) is not easy to say; but the geometric pottery which preceded that development shows no trace of even 'a partial derivation from some Aegaeon *Bauernstil*' (*op. cit.* p. 35), being quite free from any of the charac-

teristics that show the mixed origin of the Geometric ware of Crete

<sup>55</sup> Cesnola, *Salamina*, Fig. 131, and Plate XII. Fig. 2; Perrot-Chipiez, iv. Fig. 286.

<sup>56</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, iv. Fig. 314, Plate VIII.

<sup>57</sup> Dugas, *op. cit.* p. 40. To the resemblances there noted I would add, for what it is worth, a comparison between the figures of horsemen on these vases (Perrot-Chipiez, iii. Figs. 544, 548) and those on three Laconian kylikes (Dugas 7, 8, 9).

surprising to find no close resemblance between it and Corinthian works, while such as do exist, the 'narrative' character of the scenes depicted, and the broken nature of the animal friezes, are easily explicable through the kinship of the peoples without the necessity of assuming close relations to have existed between them. Very few fragments of Corinthian pottery have been found at Sparta.

*Classification of 'Cyrenaic' Vases.*

VASES.	DUGAS' NUMBERS. <sup>58</sup>	LACONIAN PERIODS.	APPROXIMATE DATE.
Paris, <i>Louvre</i> , E 660	32	III.	Circ. 575 B.C.
" " E 661	29	III. Early	" 585 "
" " E 662	17	III. Early	" 585 "
" " E 663	26	III. Early	" 585 "
" " E 664	34	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 665	9	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 666	15	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 667	35	III.	" 575 "
" " E 668	1	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 669	4	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 670	13	V.	" 490 "
" " E 671	28	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 672	18	IV.	" 530 "
" " E 673	38	V.	" 490 "
" " E 674	88	II.	" 625 "
Paris, <i>Bibl. Nat.</i> 189	12	III.	" 570 "
" " " 190	5	IV.	" 530 "
" " " 191	31	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " " 192	16	IV.	" 530 "
London, <i>Brit. Mus.</i> B 1	8	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 2	30	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 3	36	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 4	23	IV. Late	" 510 "
" " " B 5	25	III. Late	" 555 "
" " " B 6	10	III. Early	" 585 "
" " " B 7 (1)	27	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 7 (2)	49	III. Late	" 555 "
" " " B 7 (3)	50	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 7 (4)	52	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " " B 7 (4)	53	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " " B 7 (4)	54	III.	" 575 "
" " " B 7 (4)	55	III.	" 575 "
" " " B 7 (4)	56	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " " B 7 (4)	57	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 7 (4)	58	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 7 (4)	59	IV. ?	" "
" " " B 7 (4)	60	IV. ?	" "
" " " B 7 (4)	61	III.	" 575 "
" " " B 7 (4)	62	IV. ?	" ? "
" " " B 7 (5)	48	IV.	" 530 "
" " " B 7 (6)	51	III.	" 575 "
" " " B 58	24	III.	" 575 "
" " " Inv. No. 1907. 12-1. 731	89	I.	" 660 "
Oxford, <i>Ashmolean Museum</i> , 185	20	IV.	" 530 "
" " "	64	IV.	" 530 "
" " "	65	I.	" 660 "
" " "	39	III. Early	" 585 "
" " "	40	III.	" 575 "
" " " Inv. No. 1909. 955	102	III. Late	" 555 "

<sup>58</sup> In this list I shall continue M. Dugas' sequence of numbers for those vases which are not in his catalogue.

VASES.	DUGAS' NUMBERS.	LACONIAN PERIODS.	APPROXIMATE DATE.
Cambridge, <i>Fitzwilliam Museum</i> . . . . .	90	IV. Late	Circ. 510 B.C.
Munich, <i>Pinakothek</i> , 575 . . . . .	42	IV.	" 530 "
" " 576 . . . . .	37	IV.	" 530 "
" " 577 . . . . .	91	V.	" 490 "
" " 578 . . . . .	92	IV.	" 530 "
" " 579 . . . . .	93	IV. Late	" 510 "
" " Several fragments . . . . .	94	I.	" 660 "
" " <i>Glyptothek</i> (Temporary) . . . . .	95	IV.	" 520 "
Berlin, <i>Antiquarium</i> , 3404 . . . . .	3	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " 3185 . . . . .	86	IV.	" 530 "
Leipzig, <i>University Collection</i> . . . . .	6	IV.	" 530 "
Bonn " " . . . . .	43	IV. Early	" 545 "
Heidelberg " " . . . . .	41	IV. Late	" 510 "
Würzburg " " 434 . . . . .	33	IV.	" 530 "
Cassel, <i>König. Mus.</i> . . . . .	2	IV. Late	" 510 "
" " From Samos . . . . .	81	I.	" 660 "
" " " " . . . . .	71	II.	" 620 "
" " " " . . . . .	72	II.	" 620 "
" " " " . . . . .	73	II.	" 620 "
" " " " . . . . .	22 }	III.	" 575 "
" " " " . . . . .	74 }		
" " " " . . . . .	80	III.	" 575 "
" " " " . . . . .	82	III.	" 575 "
" " " " . . . . .	69	III.	" 575 "
" " " " . . . . .	75	III.	" 575 "
" " " " . . . . .	70	IV.	" 530 "
" " " " . . . . .	14	IV.	" "
Vienna, <i>Oestreichisches Museum</i> , 140 . . . . .	21	III. Early	" 585 "
Brussels, <i>Musée du Cinquantenaire</i> , 401 . . . . .	19	III.	" 575 "
Rome, <i>Vatican, Museo Etrusco</i> , 1298 . . . . .	11	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " <i>Castellani Collection</i> . . . . .	47	III.	" 575 "
" " <i>Palazzo dei Conservatori</i> . . . . .	96	II.	" 620 "
Florence, <i>Museo Etrusco</i> , 3881 . . . . .	97	I.	" 660 "
" " " 3879 . . . . .	44	IV.	" 530 "
" " " 3882 . . . . .	45	III.	" 575 "
Athens, <i>Nat. Mus.</i> . . . . .	98	IV. Late	" 510 "
" " " (Petousi Collection) . . . . .	99	V.	" 490 "
" " " (Acropolis Sherds, No. 468) . . . . .	100	III.	" 575 "
" " <i>Collection of Mme. Mela</i> . . . . .	101	IV. Early	" 545 "
" " <i>Nat. Mus.</i> (Argive Heraeum) . . . . .	103	?	" ? "
Sherd found at Daphnai . . . . .	67	III.	" 575 "

J. P. DROOP.

## A VASE FRAGMENT FROM NAUKRATIS.

THE two vase fragments reproduced in the accompanying illustration were among those brought by Mr. Hogarth from Naukratis in 1903, and are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The subject is painted in black silhouette, no other colour occurring in the fragment of the scene which remains: incised lines are used, not only for the inner markings, but for a great part of the outlines. Immediately below the design are two bands of purple: below these again the vase, which was of considerable size, was covered with black paint. The execution is careless, the paint of the design being very unevenly applied.

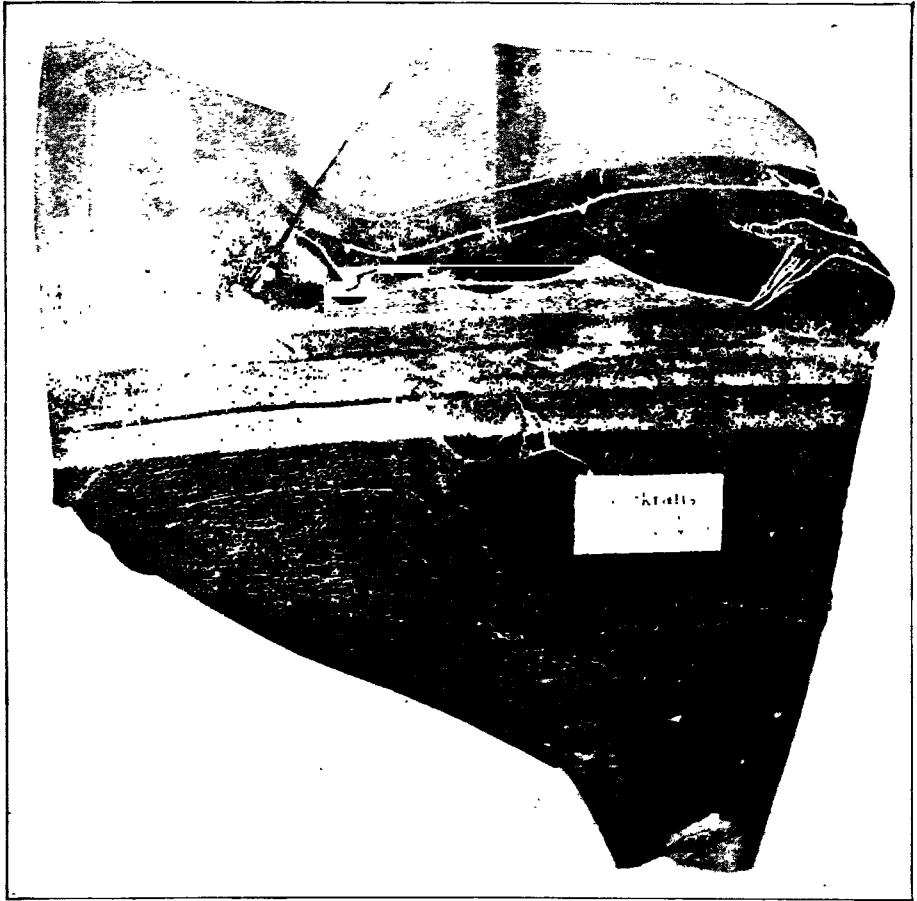
On the larger of the two fragments is the lower part of a nude male figure, lying on its back in a rigid attitude, the hand stiffly extended beside the hip. Behind the legs, some way below the knee, is an upright bar which disappears behind them. The toes of both feet were missing; and to the left of the remaining portion was some object which it was not possible at first to determine. On the second fragment, which exactly fitted the first, were the toes of the figure, overlapping the carved leg of a couch, of which the object beside the feet was now seen to be a part. A small portion of the body of the couch is preserved on this fragment, and also one leg of a table, the upright bar already mentioned doubtless representing the other.

The subject represented is undoubtedly the ransoming of the body of Hector, as can be seen by a comparison with the b.-f. Attic vase published by Pollak (*Att. Mitth.* 1898, Pl. IV.) or with the magnificent early r.-f. skyphos in Vienna (*Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. 27), on both of which this scene is depicted.<sup>1</sup> The prostrate form is that of Hector, rigid in death: the couch is the couch on which Achilles reclined, and on the table his meal was spread. Of the actors in the scene no trace remains, and it is therefore impossible to say whether the king was accompanied by attendants bearing gifts, as on the Vienna skyphos, or by the female figures of Pollak's specimen. All that can be said is that the composition was widely spaced, for the body lies to the right of the couch, not in front of it, as on Pollak's vase, and there is no trace of any figure behind it.

Benndorf in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1866 gave a list of the representations of this subject known at that date: it is supplemented by

<sup>1</sup> A curious b.-f. example of the same subject, regarded by Benndorf as a burlesque, is published, *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, Pl. LXII.

Pollak in the interesting article referred to above. The earliest instances occur on certain bronze reliefs,<sup>2</sup> two at least of which formed part of the handles of mirrors, and are of a simple and uniform type: Achilles stands on the left, the dead body of Hector lying before him, while Priam, conducted by Hermes, approaches on the right. The composition is crowded, being adapted to the small, nearly square panels in which it occurs: the three erect figures are close together, and the knees of the corpse are drawn up,



that it may not project beyond them. The more elaborate 'Banquet type' of Pollak's vase, of the Vienna skyphos and of the Naukratite fragments is a later development, of which Pollak considered his specimen to be the earliest instance extant.

This may very well be, for the Naukratite fragments, though they can hardly be later than the Attic vase, need not be earlier; but it is no longer

<sup>2</sup> Published (1) Furtwangler in *Aufsätze* Pl. XXXIX. 701; (3) *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, Pl. XIV. 1.  
*E. Curtius gewidmet*, p. 179, Pl. IV. (the only complete instance); (2) *Bronzen von Olympia*,

possible to claim that the Banquet type is an 'echt Attisch' innovation on the 'Argive' type of the bronze reliefs. The Naukratite fragments are certainly not Attic, though it is hardly possible to assign them to anything more precise than an 'Ionian fabric.' On the whole they resemble the inferior type of 'Defenneh' ware, which is found both at Tell Defenneh and at Naukratis, and may possibly be of Clazomenian origin. Their most distinctive characteristic is the use of incision for entire outlines, a practice common on the ware in question: thus the whole of Hector's body except the hip has an incised outline, and so has the leg of the table on the second fragment. It is interesting to note in this connexion that on two vase fragments from Clazomenae and presumably of Clazomenian origin Zahn<sup>3</sup> discerned a Homeric subject—the dragging of Hector's body round the walls of Troy, and the reception of the tidings by Priam and Hecuba.

H. L. LORIMER.

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<sup>3</sup> 'Zwei Vasenscherben aus Klazomenai,' *Ath. Mitth.* 1898, Pl. VI.



## KLEOPHRADES.

[PLATES I.—IX.]

HARTWIG was the first writer to give a detailed account of the important painter who for the sake of convenience may be called Kleophrades.<sup>1</sup> Nine vases are assigned by the author of *Meisterschalen* to an artist whom he terms 'Amasis II.'<sup>2</sup>; but the name under which he grouped them rests upon an untenable restoration of the fragmentary inscription

ΚΛΕΟΦΡΑΔΕΞ : ΕΠΟΙΕΞΕΝ : ΑΜΑΣ . . . . . ξ

on the foot of a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles. The last and broken letter can only be a ξ, and we cannot therefore restore Ἀμασις ἔγραψεν: the choice lies between Ἀμάσιος υἱός and Ἀμασις καλός, and of these the former, which is Six's reading, is probably preferable.<sup>3</sup> In any case the manufacturer from whose workshop the cup came was called Kleophrades. This name appears a second time on a cup in Berlin,<sup>4</sup> but there the inscription Κλεοφράδες ἐποίησεν is accompanied by Δῶρις ἔγραψεν: the Berlin cup, then, was painted by Douris; but the Cabinet des Médailles cup is in a different and a better style. It is possible that the man called Kleophrades not only manufactured it, but painted it with his own hand; but it is equally possible that some one else painted it. The name of the painter, however, is of little importance; what interests us is himself and his style. We may conveniently use the name Kleophrades to signify 'the painter of the cup in the Cabinet des Médailles which is signed by Kleophrades as manufacturer,' just as we speak of 'the style of Brygos,' although Brygos also signs exclusively with ἐποίησεν. We shall therefore adopt this abbreviation.

Vases have been attributed to Kleophrades by several writers,<sup>5</sup> but the

<sup>1</sup> *Meisterschalen*, pp. 400–20.

<sup>2</sup> Our Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Six in *Röm. Mitt.* 1888, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler, *Cat. Nos.* 2283–4 (*A.Z.* 1883, Pl. I.–II.).

<sup>5</sup> (1) Berlin amphora 2160 (Gerh. *Etr. u. Kamp. Vasenb.* Pl. VIII., IX. (by Furtwängler in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894, p. 114); this is the work of a notable master whom we hope to study soon; among the most important of his other vases are B.M. volute-krater Gerh. *A.V.* Pl. CCIV., Louvre bell-krater *Ann.* 1876 C, Vatican hydria *Mon.* i. Pl. XLVI., Wurzburg 319 (amphora of Panathenaic shape with

Herakles and Apollo).

(2) Boston kalyx-krater Froehner *Coll. Tyszkiewicz*, Pl. XVII–XVIII. (by Robinson in *Boston Museum Report*, 1897). Later works of the same hand are probably kalyx-krater Louvre G 164 (*Mon.* 1856, Pl. XI.), B.M. pelike E 375 (*Él. Cér.* 1 Pl. L.) stamnoi Vatican 144 and Florence 3994.

(3) Louvre Croesus-amphora F.R.H. Pl. 113 (by Pottier, *Cat. V. du Louvre*, iii. p. 1022); by the same painter, as Hauser says (F.R.H. ii. p. 281), is B.M. kalyx-krater *Mon.* ii. 25–26: and we may add amphora of Panathenaic shape in Florence (3982) with Herakles and Apollo.

only valuable addition to Hartwig's list was made by Hauser,<sup>6</sup> who assigned to the artist three further pieces, one of them being the celebrated Vivenzio-hydria.

Our object is to increase this number. A general discussion of Kleophrades must be postponed until we have studied the work of some of his more important contemporaries, especially those who chiefly applied themselves to the decoration of the larger kinds of vase. These artists have hitherto received less attention than the cup-painters, partly because they were less eager to sign their works and their names have therefore not come down to us.<sup>7</sup> Kleophrades, though he painted some cups, is primarily a painter of the larger vases; and among these he occupies a high place. His figures are solid and powerful; the details are properly subordinated, and the whole is simple, strong, and dignified.

Kleophrades like other artists did not attain his full development all at once. We may believe that he began life as an apprentice to Euthymides, for a number of vases which seem to be early works of Kleophrades bear a great general resemblance to the work of Euthymides. Hauser, indeed, if we understand him rightly, is induced by this resemblance to believe that the Kleophradean vases are nothing else than the later work of Euthymides himself.<sup>7a</sup> That they continue the Euthymidean tendencies there is no doubt; but it seems to us that there is a break between what we can safely call the works of Euthymides and the Kleophradean vases which we have no means of bridging, and which is best explained by supposing that Kleophrades was Euthymides' pupil.

The three earliest works we can assign to Kleophrades are an amphora in the Vatican, another in Würzburg, and a fragmentary kalyx-krater in the Louvre. His style is still unformed.

1. Amphora <sup>8</sup> in the Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* 54, 2a; Pl. IV. (A).

A. Herakles entering Olympos.

B. Komos.

Handles ivied: foot usual early type, with red cushion: rays at base; at each handle, b.-f. palmette: pictures framed, above by b.-f. double palmette-lotusbud-ring pattern, at sides by running b.-f. palms, below by running b.-f. palms, alternately reversed, with dots. Described by Hartwig and assigned by him to Kleophrades.

The general aspect of these pictures is Euthymidean, but they are informed by a new and strong personality. The heads are larger, the figures more massive, the execution bolder, simpler, and coarser. On side A, however, the painter has kept closer to his model: he was not greatly interested in the mythical scene: on side B the drawing is freer, and the youth on the r.

<sup>6</sup> In Furtwängler-Reichhold-Hauser, *Gr. Vasculum*, ii. p. 228. Our Nos. 14, 18, 32.

<sup>7</sup> V. Furtwängler in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894, pp. 112 ff.; Pottier, *Cat. V. du Louvre*, iii. p. 824.

<sup>7a</sup> *l.c.*

<sup>8</sup> The simple 'amphora' will be used to denote the Euthymidean shape (Furtw. *Berl. Vas.* Pl. IV. No. 35).

already presents the characteristic Kleophradean profile with upright facial angle and powerful aquiline nose, the full nostril strongly marked by a rounded black line with the lower side doubled.

The contour of the hair is incised, except in front. The figures on *B* have short hair, cut close to the ear; the long hair of the young Iolaos is tied near the ends by two red lines representing either a string or a metal spiral.<sup>9</sup> The whiskers are heavily marked in dark brown thinned varnish with still darker dots in it. The eyeballs of Herakles and Athena consist of a brown dot and circle; the rest are black dots, which on *B* touch the lower lid only. The nostrils are full black rounded lines. The lower lip of Athena is edged below with a brown line. Her cheek is also indicated by a brown line beginning at the inner corner of the eye. The ankles are single black lines, that is, only the lower side of the ankle is indicated: this rendering is all but invariable in Kleophrades. The ears vary. The painter has not yet formulated his rendering; but the early Kleophradean ear<sup>10</sup> with the lower part projecting in front is not absent: it occurs in the figure of the bearded man on *B*. The fingers are long and thin.

We must spare a word or two for Athena's helmet. It is of the Attic form which Athena generally wears on severe r.-f. vases, but it is distinguished by the ram's head in front of the ear, and the decorated crest-holder. The ram's head occurs in this place on three other vases, one of which is signed by the b.-f. manufacturer Amasis.<sup>11</sup> The pattern on the crest-holder also takes us back to b.-f. types.

## 2. Amphora in Würzburg (300). F.R.H., Pl. CIII.

### *A*. Departure of warrior.

### *B*. Komos.

Handles ivied: foot as last, but black cushion: rays at base: at each handle, b.-f. palmette: pictures framed, above by r.-f. palmettes, at sides by running b.-f. palmettes, below by running b.-f. palmettes, alternately reversed, with dots: on lid, in b.-f., chariot-race. Described by Hartwig and by Hauser; assigned by Hoppin to Euthymides; by Hartwig to Kleophrades.<sup>12</sup> Hauser would make it a bridge between the vases of Euthymides and the Kleophradean vases.<sup>13</sup>

There is the same difference between the two scenes as on the last vase. The Departure-scene is wretched: the picture on *B* is a kind of pendant to the Komos-scene on the Vatican amphora. But we need not assume that the two sides of the Würzburg amphora are the work of different hands: on *A* the

<sup>9</sup> Long hair down the back tied near end: on b.-f. vases the hair is usually doubled at the end before tying, and so occasionally in r.-f. (e.g. F.R.H. Pl. CVI.); in r.-f. the hair, if tied, is usually tied farther up (e.g. F.R.H. Pl. CVII. 2a). For Iolaos' hair cf. b.-f. neck-amphora Munich 584 (Gerh. *A.V.* Pl. CLXXVII.).

<sup>10</sup> *V.* Hartwig, p. 411; but there are two

types of Kleophradean ear: see below.

<sup>11</sup> Boston Amasis amphora, *Oest. Jährsch.* 1907, Pl. I.: incised on cheek; B.M. Pamphaios cup, Gerh. *A.V.* Pl. CCL.; Munich cup, near Douris, F.R. Pl. XXIV.

<sup>12</sup> Hoppin, *Euthymides*, p. 32: Hartw. *Meist.* p. 413.

<sup>13</sup> F.R.H. 2. p. 222.

artist listlessly copies his Euthymidean model: on *B* he is in earnest. The vase, then, stands in the same relation to Euthymides as the Vatican amphora. A number of scholars have attributed it to the hand of Euthymides himself, and if it is so, it must be a later work of his than any other we possess. But with this attribution it is difficult to agree. The style of Euthymides' signed work, the two Munich amphorae, the Bonn hydria, and the Turin psykter,<sup>14</sup> is a uniform style: a fifth and unsigned vase, the Munich amphora with Theseus and Korone, is certainly his<sup>15</sup>; early works are the pelikai in Vienna and Florence;<sup>15a</sup> and the two B.M. amphorae E 254 and E 255, and the two Louvre amphorae G 44 and G 45 are either bad works of the master, or close copies by an imitator.<sup>16</sup> Now the style of the Würzburg amphora is not close enough to the style of these vases to allow us to attribute it to Euthymides. The Würzburg amphora is not careless, but the lines are thicker and rougher than in Euthymides: the inscriptions have no sense; and the forms of ear, collarbone, frontal knee, and ankle are not his. We may not therefore attribute this vase to Euthymides: on the other hand, the character of the line corresponds with that of Kleophrades, the ankle is of his usual type: the broad frontal knee differs from Euthymides', but as we shall see is Kleophradean: the ears are not unlike those on the Vatican amphora, and the collarbone is of a shape almost confined to Kleophrades (Fig. 1, p. 42). We shall therefore consider Kleophrades the author of this vase.

To the same period as these two amphorae belongs:—

3. Kalyx-krater in the Louvre (G 48). Pottier, *Album*, Pl. XCIII, XCIV.

Arming.

From Etruria. Above, r.-f. palmettes: lower part restored. At handles r.-f. palmette-motive.

The pictures look very ugly in the photograph, but that is because only small parts of the vase are antique. On Pl. XCIII. figures 1, 2, and 3 (from the left) are restorations, all except a little bit of 3's helmet; the legs, arms, and part of the skull of 4 are new; the legs of 5 are new; on *B*, the lower part of 1's legs is new, in 2 the legs and the body from a little above the navel downwards; 3 and 4 have nothing old. Enough, however, remains to show the hand of Kleophrades. The drawing is simple, the relief-line broad. The nose is powerful and aquiline, and the nostril is marked by a rounded black line. The line from navel to pubes is marked in black, and this is invariable in Kleophrades. The pubes is in heavy dark brown. The hair-contour is incised, the whisker is rendered as a solid dark brown mass, and the moustaches by the same with still darker dots in it, like the whiskers on the Vatican amphora. The collarbone is of the charac-

<sup>14</sup> F.R. Pl. XIV., LXXXI.; *A.Z.* 1873, Pl. IX.; *Ann.* 1870, Pl. O, P (once in Viterbo). The plate-fragment (Schoene, *Mus. Boechi*, Pl. IV. 2) has disappeared.

<sup>15</sup> F.R. Pl. XXXIII.

<sup>15a</sup> F.R. Pl. LXXII.; *Mus. Ital.* 3, Pl. IV.

<sup>16</sup> Hoppin, Pl. III.-VI.; Pottier, *Album*, Pl. LII.-LIII.

teristic form; the lower line of the breast is of the type which Kleophrades took over from Euthymides (Fig. 1). The stiff extended hand reminds



FIG. 1.

us of the Würzburg amphora. One of the two ears which remain has the Kleophradean projection. Both forms of eye occur.

In the next vase we find Kleophrades' style fully formed, though the head-types, for example, connect it with the preceding vases.

4. Fragment of large vase (stamnos or volute-krater) in the Cabinet des Médailles. *Mon.* ii. Pl. X.

Psychostasia.

From Corneto. Above, tongue; lower part lost. Described by Hartwig and assigned by him to Kleophrades; also by De Ridder, *Cat. Vases Cab. Méd.* p. 279.

The relief-line is very thick and of unerring precision, the figures grandly composed. The hair-contour is reserved. The outer edges of Thetis' lips are indicated in brown. Zeus wears the red convolvulus-wreath which is common in the early severe style, but disappears in the later almost entirely. Enough is left of Thetis' ear to show that it had the usual projection.

5. Amphora in Munich (2305). F.R. Pl. LII.

A. Young warrior saying good-bye:  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

B. Athletes:  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

From Vulci. Handles ivied, foot usual early type: rays at base; at each handle b.-f. palmette: pictures framed, above and below as the Vatican amphora, at sides on A by net, on B by same pattern as below the picture: on rim, in b.-f., A deer-hunt, B charioteer, etc.: on lid, in b.-f., chariot race. Described by Hartwig and Furtwängler, and assigned to Kleophrades.

The hair-contour is incised, except in the fair hair of the old man. The hair of the athletes is cut close to the ear, the hero's is longer. The woman's hair has the detached strand in front, which appears on the Vatican amphora. The full lips are in two cases bordered with black lines both above and below, the first appearance of a characteristic of Kleophrades' drawing. The nostrils are either as on the last vase, or take an S-shape. The whiskers are not so heavy as before. The moustache of the paidotribe on B is lighter than his beard. The pubes-navel line is black, the pubes small. The breast is of the form noted above. The ankles are as usual. The backview, of which Kleophrades is very fond, occurs for the first time; the toes of the frontal foot are drawn as complete circles. The figures, as in the preceding vase, stand firmly with the feet wider apart than in Euthymides, an attitude which

reminds us of Signorelli. The simple form of corslet, and the scabbard should be noted, for we shall meet them frequently again. The ears have the customary projection. The collarbone is characteristic, and the broad frontal knee is to be observed.

6. Pointed amphora in Munich (2344). F.R. Pl. XLIV, XLV.

*A* (body). Thiasos.  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  twice.

*B* (neck). Athletes.

From Vulci. Handles almost flat inside, slightly rounded outside: red cushion at shoulder: at base, rays: above body-picture, tongue; below crossing maeander with black saltire-squares. Described by Furtwängler.

The bold thick relief-line, the large heads, and massive figures make us think of Kleophrades; and this impression is confirmed by the details.

The hair is generally reserved, but one Silen's hair and the back-hair of another have the contour incised. The moustaches are in brown. The brown dot-and-circle eye appears twice, in Dionysus and in the splendid rapt Maenad with the snake. The nostrils show the types already indicated. The chests and ankles are Kleophradean, and the profiles with the strong aquiline noses are his. The ears are not very characteristic, for the vase is early: but compare the ear of the last Maenad on the right with the last youth on the right in *B* of the Munich amphora. The women's lips are bordered with brown lines, the male lips have a black line under the lower edge. The navel-pubes line is black; the pubes is not marked except in the frontal Silen, where it spreads over on to the thighs and is of a golden colour: his peculiar navel finds its nearest analogy on the Louvre krater. The first Silen from the left has the linea alba from chest to navel marked by a black line, a treatment which is extremely rare on non-Kleophradean vases of the severe period, but which is characteristic of a group which we shall find occasion to connect very closely with Kleophrades.<sup>17</sup> Kleophrades makes great use of golden brown in this vase, for nebrides, kantharos, and hair, and a charming touch of colour is added to the picture by the red garland in the snake-Maenad's golden hair,<sup>18</sup> and the big reserved wreath of Dionysus with its red dots. The frontal foot appears in a new form in the powerful figure of the rushing Maenad.

The neck-pictures are carelessly done, and the ankle, collarbone, and nostril differ from Kleophradean types.

We now come to two cups of unusually large size and of great beauty, the former of which bears the fragmentary signature mentioned above.

7. Fragmentary cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (535). Luynes, *Descr.* Pl. XLIV; Hartwig, *Meist.* Pl. XXXVII. 1-2 (in part).

*A.* Young warrior putting on greave.

*B.* Amazonomachy (with Herakles).

<sup>17</sup> *V.* p. 47.

<sup>18</sup> Theognis 827. . . . φορέοντας ξανθῆσιν τε κόμαις πορφυρέους στεφάνους.

From Corneto: foot has thick plain rim, with signature in black letters. (v. s.) Round *A*, key-pattern; below *B*, same. Described by Hartwig and by de Ridder, *Cat. Vases Cab. Méd.* p. 402.<sup>19</sup>

The hair-contour is reserved. The eyeball on *A* is a brown dot and circle, on *B* a black dot. An interesting brown line is omitted in Hartwig's drawing, one of the earliest examples of that indication of the upper eyelid which became universal later. The nostrils are of characteristic shape, and the ears are as on the Munich amphora. The lips are, except in one case, bordered with black lines. The extended frontal foot again occurs. The frontal knee is of the familiar broad type. Incised lines are used on a dark brown background for the dark stripe down the skin worn by one of the Amazons. The detached strand of hair appears. Golden brown is used for skins, hair, moustaches, a kidaris, and part of a quiver. The beautiful massed fair hair of the falling Amazon recalls the hair of the snake-Maenad on the pointed-amphora (No. 6). The Attic helmets have no cheek-pieces: one of them has a black skull-piece with reserved dots. The corslets are characteristic, plain with thin bands of pattern round them and high straight neck-pieces; the squared shoulder-flaps should also be remarked. The backview, of which Kleophrades is particularly fond, occurs twice.

8. Fragmentary cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (536, *J.H.S.* x. Pl. II.; F.R. i. p. 264 (detail).

*A.* Theseus and Kerkyaneus.

*B.* The deeds of Theseus.

From Vulci. Round *A*, running maeander: below *B*, key-pattern. Described by Hartwig and assigned to Kleophrades: also by De Ridder, *Cat. Vases Cab. Méd.* p. 403.

Incision is used for the hair-contour on *B*, though not on *A*: Kleophrades, as has been pointed out, retains the old use of incision for the hair-contour long after the other r.-f. painters have abandoned it.<sup>20</sup> Both forms of eye occur. The nostrils are characteristic, the lips are bordered with black. The extended frontal foot occurs. The foot of Prokroustes is in  $\frac{3}{4}$ -profile, and the ankle is accordingly rightly indicated with brown lines instead of the usual black line. The breast and collarbone are of the characteristic shape. The back of Theseus should be compared with the athlete's back on the Munich amphora. The ears are of the same type as in the last cup. The navel-pubes line is as usual black. Yellow is used for the hair of Theseus on *A*, for a beard on *B*, for pubes, for whiskers, and for the hoofs of the bull.

A word must be said about the patterns on these two cups. The large scale of the drawing demands that the patterns should be bold and simple:

<sup>19</sup> For inserr. v. de Ridder, *l.c.*

<sup>20</sup> Incision is used for the hair-contour in developed r.-f. severe style only on (a) Kleophradean vases; (b) two vases with the name of Kleomelos (Louvre cup G 111, and fragment in Athens); (c) cup in style of Brygos, Louvre

G 155 (*Ann.* 1878, Pl. E); (d) three late severe cups, viz., two with the name of Laches (Vatican, *Mus. Greg.* 2. 85. 1. and Louvre G. 132, Hartw., *Meist.* Pl. LXIII. 2), and a third in Baltimore (*ib.* Pl. LXIV.).

Kleophrades therefore uses in one case a simple form of maeander, in the others the key-pattern which is very rare on cups,<sup>21</sup> but is one of Kleophrades' favourite patterns.

These cups show a brilliance of technique never surpassed in Greek pottery, and this height is maintained by the group of kalyx-kraters we shall proceed to describe.

9. Fragment of kalyx-krater in Athens. Pl. V. 1.<sup>22</sup> From the Acropolis.

Head of man playing kithara.

This head should be compared with that of the lady on the Munich amphora. The ear is almost exactly the same as Theseus' on *A* of the last cup. The hair is reserved, the lips bordered with black, the nose aquiline.

To the same vase belongs a second fragment in Athens with a similar kithara.

10. Kalyx-krater in Corneto. Hartwig, *Meist.* pp. 416-7; phot. Moscioni 8644 (*A*).

Athletes. On *A*, κΑΛΟΣΕΙ. On *B*, κΑΛΟΣ.

From Corneto. Foot stout, tongue at base. Above, on *A*, r.-f. palmettes; on *B*, b.-f. palmettes, alternately reversed with dots; below, on *A*, curious T-shaped maeander-pattern; on *B*, key-pattern. Described by Hartwig and assigned to Kleophrades.

The hair-contour is reserved, but a detail of the hair is in one case incised. The eyeballs are black dots: the ears and nostrils are of Kleophradean type, and the lips are bordered with black. The extended frontal foot occurs, and also the frontal foot flat on the ground, but here the toes are no longer simple semicircles, but are furnished with black lines to represent the nails. The backview and the yellow musculature of the torso should be compared with the other examples in Kleophrades; Kleophrades, it may be noticed, always indicates the spine by a single and never by a double black-line. The navel-pubes line is black, the pubes golden and spreading. The ankles, where marked, are black lines; chest and collarbone are of the familiar shape. The inscriptions should be noted; Kleophrades has no love-name and he never even uses καλὸς ὁ παῖς; but always either the simple καλός, or καλὸς εἶ.

A third kalyx-krater makes a kind of pendant to the last:

11. Kalyx-krater in private possession.<sup>23</sup>

Arming (two figures on each side). κΑΛΟΣ and κΑΛΟΣΕΙ.

At present in fragments. Foot stout, tongue at base as last. Above,


<sup>21</sup> The key-pattern is found in the interior of the following cups: Palermo Kachrylion cup (Hartwig, *Meist.* Pl. I.), early r.-f. cup in Bologna (Zannoni, *Urtosa di Bologna*, Pl. XCVII.), and fragment of the same period in Mr. E. P. Warren's collection in Lewes, and a late severe cup in Florence; on the exterior of the following: Louvre Memnon cup G 17 (*H. V.* 1890-1,

Pl. X.), early r.-f. fragment in Lewes.

<sup>22</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Wolters and Dr. Stais for permission to publish this and other fragments from the Acropolis.

<sup>23</sup> Recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts in New York. I am indebted to Dr. E. Robinson for permission to give some account of it in this place.



r.-f. palmettes as last; below, on *A*, running maeander alternating with black-squares and black saltire-squares; on *B*, crossing maeander with black squares. Scratched under foot, 

*A*: 1, armed youth standing r. holding out helmet in left, r. hand on head; on ground to left of him shield leaning against his thigh; 2, armed helmeted youth standing r. looking round, in l. upright spear, in r. sword in scabbard. *B*: 3, armed youth standing with l. leg frontal, head l., with shield and spear; on l. of him, on ground, helmet: 4, armed youth (?) standing r.: on l. of him, leaning against thigh, shield.

The hair-contour is reserved. The eyeballs are yellow dot-and-circles. The nostrils, ears, and profile are Kleophradean, the lips bordered with black. The ankles are black lines. The corslets are of the same form as on the Amazon cup; the shoulder-flaps, bands, and neck-pieces identical in shape. The shoulder-flaps bear, in one case, the common black star, in another, a rare ornament of a cross moline shape.<sup>24</sup> On the lower part of one of the pairs of shoulder-flaps is a lizard in dark brown. Each of the pteryges of the corslet has a little saltire on it above the border, either simple or furnished with dots: the same ornament occurs on both the Boston Amasis amphorae and a similar on the Vivenzio hydria of Kleophrades. The scabbard is like the scabbard on the Munich amphora, with the same embattled ornament and the same bands with eyes for the baldrick to be fastened to: the lower end is not rounded as on the Munich amphora, but rectangular as is more usual in Kleophrades. The Corinthian helmet on the ground has a fine ram's horn covered with a wash of yellow on the reserved skull-piece. A fragment with a large wing and remains of fingers is difficult to explain; probably one of the helmets had wings instead of a crest.<sup>25</sup>

The execution of the vase is wonderfully fine: it belongs to the same period as the Corneto krater and the two large cups: the young warrior arming on *A* of the Amazon cup belongs to the same series as the arming warriors on the present krater: the early kalyx-krater in the Louvre (our No. 2) also shows an arming-scene.

Of the three kalyx-kraters we have mentioned which preserve their ornament (Nos. 3, 10, and 11), Nos. 3, 11, and one side of 10 have the same pattern above the picture, upright r.-f. palmettes; the only other example is a rough kalyx-krater of late severe style in Volterra.<sup>26</sup> In both the later kraters the enclosing line instead of being rounded at the top is almost pointed: this is best seen on Moscioni's excellent photograph of the Corneto krater. The b.-f. palmettes on side *B* of No. 10 occur on no other kalyx-krater.<sup>26a</sup> The T-maeander below No. 10 (*A*) is found on no other vase

<sup>24</sup> A similar ornament appears as an episemon on the Panathenaic amphora *Mon.* i. Pl. XXII., and by itself on the neck of the Caeretan hydria *Mon.* vi.-vii. Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. early r.-f. cup in Florence (3965).

<sup>26</sup> *A*, young warrior; *B*, bearded warrior;

below, squared egg and dot.

<sup>26a</sup> I beg the reader, for the sake of brevity, to allow me to use phrases like 'no other krater, hydria, etc.' instead of the more accurate but more cumbersome 'no other krater, hydria, etc. as far as the writer knows.'

of any kind; and the key-pattern below (*B*) appears on no other kalix-krater: but Kleophrades is partial to the key-pattern. The patterns below No. 11 are equally characteristic of Kleophrades; and we shall find the black square continually recurring in his work. Neither appears on any other kalix-krater.

We shall presently have to deal with a large number of vases which group themselves round the amphora in Würzburg with the Heroes parted by old men.<sup>27</sup> These vases exhibit the most striking likeness to the vases we have hitherto assigned to Kleophrades, but they differ from them in the representation of certain details, the ears, the collarbone and breast, and the trunk. The new type of ear and the new collarbone and breast may be seen on our Pl. I.-II.; and the same vase shows the new treatment of the trunk, which consists in the use of a black line for the *linea alba* from chest to navel. These are notable differences; and we might suppose that our second group of vases is the work of a second artist who modelled himself closely upon Kleophrades, but introduced a few idiosyncrasies. But there may be another explanation. All these new forms are in the nature of simplifications. Now there is one occasion on which a draughtsman feels the need of simplifying his rendering of details, and that is when he is called upon to execute drawings on a smaller scale than he has hitherto been accustomed to. (The old ear was composed of a number of separate lines, and it was difficult for the artist to put them all in when working upon a small scale; he might have left all the interior lines out, as Brygos for example often did; but he preferred to stylise the ear by joining up the midmost stroke to one or the other end of the next. The old collarbone was composed of two recurving lines, and the backward curves were in danger of being confounded with the main strokes if the drawing was minute; Kleophrades therefore adopted a collarbone consisting of two straight lines separated by a semicircular depression at the neck; and instead of attempting a minute reduction of the brown musculature of the torso, he articulated it in a satisfactory fashion by dividing it into two parts by a black median line.) Now among the works which cannot be dissociated from the Würzburg amphora is just such a class of small drawings, and it is this class moreover which on other grounds must be considered as the earliest of the group. These small drawings are to be found on a number of hydriai of the kalpis type with the picture on the shoulder. These hydriai must be contemporary with the larger vases which we have been studying. We may suppose, then, that when Kleophrades took a smaller vase in hand, he modified his renderings in certain particulars, and afterwards transferred these modifications to larger vases.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> F.R.H. Pl. CIV., our No. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Towards the end of the severe style it becomes not uncommon to divide the frontal torso by a black line from the navel upwards towards the neck; the lower lines of the chest

are not allowed to meet this line, but stop some distance away on either side of it. Again, at the same period, when the figure is almost in profile, the same black line is used, and the chest-lines are sometimes allowed to join. One or

In a group of large vases, some of which we may believe to be from Kleophrades' hand, and all of which stand in the most intimate relation with his work, we shall see the results of the reaction of the technique of the small vases on the larger: they need not all be later than the masterpieces we have just described; but they are not executed with the same care, and therefore we might expect to find in them the simplificatory tendencies before they appear in the finer and more careful works. The new ear does occur, however, in one of the heads in the Corneto krater, and we found a form of the black median line on the Munich pointed amphora.

We shall describe this group of larger vases before passing to the hydriai. It consists of three amphorae of Panathenaic shape, and three neck amphorae with twisted handles. These two shapes of amphora are always closely connected, and we find the same subjects and the same styles on both indifferently.

12. Amphora of Panathenaic shape in Berlin (2164). Gerhard, *Tr. u. Gef.* Pl. XXI.

A. Herakles shooting bow.

B. Poseidon.

From Etruria. Below each picture, running maeander alternating with black squares and black saltire-squares. Foot wedge-shaped contour (like No. 13, but more rounded); upper half of it black. Described by Hartwig and assigned to Kleophrades: *v.* also Furtwängler, *Cat.* No. 2164. Scratched under foot,  $\uparrow$ .

The hair-contour of Poseidon is incised, and his ear is of the new type; his eyeball is a brown dot-and-circle. The nostrils are Kleophradean. The lips are bordered with black. The moustache is brown. The frontal toes of Poseidon are simple circles. The pubes is golden and spreading. Herakles has the black median line.

We need not suppose a connexion between the two sides of the vase, but there may be a reference to the contest between Poseidon and Herakles mentioned by Pindar.<sup>29</sup>

The vase is carefully executed, and is probably the work of Kleophrades himself.

both of these renderings may be seen, *e.g.* on Lysis cups (Hartwig, *Meist.* Pl. LXX. 1 and 2, and an Orvieto (Faina) cup not in Klein); Lykos cup (Hartwig, *ib.* Pl. LXII. 1); Laches cup, *ib.* Pl. LXIII. 2; Florence, *Mus. Ital.* iii. p. 253, Louvre G 263. Later are the cups of the Horse-master (*e.g.* Bologna, Gerh. *A.V.* Pl. CCXCI., CCXCII. (here the breast-lines join on A) and Cab. Méd. De Ridder, *Cat.* Figs. 111, 112). These renderings are, with the one exception mentioned, distinct from the Kleophradean type. Where the whole of the musculature is indicated in black, as often in the free style, the distinction of course disappears. For the

indication of the median line by a deep cut in early fifth century sculpture *v.* Kalkmann in *Jahrbuch* 7, p. 134.

The semi-circular collarbone-depression is characteristic of the Horse-master as well as of Kleophrades (*e.g.* De Ridder, *Cat.* Figs. 111, 112, Munich 2690, B.M. E 72), and occurs occasionally on vases of the late severe style, *e.g.* Hartwig, *Meist.* Pl. LXXI. (Lysis cup), kalix-krater in Bonn, cup in Lewes (near Laches-master), B.M. E 102 (late severe cup); also Florence 4021 (early free cup), and a white cup of the same period in America.

<sup>29</sup> *Ol.* ix. 30.

12a. Amphora of Panathenaic shape in Leyden. Pl. VI.<sup>30</sup>

A. Silen with barbiton.

B. Youth with hare.

Below each picture, running maeander alternating with black squares. Foot as usual in vases of this shape.

The hair-contour is reserved. The youth's eyeball is a black dot, the Silen's a brown dot-and-circle. The youth's hair is cut short at the ear in Kleophrades' usual way, the Silen's has the loose ends tied up close to the head with a string.<sup>31</sup> His beard and moustache are indicated by brown lines. The lower lip is bordered with black. The Silen's navel-pubes line is black, and he has also the black median line. The collarbones join at a simple angle without either recurve or depression. The pubes is spreading and brown. The ankle is in black. The youth's nose is strong and aquiline, the Silen has a bulbous broken nose. The lower edge of the Silen's eye-socket and the furrow from nostril to mouth are marked by a brown line. The toe-nails are marked with black lines. The youth's ear is not of the new type, but the lower part projects.

The execution though bold is not fine, and certain details are rendered differently from what we expect in Kleophrades. The nipple is indicated by a little projecting semi-circle, in one case with a ring of dots round it; these dots are not found elsewhere in Kleophrades; the Silen's eyelashes are marked by short brown lines, and Kleophrades never indicates the eyelashes; and the broad dotted himation border does not reappear in his work. The pictures are probably copies, produced in the same workshop, from originals by Kleophrades.

The musical Silen occurs on two other amphorae of this shape, one in Munich,<sup>32</sup> and one in Mr. Warren's collection in Lewes. The Munich vase is by the same artist who painted the Berlin amphora with Hermes and Silens.<sup>33</sup> The Lewes amphora is from a third hand.

12b. Amphora of Panathenaic shape once in the Forman collection.<sup>34</sup> Gerhard, *A. V.* 275.

A. Youth offering wreath to

B. Young victor.

Below pictures, running maeander with black squares.

<sup>30</sup> These photographs I owe to the kindness of Dr. Holwerda.

<sup>31</sup> This way of doing the hair is only found in bearded men on Attic vases: our Nos. 12a, 13, 22, 27 (Kleophrades); Hieron cup, F.R. Pl. XLVI.; Cab. Méd. Hieron thiasos cup; Douris cup, F.R. Pl. LIV., Douris psykter, F.R. Pl. XLVIII., and Douris cup in Florence; Berlin amphora, Gerh. *Etr. u. Kamp. Vasenb.* Pl. IX., and amphora of Panathenaic shape by same hand, Munich 2311; a Bologna column-krater of free style. It is also found in women, but with the hair rather longer, in the free style,

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e.g. Villa Giulia, F.R. Pl. XVII., XVIII.; Syracuse, *Mon. Linc.* xvii. Pl. XXXII.; Louvre G 421 (Millingen, *V. de Coghill*, Pl. VI., VII.); and frequently in the time of Meidias. This longer type is worn by a Silen on a B.M. Aeolian bowl (*Röm. Mitth.* iii. 6) and by a youth on an Ionian fragment in B.M. (B 103).

<sup>32</sup> No. 2313.

<sup>33</sup> *V.* p. 38, note 5.

<sup>34</sup> C. Smith, *Cat. Forman Coll.* p. 68, No. 342 ('archaic r.-f. style, recalls perhaps that of Euthymides').

The ears are round and of the new Kleophradean type. The lips are bordered with black, the nostrils full and rounded. The reproduction does not allow us to judge whether the vase is by Kleophrades, or only a copy from his design, but probably it is only a copy.

13. Amphora with twisted handles in Harrow (55). Pl. VII.; *Cat. Burl. Club*, 1903, Pl. XCV. H. 54.<sup>35</sup>

A. Silen holding greaves and helmet.

B. Silen holding spear, shield on arm.

Mouth black, convex, spreading; foot wedge-shaped contour, with a black band in the middle. Below (A) running maeander alternating with black squares; below (B) running maeander alternating with black squares and black saltire-squares.

The hair-contour is incised on A, reserved on B: in both figures it is short and gathered up behind, and on B the red string is shown: B has a remarkable beard; the end of it is almost detached, and is only joined to the rest by two thin black strands. The breast, with brown nipples, is a good example of the later Kleophradean type, with the lower lines joining simply at the end of the breastbone; the collarbone has the semicircular depression, and the black median line appears. The r. hand of A has two short parallel lines on the palms: such hand-lines are a characteristic of the later style of Kleophrades. The thick knotted bands inside the shield should be noted: we shall find them on the Würzburg amphora and elsewhere. The eyeball is a brown dot-and-circle; the lips are bordered with black; the ankle is as usual.

This vigorous work we may assign to the hand of Kleophrades himself; the following two vases are from the same workshop and copies of his designs.

Silens wear or hold armour as the attendants of the Dionysos who fought against the giants; and also because all human activity is parodied in their persons. Armed Silens appear in connexion with the Gigantomachy on a r.-f. stamnos in the Museo Civico of Orvieto, and on a late krater in Naples.<sup>36</sup> A Silen holds a corslet, in the same connexion, on a kalyx-krater in St. Petersburg, and a helmet on a pelike in the Cabinet des Médailles: and on a pelike in the British Museum he puts on a greave.<sup>37</sup>

13a. Amphora with twisted handles in Munich (2316). Pl. VIII.

A. Herakles.

B. Centaur.

Mouth as last; foot as last, but all reserved; red cushion at base. Below each picture, running maeander alternating with black squares.

The style of this vase is close to that of the Leyden amphora, but the lines have a tendency to curve in a florid manner. The hair-contour is

<sup>35</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Lascelles for permission to publish this vase. For the photographs of the next vase, together with that of the hydria No. 17, I have to thank

Dr. Sieveking.

<sup>36</sup> *Mon.* ix. Pl. VI.

<sup>37</sup> *Atlas du Compte-rendu*, 1867, Pl. VI.; Panofka, *Cab. Pourtalès*, Pl. IX.

reserved; Herakles' hair is rendered by very slightly thinned varnish with a relief-line round it. The ankle is Kleophradean. The eyeball consists of a brown dot-and-circle. The moustaches, and the Centaur's shaggy beard, are brown as on the Leyden amphora. The nostrils are as usual. The Centaur has the black median line, and his head should be compared with the Silen's on the Leyden amphora. The lips of Herakles are bordered by black lines.

13*b*. Amphora with twisted handles in the British Museum (E 270), *Mon.* v. Pl. X.

A. Rhapsode reciting ὦδὲ ποτ' ἐν Τίρυνθι. ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΙ.

B. Fluteplayer.

From Vulci. Mouth consists of a series of widening black discs; foot as No. 13: below A, stopt maeander alternating with black squares and black saltire-squares: below B, same, but maeander running. Described by C. Smith, *Cat. Vases B.M.* iii. p. 202.<sup>38</sup>

The hair-contour is reserved; the front hair of B consists of raised black dots on a black ground. The rhapsode's moustache is brown. The ears, nostrils, and ankles are Kleophradean. The back of the rhapsode resembles the back of the young paidotribe on the Corneto krater.

These six amphorae are connected by the pattern, a running maeander with black squares, which occurs on no other amphora of either shape, but which recurs on Kleophradean vases. This pattern appears on 12*a*, 12*b*, 13*a*, and A of 13: 12, B of 13, and B of 13*b* present a variation which we are familiar with from the krater, No. 11: and A of 13*b* has a further slight variation. The three amphorae with twisted handles have an uncommon foot, which only appears on one other amphora with twisted handles (v. Fig. 2).<sup>39</sup> The usual foot for this kind of amphora has two degrees. A similar foot appears on the Panathenaic amphora No. 12.

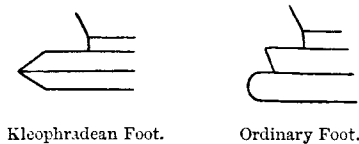


FIG. 2.

Before passing to the hydriai we must mention a small fragment with the same design as A of No. 12.

14. Fragment of kalyx-krater in the Cabinet des Médailles (419) De Ridder, *Cat. Vases Cab. Méd.* p. 311, Fig. 71.

Herakles shooting bow.

Described by De Ridder, *loc. cit.* Assigned to Kleophrades by Hauser.

<sup>38</sup> 'Style of Euthymides'; cf. note 34, p. 49. the upper part of the foot is black; style later.

<sup>39</sup> Würzburg 322 (Gerh. *A.V.* Pl. XI. 1);

This is a repetition with variations of *A* of No. 12: the hair-contour is incised: the navel-pubes line is black, but the black median line does not appear. The execution is careful.

The group of Kleophradean kalpis-hydriai with pictures on the shoulder numbers four, and all four may be assigned to the hand of the master himself.

15. Kalpis in the Louvre (G 50). Pottier, *Album*, Pl. XCIV.

Herakles and Busiris.  $\kappa\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  twice.

From Vulci. Rim squared egg-and-dot, with detached lip; upper side of rim black; foot simple black disc; picture on shoulder, framed:—above, running maeander alternating with black squares; sides, net; below, egg and dot as on rim; from handle to handle, band of upright r.-f. palmettes. Described by Pottier, *Album*, p. 146 and *Cat. V. du Louvre* iii. p. 919.<sup>40</sup> Scratched below foot, *A*.

The hair-contour is incised; the front hair and Herakles' beard are raised black dots on a black ground: the moustaches are brown. The ear is of the new Kleophradean type; the collarbone depression occurs twice, and once the bones meet at a simple angle. The lower edge of the breast shows his characteristic later formation, squarish with spaces left for nipples which are not marked. The lips are bordered with black. The ankle is the usual single line. Busiris' open hand has two parallel straight lines on the palm. The noses are slightly aquiline. Small though the scale of the picture is, the head of Herakles has a noble largeness of style. These Kleophradean Herakles heads may be compared with the head of Herakles on a metope of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.<sup>41</sup> The outline drawing, which served as a sketch for such a relief, would be almost exactly like the drawing on the vase.

The Greeks thought of Herakles as the typical traveller, and the tale of Herakles and Busiris is a characteristic tale of the adventures of a Greek in the strange lands with their primitive customs beyond the sea. The scene does not appear till comparatively late,<sup>42</sup> the earliest example being the famous Caeretan hydria in Vienna<sup>43</sup>; and it is no doubt a witty Ionian perversion of the great Egyptian pictures of the king slaying his enemies.

16. Kalpis in Leyden. Roulez, *V. p. du mus. de Leyde*, Pl. XI. 1.

Centauromachy.

From Vulci. Rim, and disposition of picture, as last; foot as last; frame; above, crossing maeander alternating with black squares; sides, net; below, squared egg-and-dot: from handle to handle, band of r.-f. palmettes, sideways, opposed.

The hair-contour is reserved: the ears are in a kind of transition stage between the old and the new type; the eyes and ankles are Kleophradean: one

<sup>40</sup> 'On songerait à une œuvre archaïque de Douris.'

<sup>41</sup> Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes* 4. 1, Pl. XLII.

<sup>42</sup> *V. F.R.* i. p. 257.

<sup>43</sup> *F.R.* Pl. LI.

Centaur has the rounded nostril, the other figures have the simplified form in which only the lower side is indicated: this simplification is common in Kleophrades, *e.g.* on the Amazon cup. The corslets are as on the Amazon cup. The backview of 4 is Kleophradean, it is a translation of Fig. 11 from the left on the Vivenzio hydria. The skull of 4's helmet is black with reserved dots. The lower lips are bordered with black.

The motive of 3-4 is this: the Lapith, having lost his sword in the fight, kneels down, protecting himself with his shield, to pick up a stone from the ground, in Homeric fashion; meanwhile the Centaur dashes down upon him and tries to pull the shield away so as to beat him with his branch and trample on him: the same motive of Centaur pulling at Lapith's shield reappears on the Villa Giulia psykter,<sup>44</sup> on a column-krater of good free style in Bologna, and, in Amazonomachies, on an early b.-f. amphora in the British Museum,<sup>45</sup> on the Naples volute-krater from Ruvo,<sup>46</sup> and on the Bologna Amazonomachy kalyx-krater.<sup>46a</sup>

17. Kalpis in Munich (2427). Pl. IX. 1.

Visit to a lady.  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

Rim simple, without lip, with squared egg-and-dot; foot as before, but slightly thinner; disposition of picture as before; frame as No. 14; from handle to handle, same r.-f. palmettes as No. 14.

Scratched under foot,  $MNE\zeta\Upsilon$ .<sup>47</sup>

The hair-contour is incised in three cases, in the other two reserved. The nostrils are of the simplified form; the eyeballs as usual touch the lower lid only; the ankles and borders are Kleophradean. The women's hair is long, with the loose strand all round the lower edge. Kleophrades is especially fond of long loose hair in women. The lips have generally no relief. The men's hair is cut close to the ear.

The graffito on the foot is composed of two parts,  $M\upsilon\eta\sigma\iota$ , the beginning of a proper name, and  $\Upsilon$ , a private mark. We have found the same type of mark twice already on vases by Kleophrades (Nos. 1., and 12).<sup>47</sup>

18. Kalpis in Naples. F. R. Pl. XXXIV. The Vivenzio hydria.

Iliupersis.  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  twice, once with a letter after it.

From Nola. Rim, two simple halves meeting at an angle in the middle, egg pattern on each half. Foot has double ogee curve. Picture on shoulder, all round vase. Above, b.-f. spiral-pattern; below, egg: from handle to handle, slanting r.-f. palmettes. Described by Furtwängler, *F.R.* i. p. 122, and assigned to Kleophrades by Hauser.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> F.R. Pl. XV.

<sup>45</sup> B 164.

<sup>46</sup> F.R. Pl. XXVIII.

<sup>46a</sup> F.R. Pl. LXXVI.

<sup>47</sup> Hackl in *Münch. Arch. Studien A. Furtwängler gewidmet*, p. 69.

<sup>47a</sup> Something like the krater graffito is one of the marks underneath the foot of a severe

r.-f. pelike in the Cabinet des Médailles (De Ridder, *Cat.* ii. No. 390, Pl. XIV. and Fig. 59; same style as Louvre pelikai G 228 and G 229).

$\Upsilon$  is one of the marks on the foot of the Euthymidean amphora in the Louvre G 45 (*Album*, p. 144).

<sup>48</sup> Prof. Reichhold was so kind as to reassure me about this by letter.



From the point of view of general art history, this is our best and most elaborate representation of the Iliupersis, and that it bears a close relation to some greater work of art we can hardly doubt; from the stylistic point of view, it presents a rich collection of Kleophradean motives.

The hair-contour is reserved, and is frequently rendered by black or dark brown lines on a lighter ground. The characteristic detached strand appears twice in women's hair. The hair and beard of the old men are in brown dots on reserved ground. The eyeballs are usually black dots, touching the lower lid only; but in two of the women the weeping eyeballs are rendered by circles washed with brown and having a darker brown dot. The nostrils are simplified to straight lines. Cassandra's lips are bordered with black above and below, and in four other figures they are bordered below only. The ears are of the newer type. The ankles are the usual black line. The corslets are of familiar shape, and one of them has brown crosses on the pteryges; cf. the brown saltire on the krater No. 11.<sup>49</sup> The black skull-piece of the helmet with reserved dots occurs. The greaves have brown lines down them to mark the muscles; the same lines occur on the Leyden hydria. There are black parallel lines on wrist and hand. The small figure of Astyanax has the black median line. Backviews are common and characteristic. The smiling archaistic Palladion is instructive. The use of a wash of brown for garments, and the beautiful figure of Cassandra, we shall have occasion to discuss later.

Kleophrades, as far as we know, never used the old 'b.-f.' form of hydria with the sharply divided neck and shoulder, though some contemporary workshops kept that form.<sup>50</sup> The earliest examples of the kalpis-shape with the picture on the shoulder are later than the earliest r.-f. hydriai of the b.-f. shape which belong to the most primitive period of r.-f. painting. The three hydriai 15, 16, 17, are closely connected with the earliest group of kalpides. These three hydriai have the plain disc-foot, which appears on all kalpides earlier than Kleophrades except the Euthymides-hydria in Bonn<sup>51</sup>; that hydria has already the later double-curve foot which Kleophrades used for No. 18. The crossing maeander with black squares above the picture on No. 16 is found on the same position on the Dresden kalpis with the names of Leagros and Antias;<sup>52</sup> and in other positions on two other hydriai of the group.<sup>53</sup> Besides, it sometimes occurs on b.-f. hydriai to separate the shoulder picture from the body picture;<sup>54</sup> and we may therefore suppose that the pattern took its rise on the metal hydriai which were the model for the b.-f. hydria-shape. Nos. 15 and 17 retain the black square, but substitute an ordinary running maeander for the crossing maeander, thus

<sup>49</sup> For the panther-head on the shoulder of Achilles' corslet cf. the Boston Amasis amphora *W. V.* 1889, Pl. III. 1, and the Boston kalys krater, Froehner, *Coll. Tyszk.* Pl. XVII.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. B.M. E 161-3, Würzburg 321, Vatican *Mon.* i. Pl. XLVI.; and no doubt many of the later b.-f. hydriads.

<sup>51</sup> *A.Z.* 1873, Pl. IX. The B.M. hydria (Forman Cat. 339) also has this foot.

<sup>52</sup> *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 164.

<sup>53</sup> Torlonia Hypsis, *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 8 (sides), Bonn Euthymides (below).

<sup>54</sup> B.-f. hydria in South Kensington Museum; in B.M. (B 330); in Munich (1693).

making a pattern which occurs on no other kalpis, but which we have found a favourite in Kleophrades' other work.

The new pattern at the sides is the normal pattern in this place, and the egg and dot below is only less frequent. As to the bands of pattern from handle to handle, that on 16 is found on no other hydria of the group, and although the pattern on 15 and 17 is of the same type as on the Brussels erotic hydria<sup>55</sup> and the Euthymides hydria, Kleophrades has varied it by making the palmettes pointed at the top, exactly as he did on the two kalix-kraters, Nos. 10 and 11.

The Vivenzio hydria (No. 18) is an exceptional piece; it has nineteen figures; other kalpides with shoulder pictures, until we get to the free style, have from 2 to 6. As if to emphasize its uniqueness, the patterns used are of a rare kind. The band of slanting palmettes occurs below the picture on two other kalpides.<sup>56</sup> But the spiral pattern above the picture is always rare in Attic vase-painting,<sup>57</sup> and unique on kalpides with picture on the shoulder: below, the usual egg-and-dot is replaced by egg pattern.

The double pattern on the rim finds occasional analogies on other vases,<sup>58</sup> but never on a hydria.

The kalpis with the picture on the body is rare among the older r.-f. vases, and does not become popular before the later severe period, when it begins to displace the kalpis with picture on the shoulder. There is one kalpis of this type which is perhaps the work of Kleophrades' own hand, and is at any rate very closely related to him.

#### 19. Kalpis in the British Museum (E 201). Pl. III. and Fig. 3.<sup>59</sup>

Two women washing.<sup>60</sup>  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\lambda$ .

From Vulci. Rim simple, black; upper side of rim reserved; foot convex, spreading, black; at base, parallel reserved bands; picture on body;

<sup>55</sup> F.R. Pl. LXXI. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Munich 2428 (F.R. Pl. LXXIII. 1) and Gerhard, *A. F.* 165.

<sup>57</sup> The running spiral is chiefly used in Attic vase-painting to ornament clothes, etc. Apart from this use it occurs on b.-f. vases: B.M. Nikosthenes-krater (*W. V.* 1890-91, Pl. IV. No. 1) (handle); Louvre F 104 (*W. V.* 1890-91, Pl. I. No. 2), Florence 3864 (without figures), and Wurzburg 382 (small neck-amphorae of time of Nikosthenes); white b.-f. phiale, B.M. B 678 (*A. Z.* 1881, Pl. V.); white b.-f. oinochoe. *Burl. Cat.* 1903, i. 62; Boston Amasis amphora, *Oest. Jahresh.* 1907, Pl. I.-IV. On (r.-f.) oinochoe without figures, Wurzburg 41; (r.-f.) oinochoe without figures, Munich 2450 (Lau, *Gr. Vas.* Pl. XXII. 2). On r.-f. vases, Louvre volute-krater G. 166 (phot. Girardon 23689) (handle); Boston Panaitios aryballos (Klein *Liebl.* p. 110) (above picture); amphora Berlin 2160 (Gerh. *Etr. u. Kamp.*

*Vasenb.* Pl. VIII.-IX.) (below picture); Palermo volute-krater, F.R. i. pp. 125-32, and Bologna volute-krater *Mon.* xi. Pl. XIV.-XV. (handles); Naples volute-krater, F.R. Pl. XXVI.-XXVIII. and i. p. 137 (handle); Berlin oinochoe, *Arch. Anz.* 1890, p. 119 (above picture); Naples lekanis, *Mon.* i. Pl. XXXVII., and hydria B.M. E 195 (above picture); B.M. oinochoe with gold and white, E 703 (above picture: reserved). In new-Attic vases it becomes more frequent.

<sup>58</sup> Stamnos, B.M. E 439 (*Cat. Vases B.M.* iii. Pl. XV.); deimos in Wurzburg (*Mon.* i. Pl. XXXVIII.).

<sup>59</sup> I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. A. H. Smith for permission to publish this vase and No. 20. The fine drawings are by Mr. F. Anderson.

<sup>60</sup> For such scenes c. Hauser in F.R.H. ii. p. 237.

above and below it square egg in rectangular compartments. Below foot,  $\Gamma$   
Described by C. Smith, *Cat. Vases B.M.* iii. p. 166.

The contour of the hair is incised; the lower edge has the detached strand. The ankle is a simple black line. The nostril is of the simplified form. The lips have no relief.

We have already had one representation of a naked woman in Kleophrades, and that is the figure of Cassandra on the Vivenzio hydria. The present hydria is perhaps an earlier, and certainly not such a careful work; but the type of woman is the same. The hips in both vases are slim like men's hips.<sup>61</sup> The breasts are wide apart,<sup>62</sup> and drawn in profile with the nipples pointing downwards<sup>63</sup>: the earliest instance of the female breasts drawn both frontal is on a Panaitios cup.<sup>64</sup> The linea alba from the navel downwards is black, and the right-hand figure has the black median line as well. The whole drawing of this part of the body is exactly as in the figure of Cassandra.

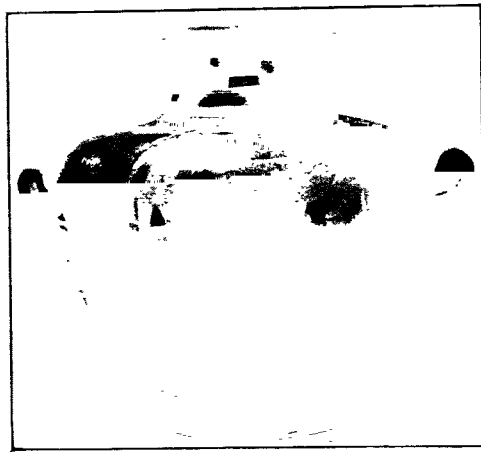


FIG. 3. HYDRIA IN B.M. (E 201) (No. 19).

The navel of 1 is not indicated; in 2 it is black; in Cassandra it is marked by a yellow circle. Finally we should notice the characteristic inscriptions.

Another kalpis with picture on the body bears strong resemblances to the work of Kleophrades, but the style is not distinctive enough to allow us to assign it to his own hand.

19a. Kalpis in Munich (2462). Gerhard *A.V.* Pl. LXXXIII.

Iris with baby Herakles.  $\kappa\Delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

From Vulci. Rim simple, black; upper side of rim reserved: foot does not belong; picture on body; above picture, egg; below it, two rows of dots.

<sup>61</sup> V. Lange, *Darstellung des Menschen*, p. 58.

<sup>62</sup> V. S. Reinach, 'Un indice chronologique applicable aux figures féminines de l'art grec,' in *Rev. des ét. grecques*, xxi. pp. 13 ff.; della Seta, *Genesi dello Scorcio*, p. 55.

<sup>63</sup> 'Als gälte es eine Blume zu pressen,' Hauser, *l.c.* p. 238.

<sup>64</sup> Hartwig, *Meist.* Pl. XLIV. 3; cf. a Brygan cup with naked woman, in Berlin.

The hair-contour is reserved. Iris' hair is rendered by straight strokes of brown on a lighter ground of the same, the front hair by rows of dots in the same technique. The ankle is a simple black line; the nostril of Iris has the simplified form. The ear is broad and Kleophradean. The eyeballs touch the lower lid only. The nose of Iris is slightly aquiline. The figure is strong and simple and the relief-line thick; and we may suppose the vase a copy from a Kleophradean original.

In a similar relation to Kleophrades stands a large fragment in Florence.

19b. Fragment of large kotyle in Florence (4218). *J.H.S.* i. Pl. 3. Iris attacked by Centaurs.

The hair-contour is reserved. The general resemblance of the Centaur types to the Silens we have already encountered will be observed. Both types of eye occur. The ear is of Kleophradean shape. The hair and beard are rendered by dark brown strokes on lighter. The nostril of Iris is simplified, the Silens' nostrils are of the elaborate Kleophradean type. The peculiar treatment of the full-face, with the nose seen from underneath, finds an exact parallel on the Munich pointed-amphora.

This scene does not appear on any other vase, but a similar subject, Iris attacked by Silens, occurs on three vases and probably originated in the satyric drama.<sup>65</sup> The influence of the same satyric play is to be found in one of Lucian's dialogues, the *Δράπεται*. The winged goddess *Philosophia* complains to Zeus of the harm done her by false philosophers, who are compared to the race of Centaurs;<sup>66</sup> and Zeus despatches *Hermes* and *Herakles*—the very gods who appear on the Brygos cup—to protect her by persuasion and force.<sup>67</sup> They land in Thrace. Lucian has taken the stuff of his dialogue from an older work and allegorized it in his usual manner.

No stamnos, with the doubtful exception of the fragment with the *Psychostasia* which may or may not be part of a stamnos, has hitherto been attributed to Kleophrades. But a distinct group of these vases bears evident marks of his hand.

20. Stamnos in the British Museum (E 441). Pl. I.–II. and Fig. 4.

A. Theseus and Minotaur.  $\kappa\Delta\downarrow\circ\zeta$ .

B. Theseus and Prokroustes.

From Vulci. Short neck; handles straight, inside flat and reserved; rim simple, with squared egg-and-dot. Base broad, simple foot without cushion. On shoulder, tongue: below each picture, squared egg-and-dot. Described by C. Smith, *Cat. Vases B.M.* iii. p. 269.

The contour of the hair is incised. Both forms of eyeball occur. The thick lips are bordered in Theseus with brown, in Prokroustes with black.

<sup>65</sup> B.M. Brygos cup, F.R. Pl. XLVII.; Berlin kotyle 2591 (Gerh. *Ant. Bildw.* Pl. XLVIII.) and Cab. Méd. kotyle (Luynes, *Descr.* Pl. XXX.) (both these near the works of the Horse-master in style). These three vases are mentioned by

Furtwängler (F.R. i. p. 241); the comparison with Ar. *Aves* 1230 was made by Dummler (*Arch. Aufsätze* p. 29).

<sup>66</sup> § 370.

<sup>67</sup> § 376.

The ear is of the later Kleophradean form. The collarbone has the semi-circular depression and the black median line occurs: the drawing of the torso-musculature is sure and characteristic. Prokroustes' nostril is full and rounded, Theseus' is simplified. This distinction is intentional, and we have already seen it on the Florence kotyle. The pubes is of the golden spreading kind which is usual in Kleophrades' later vases. The hand of Prokroustes has the characteristic parallel straight lines. The extended frontal foot is seen on *A*.

Special mention must be made of the three-quarter-head on *B*, one of the earliest examples in vase-painting. A cup by Douris in the British Museum<sup>68</sup> illustrates the first stage in the treatment of this problem; the head of Skiron is drawn full-face, with an extra allowance of neck on one side. The

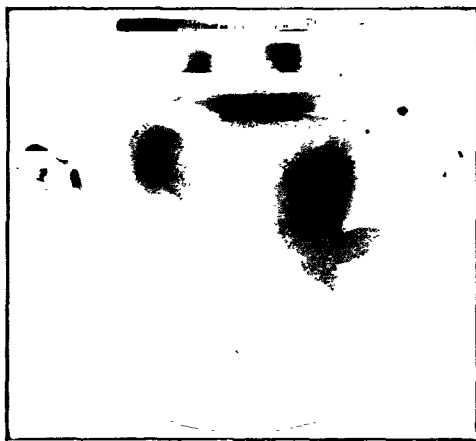


FIG. 4.—STAMNOS IN B.M. (E 441) (No. 20).

earliest real three-quarter-heads are given in a note below.<sup>69</sup> It will be noticed that all these instances are heads either of bearded helmeted warriors, or of wild men or Centaurs. The three-quarter-head does not occur in women and in youths till slightly later.<sup>70</sup> We may perhaps infer that the three-quarter-head first appeared on a great picture of a Centauro-machy; and an imitation of that picture we may find in the Villa Giulia

<sup>68</sup> Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pott.* i. frontispiece.

<sup>69</sup> (1) Cup in Cab. Méd. (*Mon.* ii. 11. 3), style of Douris; (2) fragment of stamnos (?) in Athens, from Acropolis (*Eph. Arch.* 1886, Pl. VII.), style of Douris; (3) the B.M. stamnos; (4) psykter in Villa Giulia (F.R. Pl. XV.); (5) cup in Munich (F.R. Pl. LXXXVI.), style of Onesimos; (6) cup in Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. 85. 1): somewhat later are (7) kalpis in B.M. (E 176) (*Mon. Linc.* ix. p. 22), cf. small

single-handled jug in Athens (1355) (Pygmy); (8) kalyx-krater in Louvre (G 164) (*Mon.* 1856. Pl. XI.); (9) Nolan amphora for sale. The examples on 1, 2, and 5 are bearded helmeted warriors; on 3 a wild man (Prokroustes), on 8 a wild man (Tityos), on 4, 5, 6, 7 Centaurs, on 9 a Silen.

<sup>70</sup> The first women are F.R. Pl. LXIV., Pl. XVII., XVIII., and i. p. 129; the first youth on a cup in Bonn.

psykter, a vase whose unique realism of detail<sup>71</sup> and liberal use of shading point to some close connexion with a definite work of higher art. But it is also possible that the vase-painters purposely chose faces that would in any case be ugly to experiment upon.

This is the second time Kleophrades has treated the Deeds of Theseus: and the manly quality of his art may be appreciated by contrasting this vase with another stamnos of similar subject, B.M. E 442, the work of a prolific but inferior contemporary painter.

21. Stamnos in Corneto, coll. Bruschi. Pl. IX. 2 (A).

A. Herakles and Pholos.  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ .<sup>72</sup>

B. Two Centaurs.  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

From Corneto. Short neck; handles straight, flat and reserved inside; rim simple and black. Foot does not belong. On shoulder, tongue; below each picture, key.

The Centaurs on B carry pointed-amphorae, the second one looks round. The contour of the hair is incised; the thick lips are edged with black lines: the eyeballs touch the lower lid only. The nostril of Herakles is of the simplified type, but the nostrils of the Centaurs have the full rounded form. The black median line occurs on B: Pholos has the collarbone-depression. The ankles of Herakles are not marked.

We have here another typical story of Herakles the traveller, not this time in oversea lands but in the wilder parts of Greece. The head-man of the community, although he lives in a cave, receives the wanderer kindly, offers him food as he likes it made and begs him to help himself from the public store of wine: but, snuffing the good smell, the rude natives come up, and Herakles has to beat them off with brands from the fire.<sup>73</sup> The scene of Iris and the Centaurs forms a kind of companion picture, showing us what happens to ladies who travel in Greece unaccompanied.

22. Stamnos in the Louvre (G 55). Pottier, *Album*, Pl. XCV. (A).

A. Kaineus attacked by two Centaurs.

B. Fight between young Lapith and two Centaurs.

From Vulci. Short neck, handles cylindrical, rim simple and black, foot reserved disc with black cushion. On shoulder, tongue. Below, all round, key. Below foot, EV/. Described by Pottier, *Album*, p. 148.

The contour of the hair is incised except in one case. The ears are of the same shape as on No. 19. The eyeballs touch the lower lid only. The lips of the Centaurs are edged with black, either below, or both above and below. Their nostrils are of the rounded type; the nostril of the Lapith on B is not shown. The black median line occurs on A. The lower edge of

<sup>71</sup> No parallel for the pimply noses of the Centaurs; for the hair in their armpits only b.-f. hydria in Vatican (Kyknos). Under the same influence, though to a less degree, would be the Onesiman cups in Munich (F.R. Pl. LXXXVI.) and Palermo (Hartwig, *Meist.* p.

538).

<sup>72</sup> Helbig (*Bull.* 1869, p. 172) read  $\mu\mu\mu$  on A, which he interpreted as  $\pi\epsilon\iota$ : I believe my reading to be right.

<sup>73</sup> Apollodorus, ii. 6. 4 (= 2. 83 ff. Wagner).

the breast is as on the B.M. stamnos, the Louvre hydria, etc. The skull-piece of the helmet on *A* is black with reserved dots. The corslet is characteristic. The Centaur-type is the same as on No. 20, with broad forehead and big eyes: one of them has his short hair tied behind. Three of the six figures are backviews.

Kleophrades frequently gives aquiline noses to his Centaurs, but never to his Silens, a more genial tribe.

23. Stamnos in Florence.

*A.* Paidotribe between two athletes.

*B.* Boy between two youths.

From Chiusi (?). Short neck; handles straight, flat, and reserved inside; foot simple black disc with black cushion; rim simple and black. On shoulder, tongue; below each picture, key.

*A*: 1, Diskobolos standing r., leaning back, holding diskos with both hands; 2, young paidotribe standing backview, with wand in r.; 3, akontist backview l., head r. *B*: 4, youth standing r., leaning on stick, himation, r. hand on hip, l. raised with red flower; 5, boy standing backview, head l., in himation to neck; 6, youth standing l., backview, himation, leaning on stick, r. hand on hip, l. arm extended.

The diskobolos and the paidotribe on *A* are practically repeated from the Corneto kalix-krater (Figs. 1 and 2); the akontist is a translation into backview of a third figure (4) on the same krater; the folds of 5's himation, and his foot seen from behind, are like 2's on the same. The hair-contour is incised. The ears are of later Kleophradean type. The ankles are as usual: a single black line on *A*, on *B* not marked. The collarbone-depression appears. The himatia have no border.

24. Small fragments of stamnos in Athens. Pl. V. 2-3.

Heads of youths. κ...

From the Acropolis. On shoulder, tongue.

The hair-contour is incised, the ear of Kleophrades' later type, the nostril simplified. Hand and wrist show the characteristic black lines.

The raised hand suggests that the scene was the review of athletes in the palaistra which is represented on a cup in Hieron's style in the British Museum.<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps from a stamnos is

25. Small fragment in Athens. Pl. V. 4.

Herakles fluting.

From the Acropolis.

The hair is reserved; the moustache is brown. The style is that of this stamnos group. Herakles fluting appears on a b.-f. amphora of

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<sup>74</sup> E 63, C. Smith, *Cat. Vases B.M.* iii. Pl. III.

Panathenaic shape in the British Museum,<sup>75</sup> and on an r.-f. stamnos of free style in Florence.<sup>76</sup>

These stamnoi are connected not only by the style, but by shape and pattern. The neck, which varies greatly in the stamnos form, is of the same type in all the Kleophradean stamnoi. Nos. 21, 22, and 23 have the same pattern below the pictures, Kleophrades' favourite key. No. 20, which also differs in the shape of the lower-part from the rest, has a pattern which does not occur on any other stamnos in this place; but the particular form of egg-and-dot here used is that which Kleophrades employs on his hydriai.

Among the pelikai of this time, one may be assigned to Kleophrades; though it is carelessly executed and of little artistic value.

26. Pelike in the Louvre (G 235).

A. Victorious athlete and paidotribe.

B. Youth and boy. κΑ...

Foot black, handles black and flattened, at handle r.-f. palmette; pictures framed:—above, key; sides, net; below, key.

A: 1, Youth standing, r. leg frontal, head l., in each hand three red twigs; 2, bearded paidotribe, himation, standing r., in r. upright wand, mouth wide open. B: 3, youth standing r., leaning on stick held in r., himation, l. on hip; 4, boy standing, l. leg frontal, l. forearm and r. arm in himation, head l.

The hair-contour is incised, the collarbone, breast, and ears late Kleophradean, the nostril simplified.

The scenes recall the Florence-stamnos. A cup in the Louvre (G 277), in the style of Hieron, has the same scene as A.

In connexion with the Louvre pelike we must consider a fragment in Athens.

26a. Fragment of pelike in Athens. Upper part *Ath. Mitt.* 15, p. 29.

Youth offering wreath to boy.

From the Acropolis. Picture framed:—above, key; sides, net: below, key.

The hair-contour of 1 is incised, ear and ankle are Kleophradean. The lips are edged with black lines; the nostrils are simplified. The boy's hair is in dark brown lines on lighter.

Graef<sup>77</sup> attributed this pelike to the same hand as the Florence kotyle, No. 19 b; at any rate it belongs to the circle of Kleophrades, and the scene recalls the Louvre pelike and the Florence stamnos. But the work is too stiff, and the lines too hesitating to allow us to assign it to the master's own hand. The patterns are the same as on the Louvre pelike.

A third pelike which shows the influence of Kleophrades is (26 b) the pelike with 'Επίκτητος ἔγραψε in Berlin (2170).<sup>78</sup> The ears, the wrist-lines, the heads and proportions recall Kleophrades. Epiktetos, who

<sup>75</sup> B 167 (*Mon.* iv. Pl. XI.).

<sup>76</sup> No. 4227: A. Herakles fluting between two Silens, one of whom carries his club, the other dances in front of him; B. Dionysos between two maenads.

<sup>77</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* l.c.

<sup>78</sup> Gerhard, *A.V.* 299. Dr. Zahn was so kind as to examine the inscriptions, and assures me they are genuine.



came under the influence of Douris in his later years,<sup>79</sup> must also have been brought into close relations with Kleophrades.

Finally (26 c), a pelike figured by Gerhard<sup>80</sup> may be by Kleophrades, but the reproduction is too poor for us to be certain.

A. Theseus and Prokroustes.

B. Theseus and Sinis.

The proportions, the hair, and the head-type remind us strongly of the B. M. stamnos. Only, the pattern, if correctly indicated in the drawing, is of a kind not found in Kleophrades.

27. Amphora in Würzburg (302). F.R.H. Pl. CIV.

Ajax and Hector separated by two old men (2 figures each side). Each side,  $\kappa\Lambda\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ .

From Vulci. Handles ivied: foot, usual early type; rays at base; at each handle r.-f. palmette: below each picture, running maeander alternating with enclosed black squares. Described by Hartwig and Hauser and assigned to Kleophrades.

The hair of the old men is white, and Priam has his hair tied up behind in a familiar fashion. The eyes are brown dots and circles, the nostrils and ankles Kleophradean. The lips are in two cases bordered with black. The warriors' moustaches are brown. The Attic helmets are black with reserved dots. The corslets are of the usual type. The backviews also recall the Vivenzio vase. The extended frontal foot occurs, and the collarbone-depression. The ears are good examples of the later type. The thick knotted tags inside the shield are the same as on the Vivenzio hydria, the Harrow amphora, and the Louvre stamnos: the fringed shoulder-pieces are repeated from the Vivenzio hydria; they also occur on the Boston Amasis amphora with Achilles and Thetis. The pattern below the pictures is common, as we have seen, in Kleophrades; and so the  $\kappa\Lambda\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ .

Of another large vase of this period only a small piece remains.

28. Fragment of volute-krater in Athens.

A piece of the mouth and neck is all that remains. On the neck warrior and chariot.

From the Acropolis.

Rim, running maeander alternating with black squares.

The drawing, although on a small scale, clearly shows the style of Kleophrades. The corslet is of his favourite type with the large neck-piece; the ear is rounded; the backview recalls the Würzburg amphora. The horses have a peculiar pair of parallel straight lines above the eye, which we shall find again. The episemon is a fox running l.<sup>81</sup> The pattern is already familiar to us, but occurs on no other volute-krater.

<sup>79</sup> v. Furtw. in F.R. ii. p. 83.

<sup>80</sup> Gerhard, *A. V.* 159.

<sup>81</sup> Same episemon, Bologna volute-krater, *Mon.* xi. Pl. XV., and a kalyx-krater in Syra-

cuse. A fox eating grapes appears as episemon on the Krates cup in Cambridge (Hartwig, *Meist.* p. 97).

We may here mention some other small fragments in Athens, from large vases whose shape cannot be determined.

29. Fragments in Athens.

Gigantomachy.

From the Acropolis. On each fragment is the head of a bearded warrior; the shaggy beards show them to be giants. The first is seen from behind, with the head turned to the l.; he wears an Attic helmet with the black skull-piece with reserved dots; and on his l. arm a shield is seen in profile. The black eyeball is withdrawn towards the upper lid; he has fallen. The second giant has his mouth open, and the under-lip is edged with black. The nostrils in both are of the simplified kind. The noses are slightly aquiline; the remaining ear is of Kleophrades' later type.

30. Small fragment of large vase (convex) in Athens. Pl. V. 5.

Head of Silen with wineskin.

From the Acropolis. Hair-contour incised. Moustache dark brown. The ground-varnish has invaded the nose and spoilt its shape. The huge garland has fallen low over the eyebrows as it frequently does in Brygos. The head takes its place among the other wild heads in Kleophrades, and is one of the most vigorous.

We have already become acquainted with two large cups from the hand of Kleophrades. But these two cups were not isolated experiments: we can point to three cups of ordinary size which are evidently his work.

31. Cup in Bologna. *Mus. Ital.* 3. pp. 260-2.

A. Theseus and Minotaur.

B. (a) Theseus and bull, Theseus and Skiron:

(b) Theseus and Kerkyon, Theseus and Prokroustes.

Thin stem and rim. Round A, stopt maeander with a few Dourian cross-squares; under B, two reserved lines. Described by Pellegrini, *Cat. Vas. Coll. Palagi ed Univ.* No. 270, p. 37.

This is Kleophrades' third Theseus vase. The hair-contour is reserved. The noses are slightly aquiline. The ears are of both types. The eyeballs touch the lower lid only, and the ankles, where marked, are of Kleophradean type. The nipples and the lower edge of the breast are characteristic. The scabbard is of the usual plain type with squared end. The frontal and  $\frac{3}{4}$ -foot, flat and extended, all occur. A black line at the wrist separates hand from arm. The figures, though on a small scale, are strong and massive. The vase is unfortunately restored in parts.

32. Cup in the British Museum (E 73). *Journ. Phil.* 7. Pl. A-B.

A. (a) Peleus and Thetis.

(b) Round in zone, sea-nymphs bringing the news to Nereus and Triton.

B. (a) Combat of Diomedes and Aeneas.

(b) Combat of Herakles and Kyknos.

From Kameiros. Lip detached inside, not outside; foot lost: round A (a)

stopt maeander in threes with Dourian cross-squares; under *B*, same in sixes. At handle, triple palmette-ornament. Described by C. Smith, *Cat. Vases B. M.* iii. p. 97, and assigned by Hauser to Kleophrades.

The hair-contour is reserved. The ears are of the second type. White is used for the hair of Triton and Nereus; black relief-lines on a black ground are used for the lower edge of the woman's hair. The moustaches are brown. The armour is Kleophradean, and the backviews are typical. The ornament is particularly rich, and the little crosses on the chitons, the yellow borders, the cloth bands round the women's heads, and the use of raised white for details do not occur again in Kleophrades. Kleophrades has departed from his usual simplicity, and the effect of the vase is jewel-like. Something of the same tendency appears in his fifth cup.

### 33. Fragmentary cup in Athens.<sup>82</sup>

*A.* Two young warriors fighting at an altar. Inscription, small meaningless letters.

*B.* (a) Arming.

(b) Departure of warrior in chariot.

From the Acropolis. Detached lip: foot lost: round *A*, stopt maeander in threes with dotted chequer-squares of 20; underneath *B*, two clay lines.

The hair-contour is reserved; the hair on *A* is bordered in front and behind by rows of raised black dots on a black ground; the long hair of the woman on (a) has the usual detached strand; the old man's sparse hair is rendered by brown dots like the old men's on the Vivenzio hydria: the hair of the man who is using his sword as a comb<sup>83</sup> is in dark brown lines on a lighter ground; that of the youth next him is in black relief-lines on a reserved ground.<sup>84</sup> The ankle where marked is a simple black line; the only nostril marked is of the simplified type. The corslets are of Kleophradean form. The collarbone-depression occurs. The horses have a black line along the belly, which always appears on Kleophrades' horse-bodies, and the two parallel lines on the forehead which occur on the volute-krater fragment. One of the horses has the head frontal, an uncommon feature on r.-f. vases.<sup>85</sup> The helmet seen from behind is another notable foreshortening.<sup>86</sup> The ears are round and of later Kleophradean form. The greaves have brown lines down them as on the Leyden hydria.

<sup>82</sup> Will be published in the forthcoming vol. ii. of the catalogue of the Acropolis fragments.

<sup>83</sup> Same motive on early r.-f. lekythos with Arming in Girgenti; and Louvre cup G 271 (Hieronian).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. F.R. Pl. XCIII. 2 (Hegesiboulos cup in America), Douris cup B.M. E 48 (Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pott.*, frontispiece: Phaia).

<sup>85</sup> The other r.-f. instances, except the contemporary Brygan cup in Berlin (2293, Gerh. *Tr. u. Gef.* Pl. VIII. 1) are all earlier: kantharos B.M. E 154 (Genick, *Gr. Ker.* Pl.

XXVI.a) (workshop of Nikosthenes); early amphora B.M. 253; Syracuse Kachrylion cup (*Mon. Linc.* xvii. p. 456); early r.-f. cup fragment in Louvre; early r.-f. cup in Bologna (Zannoni, *Cert. di Bol.* Pl. XIX. 33); Louvre psykter G 59; Corneto Pamphaios cup (*Mon.* xi. Pl. XXIV.). On later vases, as F.R.H. Pl. CXX., the head is not quite frontal.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. early r.-f. cup in Florence (2965); Villa Giulia psykter, F.R. Pl. XV.; B.M. E 67 (Brygan cup) (Gerh. *Tr. u. Gef.* 1, Pl. D; (helmet wrongly made frontal in drawing)).

The arming scene finds a curiously close parallel on a cup signed by Brygos in Mr. E. P. Warren's collection in Lewes.<sup>86a</sup> The figures in both are nearly all seen from behind, and the foreshortenings of the feet are the same. Further, the picture in the interior of the Brygos cup also represents two warriors fighting at an altar, though in the Brygos cup they are apparently fighting on the same side and not with each other. The elaborate Brygan armour, however, differs extremely from the simple Kleophradean. That the invention of this arming scene is due rather to Kleophrades than to Brygos we may judge from Kleophrades' partiality to backviews, a partiality which is not shared by Brygos; and we may suppose that these figures first occurred on a large vase like the arming krater No. 11. The not very common border on *A* reappears on the Brygan cup with slight variation, and curiously enough on Douris' arming cup in Vienna:<sup>87</sup> (*b*) of the Brygos cup represents a fight at a wall, a scene which is already known to us from the smaller cup in the style of Brygos in Boston.<sup>88</sup>

One of the most remarkable features of the Athens cup is the colouring of the clothes. One chiton is black with a red seam and a reserved border edged with red lines: and the cloak of the baby whom the woman holds in her arms is covered with red<sup>88a</sup> on a black ground.

Most of the earliest r.-f. painters followed the b.-f. painters in making considerable use of added red, not only for details like spears, beards, tails, etc., but even for clothes and the patterns or borders of clothes. This use of red for clothes disappears almost entirely in the developed severe r.-f. style. On a cup in Rome, in the style of Douris, a woman has a red chiton.<sup>89</sup> A cup in Athens, in Hieron's style,<sup>90</sup> bears a figure of Dionysos wearing a reserved himation with a red border and a pattern of red dots, and red, purple, and white garments appear on the great Penthesilea cup in Munich.<sup>91</sup> These are the only examples. The diminished use of red, and the almost total disappearance of white until the free style comes in, are compensated and partly accounted for by the common use of washes of golden-yellow thinned varnish for hair, vessels, and other details. This yellow wash, however, is rarely found on clothes; one of the few vases on which it is so used is the Vivenzio hydria.<sup>92</sup> Silhouette black, again, is commonly employed for small details, but very seldom for clothes except of course in borders; we have only two other instances besides this cup on developed r.-f. vases.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>86a</sup> I owe my thanks to Mr. Warren for allowing me to mention this and other vases in his possession.

<sup>87</sup> F.R. Pl. LIV.

<sup>88</sup> Pollak, *Zwei Vasen aus d. Werkstatt Hierons*, Pl. VIII.

<sup>88a</sup> Cf. Simonides, fr. 37. 11.

<sup>89</sup> Coll. Kopf, *Festschr. f. Benndorf*, p. 86 (Hartwig).

<sup>90</sup> From the Acropolis.

<sup>91</sup> F.R. Pl. VI.

<sup>92</sup> The others are: stamnos in Louvre G 43

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(style of Phintias), Pottier, *Album*, Pl. XCII.; volute-krater in Arezzo, F.R. Pl. LXI., LXII.; cup in B.M. E 12, signed Pamphaios, Gerhard *A.V.* Pl. CCXXI., CCXXII.; Epiktetos cup in Louvre G 6.

<sup>93</sup> Hartwig, *l.c.* (*Philologus* 54, Pl. I. (Hauser), late severe cup (black cloak with red pattern); column-krater in New York (black peplos)). Also on the Andokidean amphorae in Boston (*Am. J. A.* 1896, pp. 40-41) and Orvieto.

All these polychromic devices, however, early became part of the technique of white-ground vases. Golden-brown and red are used for clothes on early white cups; and the black robe with red lines for border and folds is particularly frequent, later, on glaze-paint white lekythoi, and it also occurs on white cups.<sup>94</sup>

We must class these tendencies to polychromy with the use of 'cinnabar-red' for the ground of the vase,<sup>95</sup> of raised white or gold for details, the reappearance of white for hair, and finally the increased attention which was paid for a time to the white-ground vase itself.

The chequer-square, which is used on *A* of the Athens cup is not very common on severe r.-f. cups, but in the free style it becomes more usual. Among severe r.-f. cups it occurs chiefly, though not exclusively, on works of Brygos and his school. The stopt maeander with Dourian cross-squares has not met us before in Kleophrades' work. In the two large cups Kleophrades used his own broad simple patterns to suit the bigness of the design: in the three smaller he adopts from the contemporary cup-painters the minuter patterns which their experience had shown them to be suitable for cups of ordinary size.

The kalyx-krater may claim to be Kleophrades' favourite shape; and to his latest period we may assign

34. Kalyx-krater in the Louvre (G 162). *Mon. supp.* Pl. XXIV.

Return of Hephaistos. Inscriptions fragmentary:  $\kappa\Delta\iota\omicron \dots, \dots \Delta\epsilon\xi$ , and  $\kappa\Delta \dots$

From Vulci. Lowest degree of foot black and thin, above that reserved section. At each junction of the handle, r.-f. palmette. Above, slanting r.-f. palmettes; below, stopt elaborate maeander in threes with Dourian cross-squares.

The drawing in the *Monumenti* gives no idea of the quality of this vase, one of the best Dionysiac representations in vase-painting. Of noble and uncommon beauty is the figure of the golden-haired Maenad with the wing-sleeves. The type of Silen is already familiar to us from the wild creatures on the Centauromachy vases. The hair-contour is here reserved, but incision is used for a detail of Hermes' hair (cf. the Corneto krater). The front hair of Hermes and of one of the Maenads is rendered by rows of raised black dots on a black ground. The lips are bordered with black as usual. The ear is of the later type. The ankle is a single black line. The semicircular collarbone-depression occurs three times. The Silens' nostrils are full and round, the rest simplified. The frontal extended foot appears twice. The moustaches are brown. The ivy wreaths are reserved. The parallel black lines may be seen on the mule's forehead, and the long black line along his belly.

The restorations are numerous; numbering from the top left-hand

<sup>94</sup> Early example, B.M. D 3, Hartwig *Meist.* Pl. L.

<sup>95</sup> Pottier, *Mon. Piot*, x. p. 53.

corner of the reproduction, they are as follows: 1 (Silen), shoulder; 3 (Hermes), l. arm with most of kerykeion; 4 (seated figure), whole upper part from waist; 5 (Ariadne), upper part of body (not head); 6 (Silen), nose and part of mouth, and shoulder; 7 (Maenad), small part of l. arm; 10 (Silen), head and r. foot and upper part of lyre; 11 (Maenad), head except chin, and l. upper arm; 12 (Silen with pithos-lid), head from moustache upwards.

Pottier finds that the style resembles that of Brygos, and is inclined to attribute the vase to the workshop of an inferior painter, the Master with the Bald head.<sup>96</sup> A good reproduction would show that the hand is that of Kleophrades; and cleaning might bring out further traces of the interesting inscription. This krater ranks with the François vase and the Bologna volute-krater<sup>96a</sup> as the most excellent treatment we possess of one of the most genial scenes in Greek myth. The procession moves without interruption round the vase, and this is the earliest kalyx-krater in which the surface is so treated: the next is that singularly fine example of design adapted to space, the Villa Giulia krater with the round-dance of girls.<sup>97</sup>

Kleophrades in this krater reverts to the old thinner type of foot, though in his other kraters he used the later thicker type. The slanting r.-f. palmette above the picture, and the maeander and cross-square below, are early examples of patterns which become frequent later in these positions.<sup>98</sup> It is noticeable, that when Kleophrades uses the stopt maeander, he likes to group it in threes (Nos. 32, 33, 34). Painters vary greatly in this respect: Douris, for instance, is extremely partial to the stopt maeander *alternating* with Dourian cross-squares.

In the last vase we shall assign to this master we meet a definitely archaistic work.

35. Loutrophoros in the Louvre. *Mons. Piot.* i. Pl. V-VII.  
Prothesis of Youth.

The hair-contour is incised; the ear has Kleophrades' round shape still further stylized, the nostrils are simplified, except in the corpse where it is rounded. The lips are in most cases bordered with black.

Allowing for the archaistic character which most of these loutrophoroi possess<sup>99</sup> we may with great probability refer this beautiful vase to Kleophrades. The patterns used are mostly the traditional loutrophoros patterns: but Kleophrades' favourite key-pattern appears on the shoulder.

The extant work of Kleophrades, if our attributions are correct, consists of four amphorae, six kalyx-kraters, one volute-krater, one pointed amphora, one amphora of Panathenaic shape, one amphora with twisted handles, five stamnoi, two large cups and three of ordinary size, four kalpides with

<sup>96</sup> *Cat. Vases du Louvre*, iii. p. 1009.

<sup>96a</sup> *Ant. Denkm.* 1, Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>97</sup> *F.R.* Pl. XVII., XVIII.

<sup>98</sup> The other earliest examples of the slanting r.-f. palmettes above the picture are: Corneto, Bruschi (*Ann.* 1876, Pl. F), Cab. Méd. (*Mon.* i.

Pl. LII., LIII.), Athens (*Eph. Arch.* 1885, Pl. XI.), Florence 4226; of the maeander and Dourian cross-squares below, the first three of these vases and Oxford 291.

<sup>99</sup> On loutrophoroi v. Wolters in *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 1891, pp. 371 ff.

picture on the shoulder and one with picture on the body, one pelike, one loutrophoros, and certain fragments from undetermined vases. Besides these, we have seen reason to connect other vases with Kleophrades, supposing the pictures to be copies or imitations of his originals: two amphorae of Panathenaic shape, two twisted amphorae, a kalpis with picture on the body, a kotyle, and two pelikai.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

## THE VAULTING SYSTEM OF UKHEIDAR.

[PLATES X., XI.]

THE vaulting system of a Persian palace may seem to be a subject remote from the province of the Hellenic Society. It is not perhaps so remote as it appears. The history of Hellenistic art is closely interwoven with the problems of the Orient, and all evidence is welcome which will help to elucidate a period so obscure, yet of so far-reaching an influence, as that which saw the fusion of Greece with the East after the conquests of Alexander. From the age of the Diadochi the arts emerged profoundly modified. To instance architecture alone, we find the builders in the Greek coast-lands preoccupied with Asiatic structural methods, bringing forth new solutions, modifying, with their quick sense of proportion and of beauty, ancient oriental themes, and giving back to inner Asia as much as they had derived from her. Not one of the great cities of the Diadochi in Mesopotamia or Syria has yet been excavated, and the importance of such fragmentary knowledge of the succeeding civilizations as can be gathered together lies in the fact that they indicate the changes that had taken place during a time of rapid development about which we have no direct information. In this development Greece and Asia bore an equal part, and the lines of interaction are everywhere to be traced. I am not, however, concerned here to disentangle these complex questions, but merely to furnish a few more details that bear upon their oriental aspect.

The fortified palace of Ukheidar lies seven hours to the west of Kerbela, and three hours to the south-east of the oasis of Shefatha, which I believe to occupy the pre-Mohammedan site of 'Ain et Tamr. When I reached Ukheidar in March, 1909, it had already been visited a year earlier (though I was not aware of the fact) by M. Louis Massignon.<sup>1</sup> The buildings consist of an outer wall set with towers, enclosing an area of 161·00 m. × 153·50 m. In the interior is a palace covering a rectangular space 110·80 m. × 77·60 m.: it adjoins the northern enclosing wall,

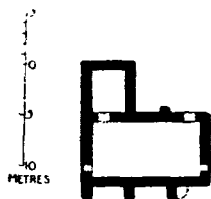


FIG. 1.—BATH.

<sup>1</sup> He published a plan of part of the castle in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for April, 1909, and in the *Bulletin de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres* for March of the same year.



and is surrounded on the other three sides by an open court. In the east part of the court there is an annex which is fitted clumsily on to one of the round bastions of the main block of the palace, and on to one of the pilasters which form a blind arcade round the interior of the enclosing wall. Though it is not materially different in style from the rest of the castle, it must be regarded as an addition to the original scheme, and I believe that to

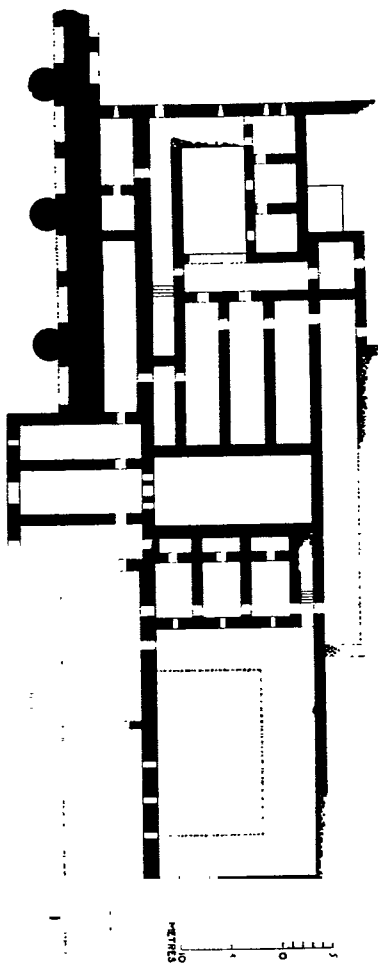


FIG. 2.—FIRST FLOOR OF PALACE.

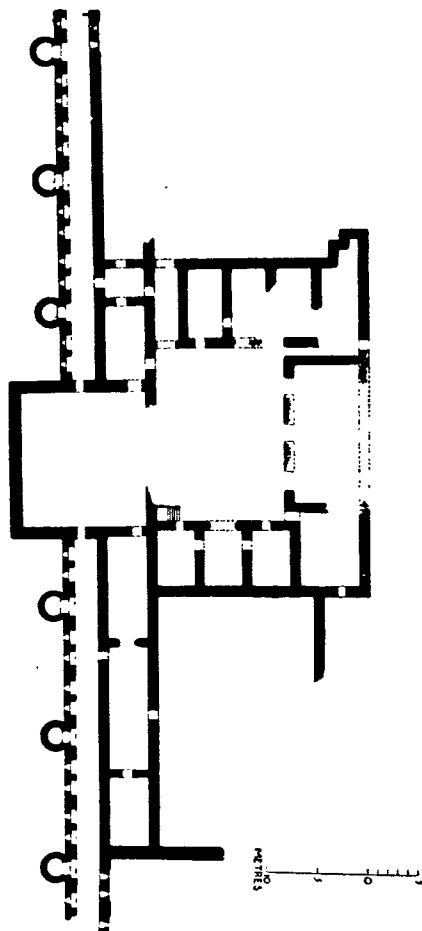


FIG. 3.—SECOND FLOOR OF PALACE.

the same period may be assigned a detached building which lies outside the walls to the north. A few hundred yards further to the north-east is a small structure known to the Arabs as the bath (Fig. 1), and near it there are some low mounds which may cover ruins. Otherwise I saw no trace of construction outside the castle walls save a few fragments of masonry, half

buried in the sand, between the northern annex and the adjacent Wādy Lebay'a, possibly the remains of a water-conduit.

Ukheidar is almost exactly oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. The disposition of the courts and chambers can be realised from the accompanying ground-plan (Plate X.). Most of the palace is one storey high, but in the northern part, immediately within the enclosing wall, there are two upper floors, of which I give the plan (Figs. 2 and 3).<sup>2</sup> The second floor, which is considerably ruined towards its eastern end, is on the same level as the *chemin de ronde* of the outer walls. Access could be obtained to this vaulted gallery along the top of the walls from the uppermost floor by four staircases, one in each interior angle of the court. The

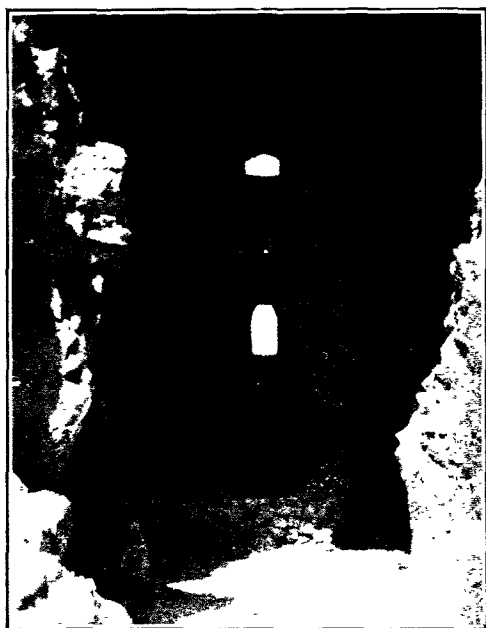


FIG. 4.—INTERIOR OF HALL, LOOKING NORTH.

ground-plan shows marked affinities with the plan of other Sassanian palaces and fortresses already known, notably with that of Qasr-i-Shirin, published by M. de Morgan,<sup>3</sup> and Ukheidar can be attributed without hesitation to Persian architects. The perfect state of its preservation makes it an exceptionally favourable field for the study of their methods.

All the corridors and chambers are vaulted. The masonry of the castle is of uncut stones laid in a thick bed of mortar, but some of the finer vaults are built of brick tiles. In this respect it resembles the Sassanian

<sup>2</sup> These plans, in order to correspond in position with the ground-plan on Pl. X., are printed with the northern point of the compass

to the left.

<sup>3</sup> *Mission scientifique en Perse*, vol. iv. second part.

palace of Sarvistān,<sup>4</sup> where the walls are of stone, better cut and coursed than at Ukheidar, while all the vaults and domes are of brick. The largest of the brick vaults is that which covers the hall that lies between the north gate and the central court; the hall is the largest chamber in the palace, and the vault spans exactly seven metres (Fig. 4). From the earliest period the problem which the Mesopotamian vault builder set himself to solve was how to construct his roof over space without using centering beams to support it while it was in progress of erection, and the hall at Ukheidar is a typical example of this system (Fig. 5).<sup>5</sup> The stone wall is corbelled inwards on either side so as to reduce the space;<sup>6</sup> the first few courses of bricks are laid lengthways, each course with a slight inclination forward; when it is no longer possible to continue the curve in this fashion, the bricks are set upright in concentric courses. The first of these upright courses,



FIG. 5.—INTERIOR OF HALL, LOOKING SOUTH.

or slices, as Choisy calls them, is laid with a slight backward inclination against the head-wall at the back of the hall, and each subsequent course adheres with mortar to the one behind. The result is a vault of ovoid curve. Exactly the same process can be observed in the great vault at Ctesiphon, which spans 25·80 m.; it was the solution which had been adopted by the masons of Assyria, and it was handed down by the Persians to the builders of the Mohammedan period.

<sup>4</sup> For Sarvistān, Firūzabād, and Ctesiphon, see Dieulafoy, *L'Art Ancien de la Perse*, vol. iv.

<sup>5</sup> The process is minutely described by Choisy, *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, p. 31. See, too, Dieulafoy, *L'Art Ancien de la Perse*, vol. iv, p. 13. The same construction has been

found in Egypt: Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, p. 534.

<sup>6</sup> This does not seem to be the case at Sarvistān (Dieulafoy, *loc. cit.*, section of chamber F), but the brick walls of Ctesiphon are treated as at Ukheidar.

The smaller vaults are constructed on the same principles, but most of them are of stone, not brick, the stones being cut into narrow slabs so as to resemble brick tiles as nearly as possible (Fig. 6). The vaults and domes of Firūzabād, another palace of the Sassanian kings, are built in precisely this manner with stones shaped like bricks. At Ukheidar the details of the vaults are generally hidden under the plaster which covers wall and roof alike, but where the passages are partly ruined the backward slope of the slices of stone bricks against each other, and ultimately against the head-wall, is strongly marked, and I do not doubt that centering beams were dispensed with here as they were in the brick vaults.

To cover a series of parallel chambers with parallel barrel vaults of exactly the same height, surmounted by a flat roof, implies the existence

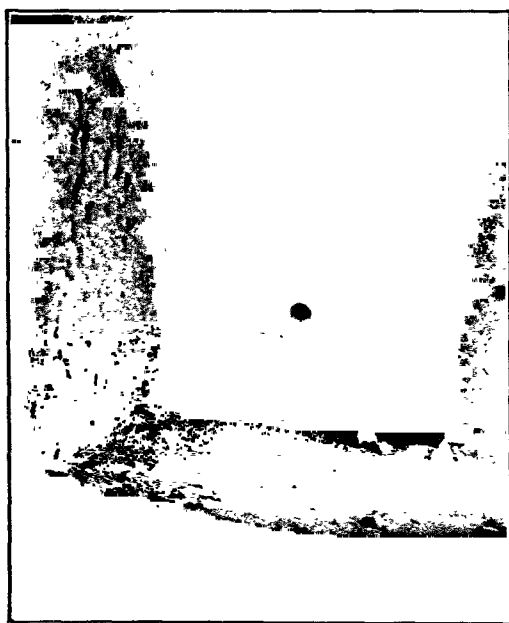


FIG. 6.—VAULTED PASSAGE.

of a heavy mass of masonry filling the convex sides of the triangular space between the vaults; this was obviated by running tubes through the masonry (Fig. 7). In the chambers on either side of the small courtyards of the palace the outer end of these tubes appears like the narrow slit of a window in the upper part of the wall; where the outer wall has fallen the shape of the tube is clearly apparent—it is itself a small vaulted gallery in the thickness of the roof. The tubes are used not only between two barrel vaults, but between the barrel vault and a straight wall, and thus applied they appear round all the interior of the wall that separates the palace from the court, *i.e.* between that wall and the vault of the cloister

that occupied one side of the courts; indeed, so far as I was able to observe, every vault was accompanied by tubes. This system was new to me, but I subsequently saw it in a ruined Khān which lies on the Tigris a day's ride to the north of Tekrit. I judge Khān el Khernīna to belong to the thirteenth century, and it is interesting to observe that the traditions of an earlier time were so closely followed by later Mohammedan builders. It is not impossible that the tubes of Ukheidār helped to keep the rooms cool by laying a belt of unheated air along the vaults; it is certain that the builders were much preoccupied with the necessity of making their rooms habitable during the burning months of the summer, and they succeeded so well that they were able to dispense with underground chambers, serdabs, of which there are only a very limited number. The serdabs were placed, as I shall show in a fuller account of the palace, in the upper chambers

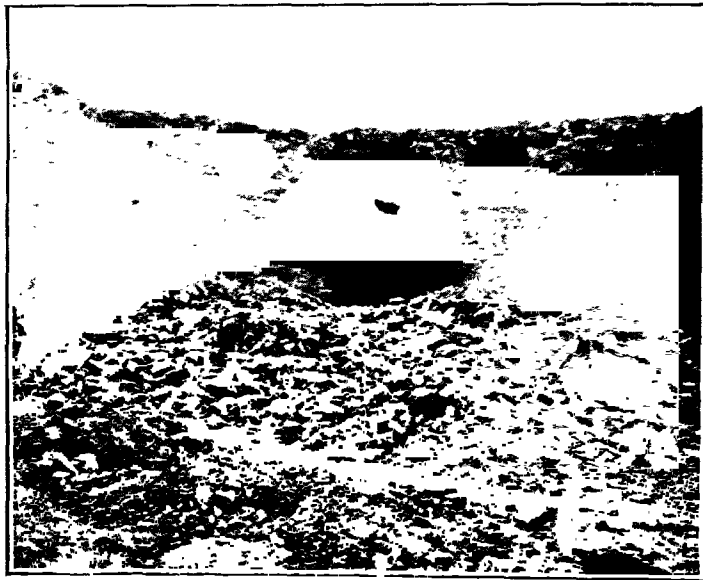


FIG. 7.—PARALLEL VAULTED CHAMBERS, SHOWING TUBES.

themselves. In the east annex, and also in the north annex outside the walls, the rooms are provided with a false roof consisting of narrow parallel spaces covered with slabs of stone (Fig. 8) which form a cushion of air between the rays of the sun and the top of the vault.

In the construction of barrel vaults the builders of Ukheidār employed methods already well known in Mesopotamia; of far greater significance are the groined vaults, of which there are no less than eight examples in the castle, one covering a chamber which measures  $5.40 \times 5.00$  m. in the eastern annex, two at the angles of the big corridors ( $3.60$  m. wide) in the main block of the palace, and five in the length of the corridors, where they are marked off by transverse ribs from the vault on either side. The groined

vault is unknown to Sassanian architecture so far as it has yet been recorded, though it must be borne in mind that the great palaces found by de Morgan on the western frontiers of Persia are very insufficiently published. It occurs in Syria during the pre-Christian period, and becomes universal in that country from the seventh to the eleventh centuries.<sup>7</sup> The groin was translated into brick and adapted to the oriental system of building without centering.<sup>8</sup> In this shape it appears in Constantinople in the sixth century, or perhaps as early as the fifth, and Choisy has pointed out how clearly it foreshadows the earliest form of the dome on pendentives.<sup>9</sup> Thus constructed we have it at Ukheidar. Plate XI. Fig. A gives a detail of



FIG. 8.—VAULT SURMOUNTED BY FALSE ROOF.

the ruined groin in the east annex. The lower part of the salient angle is composed of a corbel, such as that which is known in French Gothic work

<sup>7</sup> I am not here concerned with the Roman aspects of the question, but it may be well to note that the groin occurs in Rome during the Republican period and is used in the *Tabularium*. See Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*. This example of the groin is the earliest known to me.

<sup>8</sup> Choisy, *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*,

p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Architecture*, ii. p. 10. Choisy talks of brick groins in Constantinople dating from the time of Constantine, but that is probably because he places some of the existing cisterns too early. See Strzygowski and Forchheimer, *Die Byz. Wasserbehaltung*, pp. 173 et seq.

as the solid springer (*tas de charge*); above it the stone bricks are laid in slices against the head-walls, the courses being glued to the wall and to one another with mortar. They show a slight inclination backwards against the wall, which is produced by placing thicker stones at the bottom of the course and narrower slabs above them. I doubt whether this groin could be built entirely without centering, and the putlog holes in the wall towards the base of the solid springer seem to indicate that beams were placed across the chamber during the course of construction, but in any case only a centering of the lightest description would have been required. Plate XI. Fig. B represents a perfect groin at one of the angles of the corridor. The masonry is partly concealed by plaster, but enough is visible to prove that the system is the same as in the east annex. The presence of the groin leads me to the conclusion that Ukheidar cannot be dated within what may strictly be called the Sassanian period, but that it was built by Persian workmen for one of the early khalifs. It is thus more easy to explain a certain amount of Syrian influence which might result in the adoption of the Hellenistic groin in countries where it had hitherto been unknown. There is a growing body of literary evidence to show that the Umayyad khalifs were accustomed regularly to visit the desert, where they could throw off, remote from critical eyes, the galling restraints of Islam. One of their hunting lodges, Qseir 'Amra, has recently been discovered by Musil on the western side of the Syrian desert; I believe that Ukheidar is but a larger and a more splendid example of these desert palaces. It must be remembered that the Mohammedan invaders brought no arts with them. On the western borders of the desert they had recourse to Syrian builders; on the Mesopotamian frontiers they would naturally employ the skilled Sassanian artificers who had already served their predecessors, the Arab princes of the Beni Lakhmid.<sup>10</sup> Choisy notices that the groin must have come into universal use in Syria during the period of the Damascus khalifate, for it does not exist in Justinian's buildings at Jerusalem, whereas the Crusaders found it firmly established, and the groined vault that covers one of the chambers at Qseir 'Amra<sup>11</sup> furnishes an interesting comment on his words. It would be of importance to compare the method of construction there with that of the Ukheidar vaults, but unfortunately the Viennese publication of the Syrian palace is singularly lacking in architectural detail, and no attempt has been made to clear up important points such as the method of building vault and dome. There is another question which can be answered by accepting a post-Islamic date for Ukheidar. At the western end of the three-storeyed block that forms the northern part of the palace, the sequence of vaulted chambers is interrupted by an open court. On the east, south, and west

<sup>10</sup> It is worth noticing that legend gave to one of these princes a 'Roman,' i.e. Greek, architect (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmididen in al-Hira*, p. 15). Their civilization

was, however, derived from their Persian over-lords.

<sup>11</sup> *Kuseir 'Amra*, published by the K. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

sides, this court has once been surrounded by a cloister. The angle piers and the returns in the north wall are shown in the plan; the springing-stones of the barrel vault that covered the cloister can still be seen adhering to the walls, but the intermediate columns that supported it are ruined and buried under masses of fallen masonry. They were probably built of small stones and mortar like the existing columns in the central chambers of the palace. The vault that formed the cloister on the south side of the court was elaborately decorated with stucco ornaments, a barred motive upon the space between the transverse ribs, a series of diamonds upon the ribs

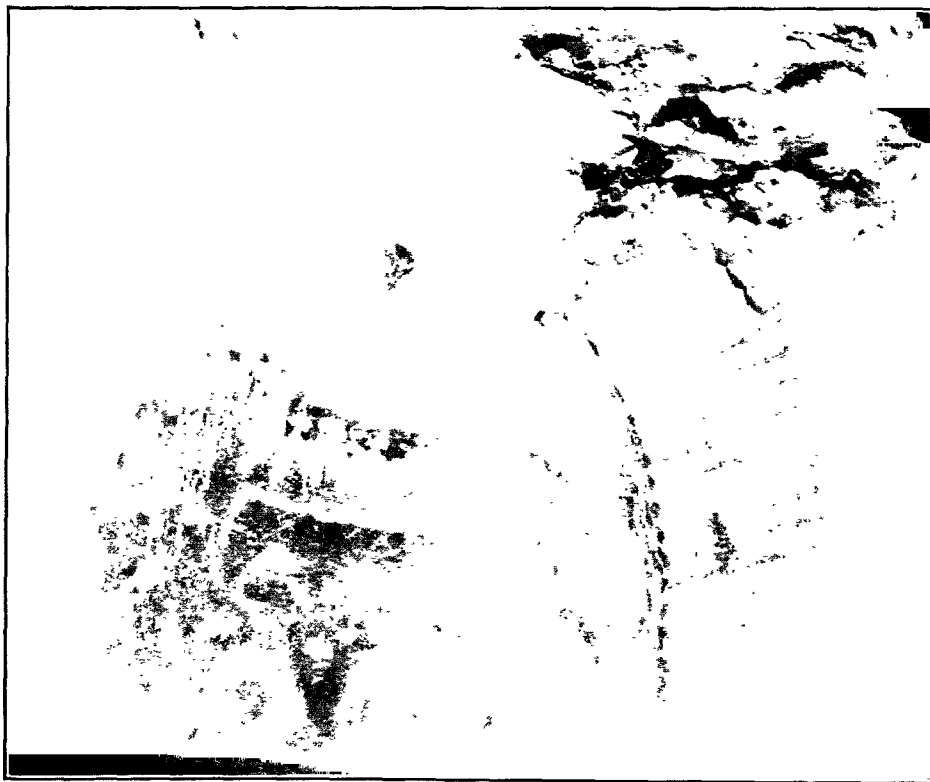


FIG. 9.—STUCCO DECORATION IN COURT.

themselves and a flute in the angles of the vault (Fig. 9). I believe this court to have been a mosque of a primitive type, a translation into the terms of Mesopotamian architecture of the earliest sanctuaries erected in Arabia by the Prophet and his followers.

There is at Ukheidar but one example of the dome. A small chamber (2·8 m. × 3·20 m.) between the north gate and the great hall is covered by a fluted dome accommodated to the rectangular substructure by means of slabs set across the corners (Fig. 10). A very early date has been assigned



to the Mesopotamian dome, chiefly on the authority of a bas relief found by Layard at Kuyunjik.<sup>12</sup> The evidence which can be derived from this relief is very slender. The buildings represented therein appear to be closely akin to the modern mud-built villages of North Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, where the houses are covered with conical dome-like roofs like the two on the relief. The modern roof is not a true dome, but is constructed of horizontal rings of sun-dried brick, each ring oversailing the one below it so that the roof narrows up to an apex. It is true that upon the relief three spherical domes appear to be depicted, but the



FIG. 10.—DOME.

indications given are so insufficient that it would be unwise to base a comprehensive theory upon them. The analogy with the modern village suggests that the houses here shown were of insignificant dimensions, and no trace of the dome has yet been found in Assyrian palaces or temples. Choisy hazarded the opinion that the domes in the relief were set upon pendentives, but all subsequent research goes to prove that this view would

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<sup>12</sup> Frequently published. See Perrot and Chipiez, ii. p. 146.

be in any case untenable. The pendentive, so far as its history is known at present, was, like the groin from which it perhaps arose, a creation due to the genius of the West. It appears in the Hermus and Maeander valleys in buildings of the pre-Christian period, and the brick construction there illustrated was generally used by the Christian architects of Constantinople and the coast-lands.<sup>13</sup> In Syria, which is a stone-building country, the continuous sphere of the coast-lands, *i.e.* the calotte continuous with the pendentives,<sup>14</sup> was erected in stone. It is customary to cite a well-known dome at Jerash as a pre-Christian example of the stone pendentive,<sup>15</sup> but I am inclined to place it nearer the period of similar edifices raised by Justinian at Constantinople. Certain it is that Syrian domes of the fourth and fifth centuries are almost invariably adapted to the rectangular base by means of slabs over the corners, as at Ukheidar, and as this is the simplest as well as the earliest method of setting a dome over a small square chamber, it was probably universally known and used. I have found it, for example, in early Christian churches on the Anatolian plateau, where the architecture, especially in respect of the roofing systems, is strongly orientalisised; whereas I have never come across the pendentive in districts removed from the influence of the coast. If the Greek solution of the problem of the larger dome was the pendentive, the Asiatic solution was the Persian squinch, which may roughly be described as an arched niche set over the corners. The best known examples of the squinch are at Firūzabād and Sarvistān under domes that have a diameter of some sixteen metres. I have published a fine instance of its use in Central Anatolia,<sup>16</sup> and recently I found a yet more instructive example of the dome on squinches in a church at Khakh, south-east of Diarbekr.<sup>17</sup> I see no reason to believe that the true dome appeared in Mesopotamia before the Sassanian period, though it may have been foreshadowed in the conical dome-like roofs, set on corner slabs, of ancient villages like those depicted in Layard's relief. The complete absence of the dome in the Parthian palace of Hatra, where the small square chambers were eminently well adapted for it, is extremely significant, and the fact that it appears only once at Ukheidar, and then in so primitive a form, is not without importance.

The squinch arch is frequently used at Ukheidar in the angles under barrel vaults, that is to say, where the vault does not end against a head-wall but against a portion of barrel vault springing from the narrow end of the chamber (Fig. 11). The effect produced by this arrangement is almost that of a semi-dome terminating a long barrel vault, especially if the termination is marked off from the barrel vault by a transverse rib,

<sup>13</sup> Choisy, *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, p. 90.

<sup>14</sup> I have given a fuller definition of this term in *The Thousand and One Churches*, p. 439.

<sup>15</sup> Choisy, *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> *The Thousand and One Churches*, Fig. 308.

<sup>17</sup> I am publishing it in a forthcoming work on Amida by Strzygowski and von Berchem.

as is the case in the cloister of the mosque (Fig. 9). Here the semi-domes are more than usually complicated in structure. They are divided down the centre into two concave triangles by another rib which springs from the back wall and joins the transverse rib at the summit and at right angles to it. A small fluted squinch is used in setting the concave triangle over the corner of the wall. The squinch is found in the angles of barrel vaulted chambers at Firūzabād.

There is another significant deduction to be drawn from the roofing system of Ukheidār. Towards the centre of the palace there are two



FIG. 11.—SQUINCH ARCH AT ANGLE OF BARREL VAULT.

chambers each containing four masonry columns. It would be natural to conclude that these columns were intended to carry domes, but such is not the case: the chambers are roofed with three parallel barrel vaults (Fig. 12). There is no sure example of a Sassanian dome resting on columns, the nearest approach to this type being the little monument of Ferāshabād,<sup>18</sup> where the four supporting walls are broken by wide arches; but the anxious care of an architect engaged on a new problem is shown by the strength of the angle piers, and no attempt is made to transfer the thrust of the

<sup>18</sup> Dieulafoy, *L'Art Ancien de la Perse*, iv. p. 77.

dome through collaterals on to an outer wall. The mastery of the difficulties connected with weight and thrust—a mastery which enabled the builder to cut down the supports directly under his dome to the dimension of slender columns—was in all likelihood never acquired by the Sassanians, and it will be necessary to revise, on the evidence supplied by Ukheidar, de Morgan's suggestion that domes existed in the columned chambers of Qasr-i-Shirīn.<sup>19</sup>

It is perhaps not superfluous to lay stress upon the cardinal importance of these questions of construction or upon the need of detailed photographs for their study. Choisy's work, invaluable as it is, does not cover the ground revealed by recent discoveries, and it will be necessary for some skilled

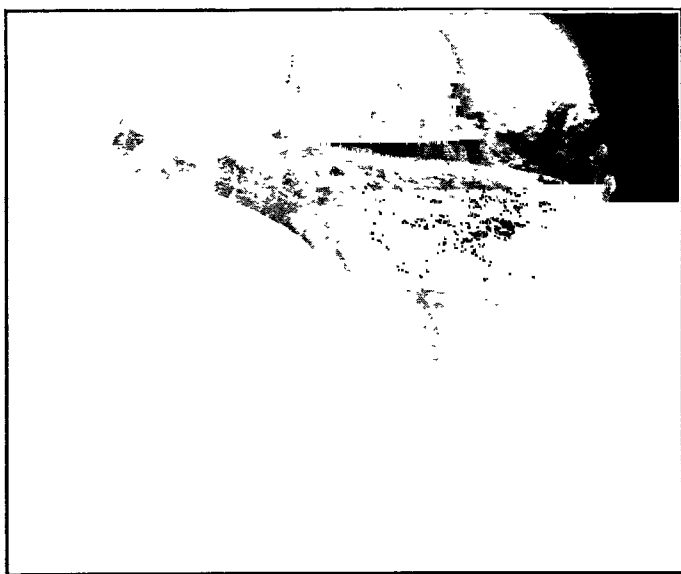


FIG. 12.—BARREL VAULTS ON COLUMNS.

architect, thoroughly conversant both with the Greek and with the Oriental aspects of the problem, to take up the subject where he left it. But before this can be done a more complete body of evidence must be collected. Accurate reproduction of detail is of the highest value, and one good photograph of a dome that stands is worth a thousand conjectures after it has fallen. It is therefore essential that those who have the opportunity of visiting ancient monuments should spare no pains in making a careful record of structural methods, and, judging from my own experience, however lavish they may be in the taking of photographs, they will always have subsequent occasion to wish that they had been more lavish still.

GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 344.

## THE PAINTINGS OF PANAENUS AT OLYMPIA.

THE arrangements hitherto suggested for these pictures on the throne of Zeus are in one point open to comment. As Pausanias describes them (V. xi. 5, 6), the most natural arrangement is as follows:—

<i>Left side.</i>			<i>Back.</i>			<i>Right side.</i>		
Atlas	Theseus	Hellas	Heracles	Ajax	Hippodameia	Prometheus	Achilles	Hesperid
and	and	and	and	and	and	and	and	and
Heracles.	Peirithous.	Salamis.	Lion.	Cassandra.	Sterope.	Heracles.	Penthesilea.	Hesperid

So they are taken in the last article on the subject, that of Mr. Evelyn-White (*J.H.S.* xxviii. pp. 49 *sqq.*). Professor E. A. Gardner (*J.H.S.* xiv. pp. 233 *sqq.*) has suggested that the third set on each side stood as separate figures below.

In both these schemes the point for comment is the placing of the pictures of Heracles.

(1) These three, as types of physical feats of strength and daring, are in thought out of tone with the others. (2) The three, all dealing with the same personality, are clearly connected; yet in the above schemes they are separated. (3) On the crossbars of the throne, on the same sides as the pictures, there was sculptured another enterprise of Heracles, his battle against the Amazons. This induces the impression that the Heracles pictures were somehow connected artistically with that, and therefore had some sort of prominence in the series, which would make that connexion artistically clear. (4) Such prominence is further to be expected from the sculptures on the front bar, depicting events in the games, of which Heracles was reputed founder, and so at Olympia very important. (5) Lastly, his relation to Zeus, as the latter's son, gives him at Olympia prominence above all the other personages depicted.

Yet in the above arrangements there is no such prominence; an artistic weakness, which in work supervised by Pheidias is unsatisfying.

There are two ways in which, in a series like this, prominence could be given to any particular members of it, viz. (1) centrality, (2) separateness. The former, however, is here inadmissible. For the supposition that these three pictures occupied each the centre of its side, in some such scheme as Mr. Evelyn-White's, is not in accord with Pausanias' manner in such enumerations. Prominence by the other method, of separateness, would

involve a scheme like Professor Gardner's, but with alteration of his grouping. The Heracles pictures might occupy, each on its side, the whole of the space either above or below the crossbar; and the other pictures, in metope-like pairs, would share on each side the spaces below or above. Such an arrangement accords with the enumeration of Pausanias. On each side the first picture named would then be the large one, the others following. And the Heracles pictures would stand continuously round the throne; so that the artistic connexion between themselves, and between them and the sculptures on the crossbars, would be perfect.

This, then, is the arrangement I would suggest: a variation upon that of Professor Gardner.

To establish, however, any arrangement of the pictures, it is essential, as Mr. Evelyn-White observes, to consider the throne itself in certain other particulars, on which opinions have differed. These are (1) the columns which Pausanias states upheld the throne in addition to the legs (V. xi. 4): (2) the sculptures on the crossbars, extending from leg to leg; which sculptures he refers to generally at the beginning of his description as *ἀγάλματα εἰργασμένα* (V. xi. 2), using the noun again more particularly of those on the front bar (V. xi. 3): (3) the screens (*ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα*) on which the pictures were painted, and owing to which 'it is not possible to go under the throne' (V. xi. 4). For the theory here advanced it is necessary to hold the views that (1) the columns were not visible along the edges of the seat, but hidden within: (2) the sculptures were not in the round, but in relief: (3) the screens rose from basis to seat. If these were not so, the theory will not be tenable.

The question having been discussed by others before, it is only necessary here to give certain reasons for supposing that these are the true views.

(1) The columns are not visible on the three coins (Figs. 1, 2, 3 in Mr. Evelyn-White's paper); and the fact that Pausanias' remark about the impossibility of going under the throne immediately succeeds his mention of them, seems to imply that they were under it; supporting the burdened seat, as columns within a large chamber support a roof or floor.

(2) The only evidence for the sculptures being in the round is the word *ἀγάλματα*. But this is not good evidence, because of the use of the word for all the sculptures on the throne; for it is impossible that all were in the round. The Victories on the legs, mentioned immediately after the word, could not have been so; for the character of *legs* would have been lost if these had been even in high relief. Nor could the scene of Niobe's children have been in the round; since this can only have encircled the seat, close under the body of the god. Pausanias clearly uses the word loosely. There is therefore no need to suppose for the other decorative sculptures any technique different from that usual and natural; namely that as the faces of the seat-edge were decorated with reliefs, so also, to match them, were the similar faces of the crossbars.

(3) This being so, there is no obstacle to supposing that the screens rose round the throne from base to seat. The word *τοῖχος*, being the

common word for the wall of a house or room, is as suitable to this view as to the other. And there is further a definite reason. If they did not, then the spaces above the crossbars would be open. But in a chair, if there is any openness between the legs, it is in the lower portion and not in the upper that it will come. The reverse arrangement would look most extraordinary; and the Greeks of this age did not do extraordinary things, but were simple and natural.

For these reasons there does not seem to be any obstacle in the features of the throne to the arrangement of the paintings here suggested.

There remains the question whether the single scenes occurred above or below the crossbars; and for answer there are two kinds of consideration for guidance, (1) æsthetic, (2) of connecting thought.

(1) The coins show that the spaces above and below the bars were about equal. Nor could the bars have been higher; for otherwise that in front would have been hidden under the god's robe, and could not have borne figures. The spaces, then, being about equal, as one would contain four figures and the other two, the composition in the latter will have been more open than in the former. Now, it has just been remarked that in a chair any openness between the legs is more natural in the lower portion than in the upper. Similarly the effect of the more open composition would be happier below the crossbar than above. Closer compositions above would also weld more happily, from an æsthetic point of view, with the sculpture above and below them, the reliefs along the edges of the seat and the faces of the crossbars. And the whole would give, as in Professor Gardner's scheme, an appearance of greater solidity, not to the whole throne, but to that part of it which bore immediately the superincumbent figure, namely the seat. It may be observed that the Victories above also were in number double those below.

(2) Such connecting thought as can be traced points in the same direction. The whole scheme of decoration on the throne appears to symbolise the working of God's power upon humanity. The reliefs and pictures of Heracles symbolise the success which under that power attends physical effort. The athletic figures on the front bar, on a level with the Amazon relief, bear the same meaning. But round the seat above, in the relief of Niobe, is the working of divine power on a manifestation of the emotions: there the emotion of pride. Now in the six remaining pictures the pairs of figures in each are also united by an emotional link. Space does not permit here of detailed analysis; which however reveals a most effective scheme of contrasted pairs, the stories or states of life suggested by which are alternately sad and glad, and in their totality stimulate the thoughtful imagination in much the same way as the tale of Niobe. The series is therefore more suitable under the Niobe relief than under that of the Amazons.

C. H. TYLER.

## THE FARMER'S LAW.

### I.

THE origin of the little code for the government of Byzantine agriculturists, which is known in the manuscripts as the Farmer's Law (*νόμος γεωργικός*), has occasioned some difference of opinion among the learned men who have dealt with it. The greatest authority on Byzantine law, Zachariä von Lingenthal, changed his mind on the subject. He began by thinking it the work of a private hand—the compiler of the Appendix Eclogae—and assigning it to the eighth or ninth century (*Historiae Juris Graeco-Romani Delineatio*, p. 32). It was put together, in his opinion, partly from the legislation of Justinian and partly from local custom. According to his last view (*Geschichte des Griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 3rd ed. pp. 249 *sqq.*) it is a product of the legislative activity of the emperors Leo and Constantine and was enacted about the year 740 A.D. For the opinions of other scholars I may refer to C. W. E. Heimbach, *Griechisch-römisches Recht im Mittelalter*, p. 278; Vito La Mantia, *Cenni Storici su le Fonti del Diritto Greco-Romano*, p. 13; and Luigi Siciliano Villanueva, *Diritto Bizantino*, p. 50. It is clear that there are points of contact between the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga; and I am inclined to agree with the view that the Farmer's Law as it stands forms part of the legislation of the Iconoclasts. It is equally clear that it is, to a great extent at least, a compilation of existing customs. The arrangement and style of the treatise suffice to show this. Customary law, when it is put together into a book—whether it is put together by the public authority or by a private jurist—exhibits one marked difference from the law that is laid down by a legislator. In a statute framed to regulate circumstances which have not been touched before by legislation or custom, each chapter or paragraph deals with a different set of facts. There is, if the statute is properly drawn, neither repetition nor overlapping. On the other hand, where a legislator or jurist is framing a code on the basis of an existing body of custom, he finds divergent rules governing the same set of circumstances. This is especially the case if he has before him the customs of different localities. Now the tendency of the

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compiler is, not to mould the divergent rules into one harmonious whole, but to give one rule after the other or at any rate to let them both appear in his completed work. No one can read the Farmer's Law without noticing several of these repetitions and overlappings. Moreover, while the Farmer's Law has on one side points of contact with the *Ecloga*, it has on the other even more striking marks of resemblance with the laws of the Barbarians. I hope to deal with these matters hereafter: in this article I am concerned merely with the text of the Farmer's Law.

Although the Farmer's Law has often appeared in print before, it has never before been presented to the public in its original form. It is found in very many manuscripts. Seventeen are mentioned in M. Henri Omont's *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*: there are five in the Ambrosiana (A 45 sup.; E 117 sup.; M 68 sup.; Q 25 sup.; Q 50 sup.): five in the Court Library of Vienna (Jurid. gr. 2, 3, 7, 11, 12): four in the Marciana (gr. fondo antico, 172, 182, 183, 579): four in the Bodleian (Barocc. 131, 149; Laud. gr. 91; Roe 18). There must be at least a hundred manuscript copies in existence, ranging in date from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these manuscripts, however, may be left out of account by a student who is trying to arrive at the original text. Shortly before the middle of the fourteenth century Constantinus Harmenopulus put together a legal handbook in six books—the *ἐξάβιβλος*. To most manuscripts of the *ἐξάβιβλος* are added *ἐπίμετρα*, one of which contains the Farmer's Law. The better opinion is that the Farmer's Law was not added by Harmenopulus himself (see G. E. Heimbach, Praefatio to his edition of Harmenopulus, p. xv; C. W. E. Heimbach, *op. cit.* p. 450); whether this is so or not, it appears in some of the earliest manuscripts of the *ἐξάβιβλος*. Zachariä von Lingenthal pointed out (*Geschichte des Gr.-röm. Rechts*, 3rd edition, p. 249) that the oldest manuscripts of the Farmer's Law, such as Paris gr. 1367 and Marcianus gr. 579, differ widely from the version of Harmenopulus not only in the order but also in the text of the chapters, and that they leave out several chapters which are contained in that version.

Unfortunately all the printed texts, with one exception, are based upon the version of Harmenopulus; and the exception is not much of an improvement upon it. In 1898 the lamented but injudicious Ferrini published in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii. pp. 558–571, what he called an 'edizione critica del νόμος γεωργικός.' If by critical edition is meant an edition in which any discrimination is displayed, Ferrini's text cannot be called critical,

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<sup>1</sup> Krumbacher (*Gesch. der Byz. Lit.*, 2nd ed., p. 610) cites an article by Vasiljevskij on two manuscripts of the Farmer's Law. I have not seen the article.

as it simply reproduces, subject to one or two insignificant corrections, a manuscript which was at Ferrini's hand—Ambros. M 68 *sup.* This is, he says, 'la più antica recensione di questo importante documento legislativo. Essa è di gran lunga più corretta e libera da interpolazioni e iuntamenti posteriori di tutte le altre che mi fu dato conoscere.' If Ferrini had looked at either of the manuscripts which are mentioned by Zachariä von Lingenthal, he would have seen that they offer a very different text from that which he gives. Now Paris gr. 1367 is of the twelfth century (Omont, *Inventaire*, ii. p. 26), and Marcianus gr. 579 is in this part certainly of the eleventh century—possibly of the end of the tenth; while the manuscript to which Ferrini pins his faith is ascribed by the learned Martini and Bassi (*Catalogus Codicum Græcorum Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ*, vol. ii. pp. 634–6) to the end of the thirteenth. It is true that a late manuscript may give a much better text than an early one, but, if all the early manuscripts agree substantially in one text, while the later manuscripts give versions which differ widely one from another, there is some probability that the genuine text is that presented by the early manuscripts.

I give complete collations of six manuscripts and a partial collation of a seventh. These manuscripts vary in date from the early eleventh (or late tenth) century to the early thirteenth. It will be seen hereafter that, although there are divergencies between these manuscripts, they are in substantial agreement as against the vagaries of Ferrini's and other later manuscripts. In all of them the order of the chapters is substantially the same. The language is substantially the same. They vary sometimes in the order of the words or in the grammar and sometimes the vocabulary is different, but very few differences show a conscious treatment of the material which was before the scribe. Very little editing has taken place.

As against the consensus of the earlier manuscripts, there is the widest diversity among the later ones. Ferrini's manuscript, as I have said, gives one version, and Paris gr. 1383, which probably goes back to the end of the twelfth century, agrees very closely with Ferrini's manuscript. Roe 18 (fourteenth century) gives another version; Laurentianus lxxx 6 (fifteenth century) another; and Vaticanus gr. 845 (end of twelfth century) another. There is still another version, which is in print. Titles xxiv., xxv., and xxvi. of the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata*, which Zachariä von Lingenthal published in the fourth volume of his *Jus Græco-Romanum*, are based in great part upon the Farmer's Law and reproduce most of its chapters.

The manuscripts of which I give complete collations are these<sup>2</sup>:—

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<sup>2</sup> For a fuller account of these manuscripts see the Introduction to my edition of the Rhodian Sea-law. I use the same letters to denote the manuscripts which I used there.

- G Vallicellianus E 55 f. 241 v *sqq.* (thirteenth century).  
 M Marcianus gr. fondo antico 167 f. 37 r–42 r (twelfth century).  
 N Marcianus gr. fondo antico 579 f. 191 v–194 v (early eleventh century).  
 P Paris gr. 1367 f. 97 r–100 v (twelfth century).  
 Q Paris gr. 1384 f. 128 r–134 r (twelfth century).  
 S Ambrosianus Q 25 sup. f. 5 r–10 v (late eleventh century).

Of B (Vaticanus gr. 2075), of the early eleventh century, I give a collation only for the first eleven and last four chapters. The absence of a full collation will be the less felt as S agrees very closely with B, although I do not think that it is copied from it.<sup>3</sup>

The editor of a Byzantine text may well re-echo the language of Zachariä von Lingenthal: 'nemo est qui ignoret quam difficili munere fungatur is, qui ex codicibus recentioribus aliquid edit.' My manuscripts differ widely in matters of accident, syntax, order of words, etc. Our knowledge of Byzantine usage—especially Byzantine usage during the eighth and ninth centuries—is so imperfect that it is often impossible to decide between two conflicting readings. In many cases it is quite possible that there was no fixed usage. The utmost that an editor can do is to call the reader's attention to the conflict of authority in the hope that, when enough material has been collected, it will be possible to lay down some general rules. Here are some cases where my manuscripts return an uncertain sound.

(1) As regards the order of words, N has a tendency, in which it is generally followed by M, to separate the substantive and its adjective or two substantives in apposition by putting the verb between them. Examples are  $\bar{\delta}$  1  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$  δύο συμφωνήσωσι γεωργοί N] συμφωνήσωσι δύο γεωργοί MP δύο γεωργοί συμφωνήσωσι BGQS;  $\bar{\theta}$  1 γεωργὸς θερίσας μορτίτης MN] γεωργὸς μορτίτης (μορτίσας P) θερίσας Δ; ιη 2 οἱ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀπαιτούμενοι λόγῳ MN] οἱ τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ ἀπαιτούμενοι Δ.

(2) There is some variety in the manuscripts as between the use of the participle with the verb and the use of two verbs connected by καί or δέ. For instance:  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\gamma}$  1 παραλαβὼν συγκαταμίξῃ GN] παραλαβὼν καὶ συγκαταμίξῃ M λάβῃ καὶ συγκαταμίξῃ PS;  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}$  3 στερείσθω τὴν δὲ π. διδότη GQS] στερ(ύστερ- N)ούμενος τὴν π. διδότη MN στερηθῇ τὴν δὲ π. δοσάτω P;  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}$  2 γλωσσοκοπη(ισ)θεὶς ποιείτω(είσθω) NΔ] γλωσσοκοπέισθω καὶ ποιείτω M. Sometimes all or some manuscripts insert καί between the participle and the verb:  $\bar{\theta}$  1 θερίσας καὶ κουβαλίση BGMNS] θερίσας

<sup>3</sup> I use Δ to denote the agreement of BGPQS, where I give a collation of B, and of GPQS, where I do not give a collation of B. I use Ω

to denote the agreement of all the manuscripts or of all except that one of which a variant is specified.

κουβαλίση PQ;  $\overline{\iota\gamma}$  1 λαβὼν καὶ οὐ νεώσει Ω;  $\overline{\mu\zeta}$  1 κλέψας ἢ ποιήσῃ Ω. See my notes on the Rhodian Sea-law, pp. 80, 98.

(3) There is the widest difference as to the use of simple and compound forms:  $\overline{\xi}$  3 ἀπαρασάλευτος BPQS] ἀσάλευτος GMN;  $\overline{\iota\delta}$  3 ἀποδιδότω NS] ἀποδιδότωσαν M διδότω GPQ;  $\overline{\mu\eta}$  1 δώσει MNS] παραδώσει GPQ.

(4) The word διδόναι in its different forms gives rise to constant variants. These variants may be classified as follows:—

(a) Wherever we get in some manuscripts forms from διδόναι, we are sure to get in others forms from δοῦναι:  $\overline{\epsilon}$  4 ἐπιδιδότωσαν BGS] ἐτιδότωσαν MN ἀντιδότωσαν P;  $\overline{\lambda}$  2 διδότω Ω] δώτο P;  $\overline{\nu\gamma}$  3 διδότω MN] δότω Δ;  $\overline{\sigma\alpha}$  1 παραδιδούς Δ] παραδούς M;  $\overline{\pi\alpha}$  5 διδότωσαν MQ] δότωσαν GPS.

(b) In other cases there is a difference in the tense or mood:  $\overline{\xi}$  2 ἀποδώσουσι Δ] ἀποδίδωσι MN. Perhaps the true reading is ἀποδίδουσι. See De Boor's *Index Græcitatibus Theophrastice*, p. 739.  $\overline{\mu}$  2 δώσει GMN] δότω PQS.

(c) There is some manuscript support for forms from 1st Aorist ἔδωσα. For instance,  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  3 δότω MN] δωσάτω Δ;  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  4 διδότω Ω] δοσάτω P;  $\overline{\lambda\beta}$  4 δοτωσαν MN] δωσάτωσαν GS δωσάτο PQ;  $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$  3 δότω MN] δωσάτω Δ.

(5) The manuscripts often hesitate between ἄμπελος ἀμπέλιον and ἀμπελῶν. For instance,  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  1 ἀμπελῶνος Ω] ἀμπελίου P;  $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$  3 τὰς ἀμπέλους MN] τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας Δ; 6 τὰς ἀμπέλους MN] τὰς μὲν ἀμπέλους PS τὰς μὲν ἀμπελῶνας GQ;  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  3 ἀμπέλους GMNP] ἀμπελίοις QS:  $\overline{\lambda\eta}$  1 and  $\overline{\nu\alpha}$  1 ἀμπελῶνι Ω] ἀμπέλω P;  $\overline{\nu\eta}$  1 ἀμπέλου Ω] ἀμπελῶνος P;  $\overline{\pi}$  1 ἀμπέλους Ω] ἀμπελῶνας Q;  $\overline{\pi\gamma}$  1 ἀμπελῶνας Ω] ἀμπέλους G;  $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$  1 ἀμπέλω Ω] ἀμπελῶνι Q.

(6) In phrases which relate to taking land upon the half-profits system, the manuscripts sometimes vary between τὴν ἡμισείαν and τῇ ἡμισείᾳ:  $\overline{\iota\beta}$  1 (λαβεῖν) τὴν ἡμισείαν ἄμπελον MN] τῇ ἡμισείᾳ ἄμπελον Δ;  $\overline{\iota\gamma}$  1 τοῦ σπεῖραι τὴν ἡμισείαν NS] τοῦ σπεῖραι τῇ ἡμισείᾳ GMPQ. In  $\overline{\iota\delta}$  1 and  $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$  1 ὁ τὴν ἡμισείαν λαβὼν all my manuscripts agree.

(7) When several animals are enumerated, which are afterwards collectively referred to by a pronoun, the manuscripts vary between the masculine and the neuter. For instance,  $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  2 (βοῦς ἢ ὄνος) αὐτὸ GMNS] αὐτὸν PQ;  $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$  2 (βοῦς ἢ ὄνος ἢ κρῖος) αὐτὸ GMNS] αὐτὸν PQ;  $\overline{\mu\theta}$  2 (χοῖρος ἢ πρόβατον ἢ κύων) αὐτὸ PS] αὐτὸν GMNQ; 4 αὐτὸ NS] αὐτὸν GPQ; om M;  $\overline{\nu\delta}$  2 (χοῖρος ἢ κύων) αὐτὸ GS] αὐτὸν PQ; om MN. In S there is a tendency to treat βοῦς as a neuter;  $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$  2,  $\overline{\mu\delta}$  1,  $\overline{\mu\eta}$  1, 4.

The candid reader will admit that, in these and similar cases, it is impossible for an editor to determine with certainty which reading is to be placed in the text and which relegated to the critical apparatus. All he can

do is to state the authority for both, leaving it for his successors—with a more perfect knowledge of Byzantine usage—to adjudicate finally between them.

But there are other variants in the manuscript tradition to which other considerations apply and with respect to which even now we may entertain a modest confidence of discriminating the true reading from the false. It is possible for us, upon the materials already in our hands, to lay down one or two principles with regard to the 'parliamentary draftsman' of the Iconoclastic epoch which will be of material assistance in distinguishing original from later readings. While I apply these principles for the moment only to the manuscripts upon which I am forming my text, I beg the reader to bear them in mind when the time comes for dealing with the eccentricities of Ferrini's manuscript and of other similar *rifacimenti*.

(1) The solicitude of a legislator—whether primitive or modern—never extends as a rule beyond the redress of the mischief which lies immediately under his eyes. If he sees A's donkey browsing in B's vineyard, he passes a law to protect the vinegrower against the incursion of donkeys. It is only in the course of ages and as fresh wrongs of a similar character strike the attention that legislators begin to see that the principle of the law may be extended without danger—that it can apply to the unlawful entry of any devastating animal into any close, and that B's vineyard has no greater claim to be protected against A's donkey than B's china-shop has against A's bull. Legislation historically proceeds from the particular to the general; and therefore, if we get in one manuscript a law couched in a particular form, while in another the principle of that law is laid down generally, we may safely conclude that the particular form is the earlier. In some cases this is very plain. C.  $\overline{\mu\theta}$  deals with *χοῖρος, πρόβατον, or κύων*. MQ add at the end of the chapter: *τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ εἰς πᾶν* (Q inserts *τὸ οἶον οὖν*) *κτῆνος*. C.  $\overline{\nu\beta}$  deals with a *κύων* or *χοῖρος* which falls into a snare. MQ after *χοῖρος* insert *ἢ ἄλλο* (*ἄλλον* Q) *τι κτῆνος*. C.  $\overline{\mu\eta}$  deals with a *βοῦς*. Q adds at the end: *τὸ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ ὄνου*. Another way in which the scope of a provision is enlarged is by the substitution of a general for a limited word: e.g.  $\overline{\nu\eta}$  1 *ἀμπελῶνα* MNS] *ἀγρὸν* GPQ.

(2) Another mark of an original body of legislation is the existence of inconsistencies; and here I do not speak of inconsistencies between different provisions, but of inconsistencies within the limits of a single chapter. Where a law is laid down for the first time the legislator is sometimes in doubt as to the precise limits of its application. His enactment is tentative; and the result is that sometimes, as he goes on, he seems to forget what he has said in the beginning. He lays down the law at first with respect to two or more objects. In the end his thoughts are concentrated on one. Or,

vice versa, he begins by dealing with one object, and he sees before he has finished that the same principle applies to more. Here are some cases. C.  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  begins by referring to an  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$  or  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ , and ends by speaking of an  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . Here there is no variation in the manuscripts. C.  $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$  begins by speaking of a farmer who builds a house or plants a vineyard  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omega}$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$   $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega$ . Here GPQ all vary the phrase. Later on the farmer is referred to as the man who built or planted  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , and here again GPQ give a different phrase. Then again the chapter first speaks of  $\omicron\iota$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\iota$  and later of  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . Here there are no variants. Again,  $\overline{\lambda\beta}$  speaks first of  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; and immediately uses in reference to the owner a plural:  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ , where PQ give  $\delta\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$ . In  $\overline{\lambda\eta}$  the content of the chapter broadens out. It begins by referring to a destructive ox; it ends by including asses and sheep. C.  $\overline{\nu\alpha}$  speaks first of an  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$  or  $\kappa\eta\pi\omicron\varsigma$  and then only of a  $\kappa\eta\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , where PQS give  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\kappa\eta\pi\omicron\varsigma$ .

(3) In the first draft of a law ambiguities are not always noticed. These are gradually corrected as the work is revised. And, even where there is no real ambiguity, words or phrases are inserted for the sake of greater clearness. The fine careless flow of the original law-giver gives place to a meticulous accuracy. Examples are:  $\overline{\varsigma}$  2  $\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$   $\Omega$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$  P; 3  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\Omega$ ]  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  P;  $\overline{\iota\theta}$  2  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  GMNS]  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  P  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Q;  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  4  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\nu$   $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega$  GNS]  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\rho.$   $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega$  ( $\delta\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  P)  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$  MPQ;  $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$  1  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\Omega$ ]  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$   $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\eta$  P;  $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$  1  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$  GNPS]  $\kappa\lambda.$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda.$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda.$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$   $\chi\omega\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$   $\eta$   $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\nu$   $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  M  $\kappa\lambda.$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda.$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda.$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$   $\chi\omega\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$   $\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\nu$   $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  Q;  $\overline{\mu\beta}$  2  $\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\omega$   $\Omega$ ]  $\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\omega$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$   $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  Q;  $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  2  $\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\kappa\omega\nu$  MN]  $\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\kappa\omega\nu$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  ( $\tau\acute{\omicron}$  GS)  $\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$   $\Delta$ :  $\overline{\nu\beta}$  2  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  N]  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  M $\Delta$ ;  $\overline{\nu\delta}$  1  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha$   $\Omega$ ]  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  P;  $\overline{\nu\delta}$  2  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  MN]  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$  GS)  $\Delta$ :  $\overline{\xi\beta}$  2  $\acute{\alpha}\phi'$   $\eta\varsigma$  MNQ]  $\acute{\alpha}\phi'$   $\eta\varsigma$   $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  GPS;  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\nu$  GMNS]  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\nu$   $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$  PQ;  $\overline{\xi\zeta}$  2  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  GM]  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  PQS;  $\overline{\xi\eta}$  3  $\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\omega$   $\Omega$ ]  $\tau\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\omega$  P;  $\overline{\omicron}$  1  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$   $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\omicron\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\Omega$ ]  $\mu.$   $\sigma.$   $\kappa.$   $\omicron\iota.$   $\eta\tau\iota$   $\mu\acute{\omicron}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$  Q; 2  $\tau\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $\Omega$ ]  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\eta\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\eta\sigma\iota\nu$  P;  $\overline{\omicron\beta}$  3  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$ ]  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  M;  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$   $\theta\rho\epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$   $\Omega$ :  $\overline{\omicron\eta}$  3  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega$   $\beta\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota$   $\Omega$ ]  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega$   $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\mu\omicron\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\eta\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega$   $\beta\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota$  Q.

(4) A characteristic of the Byzantine draftsman—indeed a characteristic of all Byzantine style of this period (see Beekh, Praefatio to his edition of the *Geoponica*, p. xxv)—is his passion for varying the phrase. He does not ‘stand curiously upon an identity of phrasing.’ On the contrary, if he has to express the same thing twice over, the chances are that he will express it in two different ways. I have dwelt on this subject elsewhere

(Introduction to the *Rhodian Sea-law*, p. lxx) and will therefore content myself here with giving some examples. The writer of the Farmer's Law has to describe an agreement between two farmers to exchange their lands: he describes it in three different ways ( $\overline{\gamma} \overline{\delta} \overline{\epsilon}$ ). He has to refer to one farmer taking land from another: he describes it in six different ways ( $\overline{\alpha} - \overline{\iota}$ ). He wishes to speak of an ox-herd receiving an ox from the farmer: he puts it first ( $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$ ) *ἐὰν ἀγελάριος βοῶν ἔωθεν παραλαβὼν παρὰ γεωργοῦ βοῦν κ.τ.λ.* In the four next chapters he has to say the same thing: though he uses the same words the order is always different. We are entitled to infer from cases such as these, which might be indefinitely multiplied, that, where the same idea is repeated and some manuscripts vary the phrase while others give the same form in both cases, the manuscripts which vary the phrase represent the original text. Thus,  $\overline{\xi\alpha}$  1, a distinction is drawn between trespassers who trespass to eat and those who trespass to steal. MN put the distinction thus: *εἰ μὲν βρώσεως ἔνεκεν . . . εἰ δὲ κλοπῆς χάριν*. GQS have *ἔνεκεν* (in some form) in both places; P leaves out *ἔνεκεν* in the first place and substitutes *ἔνεκα* in the second.

The readings which have been given heretofore justify us in classifying the oldest manuscripts as follows: (1) N, as it is the oldest and the most carefully written, so it is undoubtedly the best manuscript. M agrees on the whole with N but it is carelessly written and it has sometimes been influenced by a manuscript of the Q type; (2) BGS agree very closely with one another and form another and on the whole inferior class; (3) P and Q generally agree with BGS as against MN, but their readings are distinctly inferior to those of BGS.

Some evidence may be added in confirmation of this view. In the following passages, in addition to those mentioned before, MN agree as against BGPQS or GPQS (=Δ).

$\overline{\alpha}$  4 *παρορίαν* Δ] *παρρησίαν* MN.

$\overline{\beta}$  2 *ἐργατιάς* N *ἐργασίας* M] *ἐργάτας* Δ

$\overline{\xi}$  3 *διατήρησις* MN] *διακρίτησις* Δ (*κράτησις* Q).

$\overline{\kappa\alpha}$  4 *λαμβάνειν ἀντιτοπίαν δύνανται* MN] *λαμβάνειν ἀντιτοπίαν ἂν* (ἦν ἂν G ὅπου ἂν P) *βούλο(ω Q)νται* Δ.

$\overline{\kappa\gamma}$  3 *ἀζήμιος αὐτὸς ἔσται* MN] *αὐτὸς (οὔτως G) ἀναίτιος ἔστω* (ἔστω ἀνέτιος Q) Δ.

$\overline{\kappa\eta}$  2 *ἀξιοπίστως ἐλεγχθῇ* MN] *ἐλεγχθῇ ὑπὸ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων ἀξιοπίστων* Δ.

$\overline{\mu\gamma}$  2 *οὐκ ἐπισυνάξῃ* Δ] *μὴ ἐπισυνάξῃ* MN, but see critical apparatus.

$\overline{\mu\varsigma}$  1 *ἀπελάσει ἐκ τῆς ποιμένης τὰ θρέμματα διώξας ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας* MN] *ἀπελάσει ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας τὰ θρέμματα (πρόβατα G)* Δ.

$\overline{\mu\zeta}$  2 τὰ ἀπολωλότα MN] τὰ ἀπο(ωG)λλ(λG)ύ(οPωGS)μενα Δ.  
 $\overline{\mu\eta}$  2 ἀπολαμβάνων τὸ βλάβος MN] om Δ.  
 $\overline{\mu\theta}$  2 καὶ παραδώσας δεύτερον MN] δευτερώσας καὶ παραδώσας Δ.

It is obvious that we have here two entirely different recensions, and that of MN seems to me the preferable. But in some of these cases it is very difficult to judge as between the conflicting readings. Where M and N disagree, N is generally supported either by all or most of the other manuscripts: M that is to say stands either by itself or is supported only by one manuscript—generally Q (M and Q agree as against the others in  $\overline{\gamma}$  1;  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  1;  $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$  1;  $\overline{\mu\theta}$  4;  $\overline{\nu\beta}$  2). In these cases we are pretty safe in inferring that N preserves the original text. In a few cases N stands by itself:

$\overline{\iota\theta}$  2 ἐστραόρδινα MΔ] ἐξόρδινα N. See critical apparatus.  
 $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$  2 ἀποδώσει N] παρεχέτω αὐτήν MΔ.  
 $\overline{\lambda\theta}$  1 προσέχη N] προσχέι or προσχῆ MΔ.  
 $\overline{\nu\beta}$  3 τούτου N] τοῦ μαγγάνου MΔ.

In all but one I have placed N's reading in the text, though never with complete confidence. That the best manuscripts may err is shown by two instances in the beginning of the book. C. δ 3 MNQS omit owing to the homoeoteleuton εἰ δὲ οὐ κατεβλήθη διαστρέψουσιν. C. ε 2 MNS omit κολοβόν.

After  $\overline{\xi\varsigma}$ , where N breaks off, we are compelled to rely for the tradition of the best family upon M, which, as I have said, is carelessly written and bears marks of interpolation. Here are some of its special readings:

$\overline{\xi\zeta}$  2 φανῶσι Δ] φανέρως M.  
 4 κεφάλαιον (-αια S) Δ] κεφαλὴν M.  
 $\overline{\xi\eta}$  2 τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ κυρίῳ (τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ Q) ποιείτω GQS] τὸ ἀζήμιον ποιείτω τῷ κλαπέντι P τὸ ἀζήμιον ἐν πρώτοις ποιείτω M.  
 3 τὸ κλέμμα Δ] τὰ κλεπτά M.  
 $\overline{o\beta}$  3 αὐτοῦ M] τῶν θρεμμάτων Δ.  
 $\overline{o\epsilon}$  4 διαφθορᾶς τοῦ κυνός M] διαφθορᾶς τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς (τοῦ κυνὸς τοῦ κυνὸς Q) φυλακῆς Δ.  
 $\overline{o\varsigma}$  4 λαμβανέτω μάστιγας δώδεκα M] λαμβανέτω μάστιγας GS: om. PQ.  
 $\overline{o\zeta}$  1 τοὺς συννόμους αὐτοῦ Δ] τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶν M.  
 $\overline{o\eta}$  3 ἐργάσεται Δ] ποιήσεται M<sup>1</sup> ποιήσει M<sup>2</sup>.  
 $\overline{\pi\alpha}$  3 τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης καταβοῶσι τῷ Δ (in substance)] om M.  
 5 αὐτῷ M] αὐτοῖς Δ.

M is sometimes supported by Q as against the other manuscripts. Examples are  $\overline{\xi\theta}$  2,  $\overline{o\zeta}$  1,  $\overline{\pi\beta}$  4,  $\overline{\pi\gamma}$  2 (twice).



As between BGPQS, PQ represent a distinctly inferior recension. They have some points of contact (*e.g.*  $\overline{v\epsilon}$  3,  $\overline{v\varsigma}$  3,  $\overline{\xi}$  2,  $\overline{o}$  2,  $\overline{o\varsigma}$  4), but Q stands perhaps closer to M than it does to P. P is the most edited of all the older manuscripts. Here are some of its special readings:

- $\overline{\lambda}$  1 κόψη Ω] κλέψη P.  
 2 τήν κλοπήν Ω] τὸ κλέμμα P.  
 $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  4 μηνύων Ω] μὴ οἶον P.  
 $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$  1 ὄνον ἢ κρίον Ω] κρίον ἢ ὕν P.  
 $\overline{\mu\eta}$  3 οὐ λαμβάνει Ω] οὐκαρεῖ P.  
 $\overline{\nu\beta}$  1 θήση Ω] στήσας P.  
     καρπῶν Ω] θερῶν P.  
 $\overline{\nu\delta}$  2 ἀποδώσει Ω] ἀποτίσει P.  
 $\overline{o\beta}$  1 οἶα δῆποτε θρέμματα Ω] οἷω δῆποτε τρόπω P.  
 $\overline{\pi\alpha}$  3 κοινότης Ω] κοινῇ P.

In some of these cases P's reading is an evident error; in none is it probable or even plausible. P also constantly corrects the grammar: *e.g.*  $\overline{\varsigma}$  1,  $\overline{\kappa\beta}$  2,  $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  1, 3,  $\overline{\nu\beta}$  1,  $\overline{v\epsilon}$  2,  $\overline{v\varsigma}$  1,  $\overline{\xi\eta}$  3.

The manuscripts which I have dealt with hitherto, although there are striking differences among them, yet represent on the whole one text. P has been doctored more than the others and P has prepared us to a certain extent for the *rifacimenti* which we shall find in the later versions.

The text of Ferrini's manuscript is before the public, and the learned reader can compare it with mine. I will only dwell on a few points which seem to me decisive in showing the extent to which it has been tampered with. Ferrini's manuscript omits chapters which are in all my manuscripts and which bear every mark of genuineness ( $\overline{\lambda\gamma}$   $\overline{o\theta}$ ): it omits phrases which are in all my manuscripts (*e.g.*  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  2 ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου μὴ αὐτὸν πεπονηρεῦσθαι καὶ;  $\overline{\nu\eta}$  1 σφραγιζέσθω ἢ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ;  $\overline{\xi\varsigma}$  2 ὥς εἰς τὰ ἴδια φράξαντες ἢ κτίσαντες;  $\overline{o\epsilon}$  6 μαρτυρεῖσθω to the end of the chapter): it gives in a very condensed form chapters which all my manuscripts give in a much longer form ( $\overline{a}$ ,  $\overline{\kappa a}$ ,  $\overline{\lambda\beta}$ ,  $\overline{\mu\zeta}$ ,  $\overline{\mu\eta}$ ,  $\overline{\xi\beta}$ ,  $\overline{o\beta}$ ,  $\overline{o\gamma}$ ,  $\overline{\pi a}$ ). Ferrini's manuscript constantly substitutes a colourless word or phrase for a picturesque one and a vague word or phrase for a precise one. In the following examples my reading is on the left of the bracket and Ferrini's on the right.

- $\overline{i\theta}$  1 τελεῖ κατ' ἔτος τὰ ἐκστρατόρινα τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου] τελεῖ πάντα τὰ ἀνήκοντα αὐτῷ.  
 $\overline{\kappa\theta}$  2 ἀθῶος] εὐθυνος.  
 3 ἀθῶος ἐστίν] μηδὲν ζημιούσθω.  
 $\overline{\lambda a}$  2 κλωνοκοπήσει] κοψάτω.

$\overline{\lambda\zeta}$  3 τὸν βοῦν ὀλόκληρον] αὐτόν.  
 $\overline{\lambda\theta}$  2 ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς] ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον.  
 $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  3 ἀντίψυχον] ἀνθέτερον.  
 $\overline{\xi\gamma}$  2 ἀποτινύτωσαν] παρεχέτω αὐτήν.

Ferrini's scribe has an objection to ἀποθανεῖν, for which he generally substitutes τελευτῆσαι (e.g.  $\overline{\lambda\varsigma}$  3,  $\overline{\lambda\zeta}$  2,  $\overline{\nu\beta}$  2). But for a dog he is content to use ἀποθανεῖν ( $\overline{\omicron\zeta}$  3).

Roe 18, which was written in 1349 A.D. (see Coxe's Catalogue, col. 471), represents another and equally unfaithful version but one that is based on somewhat different principles from Ferrini's. In this version practically nothing is left out which is given in my manuscripts but a good deal is inserted from other legal authorities.

These are the principal additions: (After  $\overline{\lambda}$ ) ἐὰν τῶν ἐκ τῶν δένδρων καρπῶν πεσόντων εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν γῆν καταβοσκήσω, οὐκ ἐνάγομαι. [= Dig. xix. 5, 14, 3; cp. Bas. xx. 4, 14.] (After  $\overline{\lambda\alpha}$ ) οἱ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων ἡρτημένοι καρποὶ μέρος εἶναι πιστεύονται τοῦ ἀγροῦ. [= Bas. xv. 1, 44.] (After  $\overline{\xi\beta}$ ) a chapter taken from Ecloga xvii. 41. (After  $\overline{\sigma\gamma}$ ) two chapters taken from Ecloga xvii. 39 and 38. (After  $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$ ) ὁ βόσκων ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ θρέμματα ἀδίκως τῷ ἀκουιλίῳ ἤτοι τῷ διπλῷ ὑπόκειται. [= Bas. lx. 3, 63.] This is followed by chapters περὶ δένδρων καὶ δενδροτόμων, περὶ μελισσῶν, and περὶ χηνῶν καὶ ὀρνέων.

In Roe 18 the language of the older manuscripts is constantly altered. Here are a few of the most striking instances, the reading of the older manuscripts being on the left of the bracket and that of Roe 18 on the right.

$\overline{\epsilon}$  3 τῷ ὀλιγοστῷ] τῷ ὀλίγον ἔχοντι.  
 4 μὴ ἐπιδιδότωσαν] μενέτω.  
 $\overline{\theta}$  1 καὶ κουβαλίση] ἐπισυνάξη.  
 $\overline{\iota}$  2 ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων μεριούμενος θεοκατάρματος] ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτω μερίζων ἐπάματος.  
 $\overline{\iota\alpha}$  3 κατὰ τὰ σύμφωνα κρατεῖτωσαν] καὶ οὕτως κρατεῖτω.  
 $\overline{\iota\beta}$  2 ὡς τὸ πρέπον] δεόντως.  
 σκάψη τε καὶ χαρακώσας διασκαφίση] καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν ποιήσει.  
 $\overline{\iota\eta}$  2 ἐπιτρυγῇτωσαν] τηρεῖτωσαν.  
 $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$  3 ἀζήμιος] ἀνεύθυνος.  
 $\overline{\lambda\alpha}$  3 μὴ κλωνοκοπέισθω] ἐάσθω.  
 $\overline{\nu\alpha}$  2 πάλαις] σκόλοψι. The same correction at  $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$  3.  
 $\overline{\xi\delta}$  2 πυρίκανστοι ἔστωσαν] πυρὶ καιέσθωσαν.

$\overline{\alpha\epsilon}$  5 ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε] τῶν τυχόντων.

$\overline{\alpha\zeta}$  3 κυλλωθῆναι] τυφλωθῆναι.

$\overline{\pi\delta}$  1 αὐθένται] κύριοι.

The alterations are generally confined to single words or short phrases. It is rare that a whole sentence is rewritten. Examples of this are:  $\overline{\alpha}$  4 εἰ δὲ καί to the end of the chapter, for which Roe 18 substitutes εἰ δὲ ἐν σπόρῳ, τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν;  $\overline{\pi\alpha}$  3 ἐὰν ἡ τοῦ χωρίου to the end of the chapter, for which Roe 18 substitutes ἐὰν ἡ κοινότης καταβοῶσι τοῦ τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἔχοντος ὡς κακῶς τὸ κοινὸν ἰδιοποιησαμένον, δότωσαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τῷ καινουργήσαντι καὶ ἔστωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ κοινωνοὶ τῷ προεργασαμένῳ

These changes, which might be greatly multiplied, are evidently due to the desire of improving the language, interpreting obsolete words, avoiding ambiguities, or giving a more rounded turn to the sentence. There are also constant changes in the grammar, on which I need not dwell, as the variants of P in my critical apparatus give an idea of the modifications which Roe 18 carries out on a larger scale. In other cases the tendency of the alteration is to enlarge the scope of the chapter. Thus in  $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  1 for βοὸς ἡ τοῦ ὄνου Roe 18 has κτήνους. C.  $\overline{\nu\alpha}$  in the oldest manuscripts is confined to a βοῦς ἡ ὄνος. Roe 18 rewrites the chapter thus: ὁμοίως καὶ εἰ περιπαρῇ τοῖς σκόλοψι τοῦ φραγμοῦ ὅποιον ἂν εἴη τὸ κτήνος ἀζήμιος ἔστω. The version in Roe 18 is more honest than Ferrini's. Where the scribe finds a difficult phrase in his archetype he does not leave it out but interprets it. Thus  $\overline{\xi\tau}$  2 ὡς εἰς τὰ ἴδια φράξαντες ἡ κτίσαντες, which Ferrini's manuscript leaves out, is replaced in Roe 18 by ὡς τὰ ἴδια φυλάξωσι.

Enough has been said, I hope, to show that, while these and other versions of the Farmer's Law may throw considerable light on the development of the Byzantine vocabulary and grammar, they throw little or no light on the development of the law. The only version—of those which I have examined—which shows any sign of an adaptation of the original provisions of the law to a different state of society is that given in Vaticanus gr. 845: and this version diverges so widely in language from my manuscripts that it would have to be printed separately.

I return to my manuscripts and the text which I base upon them. They agree on the whole both as to the number and as to the order of the chapters. According to the title of N there are eighty-three chapters; according to the title of M eighty-five. N is unfortunately imperfect. It is possible that it treated my 82, 83, and 84 as all one chapter. As to the others: B and S treat my 83 as part of the chapter before it, and number my 84  $\overline{\pi\gamma}$ . They terminate with my 85, which they number  $\overline{\pi\delta}$ .

G commences a new numbering with my 23; and this numbering goes on to the end of the book. It treats my 83 as part of the chapter before it. It numbers my 84  $\overline{\xi\beta}$  and ends with my 85, which it numbers  $\overline{\xi\gamma}$ . PQ both give the numeration of my text, P breaking off in the middle of 85. In M the numbering is carelessly done. The initial letters of the chapters are left to be rubricated. The rubricator sometimes slips them and at the same time neglects to give the appropriate number. The result is that in M my 85 is numbered  $\overline{o\theta}$ . It is possible that the code was divided into eighty-five chapters from a desire to imitate the so-called *κανόνες τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων*.

M inserts a chapter after  $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$  which is not in the other manuscripts. This chapter is also found in the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata*, xxv. 18. At the end of  $\overline{\nu\gamma}$  MN add a chapter—treated in N as a part of  $\overline{\nu\gamma}$  and in M as a new chapter—which is not in the other manuscripts. It reproduces *Ecloga* xvii.  $\overline{\eta}$ . After  $\overline{\pi\epsilon}$ , M adds two chapters. The first comes from *Dig.* xlvii. 11, 9 and is also given in the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata*, xxiv. 21. The second comes from *Dig.* xlvii. 21, 2 and is also given in the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata*, xxiv. 22.

As regards my critical apparatus, I notice the spelling of N and usually of P, as both are carefully written. I only notice the spelling of my other manuscripts in exceptional cases. In N the iota adscript is regularly given: in the other manuscripts it is almost always omitted.

## TEXT.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΤ' ΕΚΛΟΓΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ  
ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ.<sup>4</sup>

$\overline{\alpha}$  χρὴ τὸν γεωργὸν τὸν ἐργαζόμενον τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρὸν εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ μὴ παρορίζειν αὐλακας τοῦ πλησίον· ἐὰν δέ τις παρορίζων παρορίσῃ καὶ κολοβώσῃ μερίδα τὴν ἔγγιστα αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐν νεάτῳ τοῦτο πεποιήκεν, ἀπόλλει τὴν νέωσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν σπόρῳ ταύτην τὴν παρορίαν ἐποιήσατο, ἀπόλλει τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὴν γεωργίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν ὃ παρορίσας γεωργός.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> I give the title as it is given in BGS. νομ. γε.] τοῦ γεωργικοῦ νόμου M νομ. γε. κατ. ἐκλ.] τοῦ νόμου τοῦ κατ' ἐγλογὴν τοῦ γεωργικοῦ Q τοῦ] τῆς N: τῶν M βιβλίου] βίβλου N: βιβλίων M. After this word N adds: κεφάλαια πγ, M adds: κεφάλαια πε. P has the following title: νόμος γεωργικός: δηγέστια: διάταξις μάρ-

κου· δλυμπιανοῦ· ὁδέστου (read, μοδέστου)· ἐρ-μογειανοῦ· καὶ παύλου ἀντικινσόραν: ἰνστι-τούτια εἰσαγωγή νόμου· θεοφίλου· δωροθέου καὶ στεφάνου ἀντικινσόραν.

<sup>5</sup>  $\overline{\alpha}$  καὶ] om M αὐλακα GS ἐὰν] εἰ MN παρορίσει (-η P) MNPQ; παρορίζη (-ει G) BGS κολοβώσῃ MN τὴν] τοῦ MN νεάτῳ N:

β̄ ἔάν τις γεωργὸς ἄνευ τῆς εἰδήσεως τοῦ κυρίου τῆς χώρας εἰσελθὼν νεώσῃ ἢ σπείρῃ, μὴ λαμβανέτω μήτε ἐργατείας ὑπὲρ τῆς νεώσεως μήτε ἐπικαρπίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπόρου. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν κόκκον τὸν καταβληθέντα.<sup>6</sup>

γ̄ ἔάν συμφωνήσωσι δύο γεωργοὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων καταλλάξαι χώρας ἀναμεταξὺ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων, καὶ εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς συνεφώνησαν, μενέτω τούτων ἡ βούλησις καὶ ἡ τούτων καταλλαγὴ κυρία καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτος.<sup>7</sup>

δ̄ ἔάν δύο συμφωνήσωσι γεωργοὶ καταλλάξαι χώρας πρὸς καιρὸν τοῦ σπείραι καὶ διαστρέψει ἐν μέρος, εἰ μὲν ὁ κόκκος κατεβλήθη, μὴ διαστρέψωσιν· εἰ δὲ οὐ κατεβλήθη, διαστρέψουσιν· εἰ δὲ ὁ διαστρέφων οὐκ ἐνέασεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐνέασεν, νεώσει καὶ ὁ διαστρέφων.<sup>8</sup>

ε̄ ἔάν δύο γεωργοὶ καταλλάξωσι χώρας εἴτε πρὸς καιρὸν εἴτε εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, καὶ εὗρεθῇ ἐν μέρος κολοβὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο, καὶ οὐ συνεφώνησαν οὕτως, δότω ἀντιτοπίαν ὁ τὸ πλεόν ἔχων τῷ ὀλιγοστῷ· εἰ δὲ οὕτως συνεφώνησαν, μὴ ἐπιιδότωσαν.<sup>9</sup>

ς̄ ἔάν γεωργὸς ἔχων δίκην ἐν ἀγρῷ εἰσέλθῃ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ σπείραντος καὶ θερίσῃ, ἔάν μὲν εἶχεν δίκαιον, μηδὲν ἐχέτω ἐξ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐδικαιολόγησεν, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι παρεχέτω τὰς ἐπικαρπίας τὰς θερισθείσας.<sup>10</sup>

ζ̄ ἔάν δύο χωρία μάχωνται περὶ ὄρου ἢ ἀγροῦ, τηρεῖτωσαν οἱ ἀκροαταὶ καὶ τῷ διακρατήσαντι ἔτη πλείονα ἀποδώσουσι τὸ δικαίωμα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁρος ἀρχαῖος ἐστίν, ἡ ἀρχαία διατήρησις ἔστω ἀπαρασάλευτος.<sup>11</sup>

νεατῷ Ω. The better opinion is that words of this class, e.g. ἀμνητος, τρυγητος, are proparoxytone when they denote the season of the agricultural operation, oxytone when they denote its results. Sch. II. xix. 223; Hesych. s.v. τρύγητος; *Etym. Mag.* s.v. ἀμνητος; Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 387. Ammonius, however, s.v. ἀμνητος, gives the opposite rule. ἀπόλλειν P καὶ] om M παρορίαν] παρρησίαν MN. παρορία is not in the lexica; παρορισμός is cited from the Basilica. παρρησία may possibly be right. It is sometimes used in Byzantine Greek in the sense of *visus promissivus*. Duc. 1124 ἀπόλλει] ἀπόλλειν καὶ P After σπόρον BG add αὐτοῦ γεωργίαν] ἐργασίαν Q αὐτοῦ] om MN After ἐπικαρπίαν MNP add αὐτοῦ.

<sup>6</sup> β̄ τῆς] om P μήτε] om Q ἐργατείας] ἐργατίας N ἐργασίας M ἐργάτας Δ For ἐργατεία in the sense of wages, see Duc. 434 and Sophocles, s.v. After καταβληθέντα G adds chapter κ, beginning it, however, with καὶ and writing γῆν instead of ἔλην.

<sup>7</sup> γ̄ comes in P after δ̄ ἔάν . . . καταλλάξαι] ἔάν τις γεωργὸς ἄνευ τῆς ἰδῆσεως (ἄνευ τῆς ἰδ., om Q) συμφωνήσει μετὰ ἐτέρου γεωργοῦ εἰς τὸ

καταλλάξαι MQ δύον Q ἢ τριῶν M μεινάτω N τούτων ἢ βούλησις καὶ] om P

<sup>8</sup> δ̄ δύο συμφ. γε] συμφωνήσωσι δύο γεωργοὶ MP δύο γεωργοὶ συμφωνήσω(-ου- G)σιν BGQS After γεωργοὶ MP add μετ' ἀλλήλων πρόσκαιρα P; πρὸ καιρὸν S διαστρέψῃ P τὸ ἐν P κατεβλ.] διεβλήθει Q μὴ] om QS εἰ δὲ οὐ κατεβλ. διαστρ.] om MNQS διαστρέψωσιν P δὲ] om G ἐνέωσεν P ὁ δὲ ἔτ. ἐν.] om BS ὁ ἕτερος δὲ GPQ ἐνέωσεν P After διαστρέφων GP add καὶ διαστρεφέτω.

<sup>9</sup> ε̄ πρόσκαιρα P εἰς τὸ] om Q τὸ ἐν Δ κολοβὸν] om MNS πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο] πρὸς τὸ ἄλλω N; πρὸς τὸ ἄλλον MQ; ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλλο G; ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου P οὕτω Q ἐτιδότησαν MN; ἀντιδότησαν P.

<sup>10</sup> ς̄ εἰσέλθοι P ἀνάρχως θερίσῃ P Before ἐδικ. P adds εἰκή, Q ἡμὶ (?) ἐδικολόγη(-ι- Q)σεν PQ.

<sup>11</sup> ζ̄ μάχονται MNP ἢ καὶ ἀγροῦ G (?) τηρήτωσαν N καὶ] om Q ἐπὶ ἔτη BGS ἐτ. πλείονα corrected into ἔτη πλείονα N ἀποδώσουσιν (P -ωσιν GQ -ωσει BS) Δ] ἀποδίδωσι MN διακρατήσις BGPS; κρατήσεις Q ἀσάλευτος GMN

ἡ ἔαν μερισμὸς γενόμενος ἡδίκησέν τινας ἐν σκαρφίοις ἢ ἐν τόποις, ἄδειαν ἐχέτωσαν ἀναλύνει τὴν γενομένην μερισίαν.<sup>12</sup>

θ ἔαν γεωργὸς θερίσας μορτιτῆς ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ χωροδότη τοῦ κουβαλίσῃ τὰ δράγματα αὐτοῦ, ὡς κλέπτῃς ἀλλοτριωθήσεται πάσης τῆς ἐπικαρπίας αὐτοῦ.<sup>13</sup>

ι μορτίτου μέρος δεμάτια ἐννέα, τοῦ χωροδότη τοῦ μέρος δεμάτιον ἔν' ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων μεριούμενος θεοκατάρατος.<sup>14</sup>

ια ἔαν τις γῆν λάβῃ παρὰ ἀπορήσαντος γεωργοῦ καὶ στοιχίσῃ νεῶσαι μόνον καὶ μερίσασθαι, κρατεῖτωσαν τὰ σύμφωνα· εἰ δὲ καὶ συνεφώνησαν σποράν, κατὰ τὰ σύμφωνα κρατεῖτωσαν.<sup>15</sup>

ιβ ἔαν γεωργὸς λάβῃ παρὰ τινος γεωργοῦ ἀπορήσαντος τὴν ἡμισίαν ἄμπελον πρὸς ἐργασίαν καὶ οὐ κλαδεύσῃ αὐτὴν ὡς τὸ πρέπον σκάψῃ τε καὶ χαρακώσας διασκαφίσῃ, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπικαρπίας λαμβανέτω.<sup>16</sup>

ιγ ἔαν γεωργὸς λαβὼν χώραν τοῦ σπεῖραι τὴν ἡμισίαν καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντος οὐ νεώσῃ ἀλλ' εἰς ὄψιν ῥίψῃ τὸν κόκκον, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπικαρπίας λαμβανέτω, ὅτι ψευδάμενος διεχλεύασε τὸν τῆς χώρας κύριον.<sup>17</sup>

ιδ ἔαν ὁ τὴν ἡμισίαν λαβὼν τοῦ ἀγροῦ τοῦ ἀπόρου γεωργοῦ ἀποδημήσαντος μεταμεληθεὶς οὐκ ἐργάσῃται τὸν ἀγρόν, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι τὰς ἐπικαρπίας ἀποδιδότω.<sup>18</sup>

ιε ἔαν ὁ τὴν ἡμισίαν λαβὼν πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἐργασίας μεταμεληθεὶς μηνύσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὡς μὴ ἰσχύων, καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἀμελήσῃ, ἀξήμιος ἔστω ὁ ἡμισιατῆς.<sup>19</sup>

ις ἔαν γεωργὸς ἐκλαβόμενος γεωργίαν ἀμπελῶνος ἢ χώρας στοιχήσας μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρραβῶνα λαβὼν ἀπάρξῃται, καὶ διαστρέψας ἀφήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀγροῦ δότω καὶ τὸν ἀγρόν ἐχέτω ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> ἡ γενόμενος (ι) ἡδίκησεν] ἡ δίκη S  
ἡ] om Ω ἐντοπίοις M διαλύνει (ι) μέρι-  
σπην Q.

<sup>13</sup> θ θερίσας μορτίτης MN] μορτίτης (μορτι-  
τῆς Q μορτίσας P) θερίσας Δ καὶ] om PQ  
κουβαλίσῃ P τῆς] om M αὐτοῦ] om G.

<sup>14</sup> ι τοῦ] om PQ χωροδέτου P δέ] om Q  
δεμάτιον] om Q After θεοκ. Q adds ἐστίν.

<sup>15</sup> ια λάβῃ γῆν P γῆν] γυνῇ M; om (ι)  
καὶ στοιχίσῃ] τοῦ σπεῖραι καὶ στοιχήσας στοι-  
χίσῃ P νεώσῃ P; ναίωσιν Q μόνος Q  
καὶ συνεφ.] συνεφώνησαν (-εν B) καὶ Δ κατὰ  
τὰ συμφ. κρατ.] κρατεῖτωσαν τὰ σύμφωνα G τὸ  
σύμφωνον Q.

<sup>16</sup> ιβ in PQS is ιγ λάβοι M τινος γε. ἀπ.]  
ἀπορήσαντος γεωργοῦ G τῇ ἡμισί(ι) Q) α Δ  
ἀμπελῶ G οὐ] μὴ G κλαδεύσει PQ δὲ  
καὶ S δι(-υ- Q) σκαφή(-ι- P) σει Δ Διασκαφίζειν

is not in the lexica, but it is found in ἄκτος  
ἐκδόσεως ἀμπέλιον ἐφημισιάρικον in Sathas  
(C. N.), *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, vi. p.  
621, line 1. ἐκ] ἀπο Q.

<sup>17</sup> ιγ in PQS is ιβ τῇ ἡ(εἰ- M)μισεί(-ύ Q) α  
GMPQ καιροῦ] om M καλοῦντος] καλοῦ  
ντος Q νεώσῃ P ὄψῃ P; ὄψι S ῥίψῃ P  
ῥτ.] ἐπέιδη G.

<sup>18</sup> ιδ λαμβάνων Q τοῦ ἀγροῦ] om G τοῦ  
ἀπ. γε. ἀποδ.] τοῦ ἀποδημήσαντος γεωργοῦ Q  
γεωργοῦ om S After γεωργοῦ MN add ἀπο-  
ρήσαντος καί, although they retain ἀπόρου  
ἀποδιδότωσαν M; διδότω GPQ.

<sup>19</sup> ιε ἀμελήσας G ἡμισι(-υ- Q) ατῆς Δ.

<sup>20</sup> ις ἐκβαλλόμενος M ἀμπελίου P στη-  
χίσῃ G αὐτῶ P ἀραβῶνα S; ἀραβόνας (ι)  
ἀπαρξ.] ἀρπάτ(ε)ται Q διαστρέψας S ἀφήσει P  
αὐτῶ G δω(-ο- GP) σάτω Δ.

ιζ̄ ἐὰν γεωργὸς εἰσελθὼν ἐργάσῃται ἔνυλον χώραν ἑτέρου γεωργοῦ, τρία ἔτη ἀποκαρπεύσει ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἀποδώσει πάλιν τὴν χώραν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῆς.<sup>21</sup>

ιη̄ ἐὰν ἀπορήσας γεωργὸς πρὸς τὸ ἐργάσασθαι τὸν ἴδιον ἀμπελῶνα διαφύγη καὶ ξενιτεύσῃ, οἱ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀπαιτούμενοι λόγῳ ἐπιτρυνήτωσαν αὐτόν, μὴ ἔχοντος ἄδειαν τοῦ ἐπανερχομένου γεωργοῦ ζημιοῦν αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶνον.<sup>22</sup>

ιβ̄ ἐὰν γεωργὸς ἀποδράσας ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀγροῦ τελεῇ κατ' ἔτος τὰ ἐκστραόρδινα τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου, οἱ τρυγῶντες καὶ νεμόμενοι τὸν ἀγρὸν ζημιούσθωσαν ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι.<sup>23</sup>

κ̄ ὁ κόπτων ἀλλοτρίαν ὕλην ἄνευ εἰδήσεως τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῆς καὶ ἐργαζόμενος καὶ σπείρων μηδὲν ἐχέτω ἐκ τῆς ἐπικαρπίας.<sup>24</sup>

κᾱ ἐὰν γεωργὸς οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον καὶ φυτεύσῃ ἀμπελῶνα ἐν ἀγρῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ ἢ τόπῳ, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἔλθωσιν οἱ τοῦ τόπου κύριοι, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν τὸν οἶκον κατασπᾶν καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐκρίζουν, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν ἀντιτοπίαν δύνανται· εἰ δὲ ἀνανεύων ἀνανεύει ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀλλότριον ἀγρὸν κτίσας ἢ φυτεύσας μὴ δοῦναι ἀντιτοπίαν, ἄδειαν ἔχειν τὸν τοῦ τόπου κύριον τὰς ἀμπέλους ἀνασπᾶν, τὸν δὲ οἶκον κατασπᾶν.<sup>25</sup>

κβ̄ ἐὰν γεωργὸς κλέψῃ ἐν σκάφῳ λίσγον ἢ δίκηλλαν καὶ μετὰ χρόνον διαγνωσθῇ, παρεχέτω τὸ ἡμερήσιον αὐτοῦ φόλλεις δώδεκα· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ κλέπτων ἐν καιρῷ κλαδείας κλαδευτήριον ἢ ἐν καιρῷ θερισμοῦ δρέπανον ἢ ἐν καιρῷ ὕλοκοπίας πέλεκυν.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> ιζ̄ εἰσελθὼν] om Q ἔνυλον χώραν P χώραν] τόπον G; γῆν ἦτοι χώραν Q ἑτέρου] ἄλλου P τρία ἔτη] τριετίαν P ἐπικαρπεύσει Δ ἑαυτῷ] αὐτῷ N; αὐτῷ GMS; αὐτὴν P πάλιν τὴν χώραν] αὐτὴν πάλιν P τοῦ κυρίου S αὐτοῦ M.

<sup>22</sup> ιη̄ ἀπορήσαντος τοῦ γεωργοῦ Q ἐργάσθαι P ἀμπελῶνα] ἀγρὸν GPQ διαφύγοι Q ξενιτεύσῃ P λόγῳ ἀπαιτούμενοι Δ ἐπιτρυγάτωσαν P αὐτῷ S ἔχων S ζημιὴν Q; ζημίον S αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς P; om Q τὸν οἶνον] τὸ οἶον οὖν P.

<sup>23</sup> ιβ̄ τελεῇ P κατέπος P; κακαθέτος Q ἐκστ(ἐξτ- GS ἐξστ- M)ραόρδινα MΔ] ἐξόρδηνα N. In Dig. L, 16, 10, F reads exordinario as against extraordinario of the others (cf. Mommsen, vol. ii. p. 934, 19) τρώγοντες N; τρυγόντες P καὶ] ἢ GQ; om S οἱ νεμόμενοι PS τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀγρὸν P; τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγρὸν Q.

<sup>24</sup> κ̄ See note on β 4.

<sup>25</sup> κᾱ καὶ] ἢ P ἀγρῷ] ἀπόρω; ἀπόρω καὶ Q; om G ἢ] om Δ χρόνον] τοῦτο P τοῦ τόπου] τοῦτο P καὶ τὰς ἀμπ.] ἢ τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας Δ ἐκρίζουν Q λαμβάνει Q δύνανται] ἂν (ἦν ἂν (γ. ὅπου ἂν P) βούλο(-ω- Q)νται Δ

ἀνανεύει] ἀνανεύοι P; ἀνανεύσει Q; om M τὸν ἀλλότριον ἀγρὸν] τὰ ἀλλότρια PQ ἀγρὸν] τόπον G; om S ἀντιτοπίαν] om M τὰς μὲν Δ ἀμπελῶνας GQ ἀνασπᾶν] ἐκρίζουν Q τοὺς δὲ οἶκους Q After this chapter M adds the following chapter, which it numbers ιζ̄: ὁ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐδάφῃ κτίζων ἢ σπέρνων ἢ φυτεύων ἢ ἕλλω τι ἐργαζόμενος ἐκπιπτεύω τῆς δεσποτίας μήτε δαπανήματα λαμβάνων. This passage is given in *Ecl. ad Proch. mut.* xxv. 18, with the substitution, however, of σπείρων for σπέρνων, as to which see Duc. 1421.

<sup>26</sup> κβ̄ κλέψῃ ἐν σκάφῳ λίσγον This is the reading of Haenel's MS., as reported by G. E. Heimbach in his edition of Harmenopolus, p. 836, and of Laur. lxxx. 6 (from my own examination). The other late manuscripts read ἐν σκάφῳ] κλέψειεν σκαφόλισγον (-λισκον P) GMSNP κλέψει ἐν σκαφόλισγον Q διαγνωσθεῖ P; διαγνωρισθῇ MS τῷ] om P ἡμερίσιον NS; ἡμερούσιον PQ (P repeats the word) αὐτοῦ] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ P; om Q φόλλεις P καὶ] om P κλαδείας] αὐτοῦ Q. This has evidently come in from αὐτοῦ in the line above. Roe 18 has κλάδους πελέκην MS: πέλεκυα Q.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΕΛΑΡΙΩΝ.<sup>27</sup>

κγ ἐὰν ἀγελάριος βοῶν ἔωθεν παραλαβὼν παρὰ γεωργοῦ βοῦν συγκαταμίξῃ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἀγελῆς καὶ συμβῇ τὸν βοῦν λυκωθῆναι, δεξιᾶτω τὸ πτώμα τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀζήμιος αὐτὸς ἔσται.<sup>28</sup>

κδ ἐὰν ἀγελάριος βοῦν παραλαβὼν ἀπολέσῃ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὁ βοῦς ἀπώλετο οὐ καταμηνύσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ βοῦς ὅτι τὸν βοῦν ἕως ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε ἐώρακα, τί δὲ γέγονεν οὐκ οἶδα, μὴ ἔστω ἀζήμιος, εἰ δὲ κατεμήνυσεν, ἔστω ἀζήμιος.<sup>29</sup>

κε ἐὰν ἀγελάριος βοῦν παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ γεωργοῦ ἔωθεν ἀπέλθῃ, καὶ χωρισθεὶς ὁ βοῦς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βοῶν ἀπελθὼν εἰσέλθῃ ἐν χωραφίῳς ἢ ἀμπέλοις καὶ πραῖδαν ποιήσῃ, τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ στερείσθω, τὴν δὲ πραῖδαν διδῶτω.<sup>30</sup>

κς ἐὰν ἀγελάριος ἔωθεν παραλάβῃ βοῦν παρὰ γεωργοῦ καὶ ἀφανῆς γένηται ὁ βοῦς, ὁμοσάτω ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου μὴ αὐτὸν πεπονηρεῦσθαι καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκοινώησε τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ βοῦς καὶ ἀζήμιος ἔστω.<sup>31</sup>

κζ ἐὰν ἀγελάριος ἔωθεν παραλάβῃ παρὰ γεωργοῦ βοῦν καὶ συμβῇ αὐτὸν κλασθῆναι ἢ ἐκτυφλωθῆναι, ὁμοσάτω ὁ ἀγελάριος μὴ αὐτὸν πεπονηρεῦσθαι καὶ ἀζήμιος ἔστω.<sup>32</sup>

κη ἐὰν ἀγελάριος ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ βοῦς ἢ ἐπικλίσεως ἢ ἐκτυφλώσεως ὁμόσας ὕστερον ἀξιοπίστως ἐλεγχθῇ ὅτι ἐπιόρκησεν, γλωσσοκοπηθεὶς τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ βοῦς ποιείτω.<sup>33</sup>

κθ ἐὰν ἀγελάριος μετὰ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ξύλου ἀπολέσῃ καὶ κλάσῃ βοῦν ἢ ἐκτυφλώσῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθῶος καὶ ζημιωθήτω· εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ λίθου, ἀθῶος ἐστίν.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓ.] in P is in the margin, in Q in the body of the text.

<sup>28</sup> κγ ἔωθεν] N here and sometimes writes ἔωθεν παραλ. π. γ] παρὰ τοῦ γεωργοῦ λάβῃ PQS βοῦν] om M συγκ. . . ἀγελῆς] om Q καὶ συγκαταμίξῃ (-ει P) MPS αὐτῷ S τοῦ κυρίου MQS ἀζήμ. αὐτ. ἔσται] αὐτὸς (οὐ-τως G) ἀνάτιος ἔστω GPS : αὐτὸς ἔστω ἀνέ-τιος Q ἀζήμιος N.

<sup>29</sup> κδ τῇ αὐτῇ] ταύτῃ τῇ M ; τῇ Q καταμηνύσει P ; μνησεί Q τοῦ κυρίου M τοῦ βοῦς] αὐτοῦ M ἀζήμιος μὴ ἔστω P εἰ δὲ καὶ P κατεμήνυσεν Q.

<sup>30</sup> κε βοῦν . . . ἔωθεν] ἔωθεν παραλαβὼν ὑπὸ γεωργοῦ βοῦν P ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ Q ἀπέλθῃ] om P εἰσέλθῃ] εἰσέλθοι S ; ἀπέλθοι Q ἢ ἐν ἀμπέ-λοις (ἀμπελίοις QS) Δ πραῖδαν N] πραῖδαν P as usually ποιήσῃ P στερ. τὴν δὲ] στε-ρ(ὑστερ- N)οῦμενος τὴν MN ; στερηθῇ τὴν δὲ P δασάτω P MPQ add πᾶσαν.

<sup>31</sup> κς ἔωθεν] om MPQS λάβῃ PS παρα-

λάβῃ . . . γεωργοῦ] παραλάβοι παρὰ γεωργοῦ βοῦν G ; βοῦν παραλαβὼν (λαβὼν Q) ὑπὸ γεωρ-γοῦ MQ ὁμοσάτω P πεπονηρεῦσθαι PQS ἀπολείαι N.

<sup>32</sup> κζ παραλάβοι G βοῦν] om M P adds after βοῦν : μὴ κεκλασμένον ἀλλ' ὕγιῃ ἢ ἐκτυφλωθῆναι] om P πεπονηρεῦσθαι PQS.

<sup>33</sup> κη ἀπολείας (?) N τοῦ βοῦς Q κλά-σεως Q ἐκτυφλώσας M : τυφλώσεως PQ ὁμόσας P ὕστερον δὲ Q ἀξιοπίστως ἐλεγχθῇ MN] ἐλεγχθῇ (ἐλεγχθῆς Q) ὑπὸ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων ἀξιοπίστων Δ γλωσσοκοπηθεὶς] γλωσσοκοπισθεὶς GQ ; γλωσσοκοπεῖσθω καὶ M ποιήτω P ; ποείσθω GQS.

<sup>34</sup> κθ ταῖς] om S ξύλον M ἀπολύσει (-η P) GMP καὶ κλάσῃ] om MN ἢ] καὶ N ἐκτυφλώσῃ P ἀθῶος N, but ἀθῶιος below καὶ (1st)] om PQS ζημιούσθω M καὶ (2nd)] om G ; μετὰ λίθου P] μεταμελεῖ Q : μετὰ λίθου δόλιγος G ; μετὸλίγον MN ; μεταλίγον S ἔστω Q.



λ̄ εἰάν τις κόψη κώδωνα ἐκ βοὸς ἢ ἐκ προβάτου καὶ διαγνωσθῇ ὡς κλέπτῃς, μαστιγωθήτω· εἰ δὲ ἀφανὲς γένηται τὸ ζῶον, διδὼτω αὐτὸ ὁ τῆν κλοπὴν ποιήσας τοῦ κώδωνος.<sup>35</sup>

λᾱ εἰάν δένδρον ἴσταται ἐν μέρει χωρίου, εἰ μὲν κήπος ἐστὶν ἡ σύνεγγυς μέρις καὶ ὑποσκιάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ σύνεγγυς δένδρου, κλωνοκοπήσει αὐτὸ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι κήπος, μὴ κλωνοκοπήσθω.<sup>36</sup>

λβ̄ εἰάν δένδρον ἀνατρέφῃ ὑπὸ τινος ἐν τόπῳ ἀμερίστῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μερισμοῦ γενομένου ἔλαχεν ἐκ μερίδος ἄλλω, μὴ ἐχέτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δένδρου εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀναθρέψας αὐτὸ μόνος· εἰ δὲ καταβοᾷ ὁ τοῦ τόπου κύριος ὅτι ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δένδρου, δώσωσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ δένδρου δένδρον ἕτερον τῷ ἀναθρέψαντι αὐτὸ καὶ ἐχέτωσαν αὐτό.<sup>37</sup>

λγ̄ εἰάν εὐρεθῇ ὁπωροφύλαξ κλέπτων ἐν ᾧ φυλάττει τόπῳ, στερείσθω τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ σφόδρα τυπτέσθω.<sup>38</sup>

λδ̄ εἰάν εὐρεθῇ ποιμὴν μισθωτὸς ἀμέλγων τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτοῦ λάθρα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν καὶ πιπράσκων, τυπτόμενος τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ στερείσθω.<sup>39</sup>

λε̄ εἰάν τις εὐρεθῇ κλέπτων ἀλλοτρίαν καλάμην, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι ἀποδώσει.<sup>40</sup>

λς̄ εἰάν τις βοῦν ἢ ὄνον ἢ οἶον οὖν κτήνος ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἄρῃ καὶ ἐν πράγματι ἀπέλθῃ, δώτω τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, δώσει δύο ἀντὶ ἐνὸς εἴ τι ἂν εἴῃ.<sup>41</sup>

λζ̄ εἰάν λάβῃ τις βοῦν πρὸς ἐργασίαν καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, τηρεῖτωσαν οἱ ἀκροαταί, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν ᾧ ἔργῳ ἐζήτησεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀζήμιος ἔστω· εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλω ἔργῳ ἀπέθανεν, δώσει τὸν βοῦν ὁλόκληρον.<sup>42</sup>

λη̄ εἰάν τις εὖρῃ βοῦν ἐν ἀμπελῶνι ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ πραιδαν ποιοῦντα καὶ οὐ παραδώσει αὐτὸν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ὡς μέλλων αὐτὸν ἀπαιτεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν καρπῶν τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀλλὰ φονεύσῃ ἡ κλάση, δώτω βοῦν ἀντὶ βοὸς ἢ ὄνον ἀντὶ ὄνου ἢ πρόβατον ἀντὶ προβάτου.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>35</sup> λ̄ κλέψη P In N the o of κόψη is over an erasure ἐκ προβάτου] Q omits ἐκ; in P it is above the line ὡς corr from ὁ P ἀφανῇ Q δώτω P τὸ κλέμμα P.

<sup>36</sup> λᾱ μερίδι GPQ χωραφίου P κύ-πος Q ἐπισκιάζεται P κλωνοκοπήσει P αὐτὸν Q; om M καὶ οὐκ G κύπος Q κλωνοκοπήθῃτω P.

<sup>37</sup> λβ̄ ἀνετρέφῃ Δ After ἀνατρ. MN add ἡ καλάμη ὑπὸ τινος] om Q γεναμένου S ἄλλου Q; ἄλλων P εἰ μὴ] ἀλλ' ἡ Δ ἀναθρέψας Q μόνος] om P δωσάτω PQ; δωσάτωσαν GS ἀντὶ τοῦτου τοῦ G ἕτερον] om P ἀναθρέψαντι S, yet in line 3 it has ἀναθρέψας αὐτὸν] om PQ ἐχέτω MΔ.

<sup>38</sup> λγ̄ ὑστερείσθω Q σφοδρῶς GP.

<sup>39</sup> λδ̄ ποιμὴν] ὁ ποιμὴν P; ποιμὴν ἢ Q μι-σθωτὸς ποιμὴν G τὰ] om P αὐτοῦ] om Δ

αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ QS.

<sup>40</sup> λε̄ εὐρεθῇ τις Δ After καλάμην M add; ἀπὸ χωραφίου ἢ σκέπην οἴκου; Q add; ἀπὸ χωραφίου ἢ ἐτέραν καλάμην εἰσκέπην οἴκου ποσότητι P ἀποδώσει] παρεχέτω αὐτὴν MΔ.

<sup>41</sup> λς̄ ἢ ὄνον om M ἢ ἄλλως τὸ οἶον οὖν P; ἢ ἄλλον τὸ οἶον οὖν Q κτήνος] κτίνος Q; ἔκ-τινος P ἀγνοοῦντος] ἀγνοῇ PS αὐτοῦ] om S ἄρῃ] before ἀγνοῇ in P πραγματί(-εἰ-S)a GQS ἀπέλθοι P εἴῃ] ἢ PS; ἢ εἰ τὸ ζῶον Q

<sup>42</sup> λζ̄ τις λάβῃ M τηρήτωσαν N αὐτὸ GPS ἐκείνο P καὶ] om Δ ἀζήμιος... ἀπέθανεν] om Q ὁλοκλήρως P.

<sup>43</sup> λη̄ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι ἢ ἀγρῷ P ἢ ἐτέρῳ Q αὐτῷ S τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ] τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ P αὐτῶν Q πᾶσαν in N is above the line κλάσῃ αὐτόν P.

$\overline{\lambda\theta}$  εάν τις κόπτων ἐν δρυμῷ ξύλον οὐ προσέχῃ ἀλλὰ πέσῃ καὶ ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦν ἢ ὄνον ἢ ἄλλο τι οἶον οὖν, δώσει ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς.<sup>44</sup>

$\overline{\mu}$  εάν τις κόπτων δένδρον ἄνωθεν ἀγνωσίᾳ ρίψῃ τὸν πέλεκυν καὶ φονεύσῃ ἀλλότριον κτήνος, δώσει αὐτό.<sup>45</sup>

$\overline{\mu\alpha}$  εάν τις κλέψῃ βοῦν ἢ ὄνον καὶ ἐλεγχθῇ, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι μαστιγωθείς δώσει αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν.<sup>46</sup>

$\overline{\mu\beta}$  εάν τις κλέψαι θέλων ἕνα βοῦν ἐξ ἀγέλης, ἀπελασθεῖσα ἢ ἀγέλη θηριόβρωτος γένηται, τυφλούσθω.<sup>47</sup>

$\overline{\mu\gamma}$  εάν τις ἐξέλθῃ πρὸς συναγωγὴν τοῦ ἰδίου βοῶς ἢ τοῦ ὄνου καὶ διώκων συνδιώξῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτερον, καὶ οὐκ ἐπισυνάξῃ αὐτὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀπολείται ἢ λυκωθῇ, δότῳ ἀντίψυχον τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ βοῦν ἢ ὄνον. εἰ δὲ μὴνύων ἐμήνυσε καὶ τὸν τόπον ὑπέδειξεν, ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατὴς γενέσθαι, ἀξήμιος ἔστω.<sup>48</sup>

$\overline{\mu\delta}$  εάν τις εὐρὼν ἐν ὕλῃ βοῦν σφάξῃ αὐτὸν καὶ ἄρῃ τὰ κρέα αὐτοῦ, χειροκοπέσθω.<sup>49</sup>

$\overline{\mu\epsilon}$  εάν τις δοῦλος σφάξῃ ἕνα βοῦν ἢ ὄνον ἢ κρίον ἐν ὕλῃ, ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ἀποδώσει αὐτό.<sup>50</sup>

$\overline{\mu\zeta}$  εάν τις δοῦλος, θέλων ἐν νυκτὶ κλέψαι, ἀπελάσῃ ἐκ τῆς ποιμνῆς τὰ θρέμματα, διώξας ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας, καὶ ἀπώλονται ἢ θηριόβρωτα γένωνται, φουρκιζέσθω ὡς φονεύς.<sup>51</sup>

$\overline{\mu\zeta}$  εάν τις δοῦλός τινας πολλάκις κλέψας κτήνη ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ ἀπελασίας πολλάκις ποιήσῃ ποιμνίων, ζημιωθήσεται ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπολωλὸτα ὡς γινώσκων ὑπαίτιον τὸν δοῦλον, αὐτὸς δὲ φουρκιζέσθω.<sup>52</sup>

$\overline{\mu\eta}$  εάν τις εὖρῃ βοῦν πραιδεύοντα καὶ οὐ δώσει αὐτὸν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀπολαμβάνων τὸ βλάβος, ἀλλ' ὠτοκοπήσῃ αὐτὸν ἢ τυφλώσῃ ἢ οὐροκοπήσῃ, οὐ λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ λαμβάνει ἄλλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>44</sup>  $\overline{\lambda\theta}$  δρυμῷ corrected from δρυμὸν S προσ-  
σχέ? MQS; προσχῇ GP ἄλλο τι] ἄλλο τὸ  
PS; ἄλλον τὸ Q; ἀλλ' ὅτι M οἶον] om M.

<sup>45</sup>  $\overline{\mu}$  καὶ ἀγνωσία GS τὸν] τὸ S πε-  
λέκην GM and perhaps S; πέλυνκα Q φονεύσῃ P  
κτῆνος] κτῆνον Q δό(-ώ- QS)τω PQS.

<sup>46</sup>  $\overline{\mu\alpha}$  ἐλεγχθῇ Q ἐν διπ. ποσ. μαστ.] om  
P μαστιχθῇ Q δώσει N αὐτὸν PQ.

<sup>47</sup>  $\overline{\mu\beta}$  θέλων κλέψαι PS θηριόβρωτος N  
After τυφλούσθω Q adds: ὁ τούτου ποιήσας.

<sup>48</sup>  $\overline{\mu\gamma}$  ἐξέλθῃ P; Q puts ἐξέλθῃ after ὄνου  
τοῦ ὄνου] ὄνου Q διώκων τὸν (τὸ GS) ἰδίον  
Δ συνδιώξῃ P καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Q οὐκ] μὴ MN,  
but in N it is above the line αὐτὸν PQ μετ'  
αὐτοῦ] μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου PQ ἀπολήται P λυκωθείῃ  
P μὴνύων] μνύων Q; μὴ οἶον P ἐμήνυσεν Q  
ἐπέδειξεν MN ἀδυνάτως] ἀδύνατος ἐπεὶ S  
αὐτοῦ ἐπικ. γεν.] ἐπικρατὴς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι P  
ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτὸν Q αὐτῷ S.

<sup>49</sup>  $\overline{\mu\delta}$  εὐρὼν after βοῦν in Q αὐτὸ S κρέα  
P] κρέη N; κραίει M; κρέει QS.

<sup>50</sup>  $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$  after  $\overline{\mu\zeta}$  in S τινὸς P σφάξῃ δοῦ-  
λος P ἕνα] om Δ ὄνον ἢ κρίον] κρίον ἢ ὄν P  
ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ] ὁ κύριόςτου S; ὁ τούτου κύριος  
P αὐτόν PQ.

<sup>51</sup>  $\overline{\mu\zeta}$  before  $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$  in S; ἀπελάσῃ P τῆς  
ποιμνῆς . . . μάνδρας] τῆς μάνδρας τὰ θρέμματα  
PQS τῆς μάνδρας τὰ πρόβατα G ἀπώλονται  
PN ἢ θηριοβ. γεν.] om G θηριόβρωτα M ὡς]  
ὁ P After φονεύς G adds: εἰ καὶ θηριόβρωτα  
γένωνται.

<sup>52</sup>  $\overline{\mu\zeta}$  ἢ] before ἐν νυκτὶ GQ; om P πολ-  
λάκις] om Δ ποιμνίων ποιήσῃ G ποιμνίου Q  
ἀπολλ(-ωλ- G)ύ(-ό- P-ώ- GS)μενα Δ δοῦ-  
λον αὐτοῦ M αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δοῦλος Q φουρκίζεται  
P.

<sup>53</sup>  $\overline{\mu\eta}$  τις ἐ. β. π.] εὐρεθῇ βοῦς πραιδεύων P  
οὐ] μὴ Q παραδώσει GPQ αὐτὸ S τοῦ

$\overline{\mu\theta}$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  τις  $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  χοῖρον  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  πραιίδα ἢ πρόβατον ἢ κύνα, παραδώσει αὐτὸ  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  πρώτοις τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ· εἶτα καὶ παραδώσας δεύτερον, παραγγελεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ τρίτον οὐροκοπεῖ ἢ ὠτοκοπεῖ ἢ τοξεύει αὐτὸ ἀνεγκλήτως.<sup>54</sup>

$\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  βοῦς ἢ ὄνος εἰσελθεῖν θέλων  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  ἀμπελῶνι ἢ  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  κήπῳ ἐμπέσῃ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου τάφρον ἢ τοῦ κήπου καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, ἀζήμιος ἔστω ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ἢ τοῦ κήπου.<sup>55</sup>

$\bar{\nu}\alpha$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  βοῦς ἢ ὄνος θέλων εἰσελθεῖν  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  ἀμπελῶνι ἢ  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  κήπῳ ἐμπαρῇ  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  τοῖς τοῦ φραγμοῦ πάλοις, ἀζήμιος ἔστω ὁ τοῦ κήπου κύριος.<sup>56</sup>

$\bar{\nu}\beta$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  τις θήσῃ μάγανον  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  τῷ καιρῷ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἐμπέσῃ  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  αὐτῷ κύων ἢ χοῖρος καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, ἀζήμιος ἔστω ὁ τούτου κύριος.<sup>57</sup>

$\bar{\nu}\gamma$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  τις ἐκ μιᾶς καὶ δευτέρας καταβολῆς πραιίδας πραιδευσαν φονεύσας οὐ παραδώσει τὸ ζῶον τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἀπολάβῃ τὴν πραιίδαν αὐτοῦ, διδότης ὅπερ ἐφόνευσεν.<sup>58</sup>

$\bar{\nu}\delta$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  τις ἐγκλείσῃ χοῖρον ἢ κύνα καὶ διαφθείρῃ,  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  διπλῇ ποσότητι ἀποδώσει.<sup>59</sup>

$\bar{\nu}\epsilon$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  κύνα ποιμαίνοντά τις φονεύσας οὐχ ὁμολογήσῃ ἀλλὰ γένηται θηρίων ἔφοδος  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  τῇ μάνδρᾳ, μετέπειτα δὲ διαγνωσθῇ ὁ τὸν κύνα φονεύσας, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγέλην τῆς ποιίμνης δότω μετὰ καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ κυνός.<sup>60</sup>

κυρίου S ἀπολ. τὸ βλάβος] om. Δ αὐτὸ S ἢ τυφλώσῃ] om M τυφλώσῃ αὐτὸν P ἢ οὐροκοπήσῃ] om P οὐ λαμβάνει] οὐκαρῇ P αὐτὸ S λαμβάνει] λάβῃ P; λάμει Q over an erasure ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλον S After αὐτοῦ Q adds: τὸ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ ὕνου.

<sup>54</sup>  $\mu\theta$   $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  P πραιίδα N; πραιδα is sometimes treated as indeclinable. See my apparatus to νγ 3 and De Boor's to Theophanes, pp. 178, 14; 218, 7; and ἀ51, 20 καὶ παρα-

δῶσῃ G παραδώσει P αὐτὸ PS] αὐτὸν GMN Q  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  πρώτης Q τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ] om P εἴτε G καὶ παραδῶσας δεύτερον] δευτερώσας καὶ παραδῶσας Δ παραγγελεῖ] παραγγείλῃ N; παραγγείλῃ Q οὐροκοπεῖ] οὐροκοπήσῃ(-ει Q) αὐτὸν GQ; οὐροκοπῇ αὐτὸ S; ὠτοκοπήσῃ P ἢ ὠτοκοπεῖ] ἢ ὠτοκοπήσῃ (-ει S) GS; ὠτοκοπήσῃ αὐτὸν Q; ἢ οὐροκοπήσῃ αὐτὸν P ἢ τοξεύει] ἢ τοξεύσῃ (-ει QS) Δ αὐτὸ N] αὐτὸν PQ; om GMS ἀνεγκλήτως N] ἀνέγ(ἀνεύ- Q ἀνέ- S)-κλητος ἔστω (ἔστιν G) MΔ MQ add: τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ εἰς πᾶν (Q inserts τὸ οἶον οὖν) κτήνος.

<sup>55</sup>  $\bar{\nu}$  ἢ ὄνος] om PQ θέλων εἰσελθεῖν M ἢ  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  κήπῳ] om Q καὶ ἐμπέσει S τράφον GMQS; τάρφον P τοῦ κήπου ἢ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος P.

<sup>56</sup>  $\bar{\nu}\alpha$  εἰσελθῇ P ἀμπέλω P ἢ κείπω S

τοῦ κήπου] τῆς ἀμπέλου ἢ τοῦ κή(-ύ- Q -εί-S) του PQS.

<sup>57</sup>  $\bar{\nu}\beta$  θήσῃ] στήσας P  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  καιρῷ PQ τῶν καρπῶν S; τῶν θερῶν P ἐμπέσει P χοῖρος NP χοῖρος ἢ ἄλλο (ἄλλον Q) τι κτήνος MQ τούτου] τοῦ μαγγάνου MΔ.

<sup>58</sup>  $\bar{\nu}\gamma$  καὶ] ἢ P πραιίδας πραιδευσαν] πραιδεύσας ἢ MN; πραι(-ει- S)δεύσας GS; πραιδας PQ τὸ ζῶον] om Q; τοῦ κυρίου MP πραιδαν PS] πραιδαν Q; πραιδα GMN δότω Δ MN add: ὁ ἐναποκλείσας ἀλλότριον θρέμμα καὶ τροφῆς διαφθείρας ἢ ἀλλωσπῶς ἀνελὼν εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον καταδικάζεται. M treats this as a new chapter and numbers it  $\mu\eta$ . It agrees closely with Ecloga, xvii. η.

<sup>59</sup>  $\bar{\nu}\delta$  P begins fol. 99 ν with chapter  $\bar{\nu}\delta$  and has on the left hand upper margin  $\epsilon$   $\kappa\upsilon\nu$  ἐγκλείσει N χοῖρον ἐγκλεί(-η- QS ση(-ει Q) Δ κύνα ἀλλότριον P διαφθαρή P ἀποτίσει P Δ add αὐτόν (αὐτὸ GS).

<sup>60</sup>  $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$   $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  τις κύνα ποιμένος Q ποιμένανόντα S οὐκομολογήσῃ QS ἔφοδον Q μετάπητα Q διαγνωσθεῖ P ὁ φονεύσας τὸν κύνα GS; ὁ φονεὺς τοῦ κυνός (κύνου Q) PQ ἀγέλην] ἀπώ(-ο- Q)λειαν PQ τοῖς ποιίμνης Q δω(-ο- P)-σάτω Δ κυνός] κοῖνον Q.

νς̄ εἰάν τις πῦρ ἐμβάλη ἐν ὕλῃ ἰδιᾷ ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ συμβῇ διαδραμεῖν τὸ πῦρ καὶ καύσῃ οἴκους ἢ ἐγκάρπους ἀγρούς, οὐ καταδικάζεται εἰάν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ ἀνέμφῃ τοῦτο πεποιήκεν.<sup>61</sup>

νζ̄ ὁ καίων ὅρος ἀλλότριον ἢ κόπτων δένδρα ἀλλότρια εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον καταδικάζεται.

νη̄ ὁ καίων ἀμπέλου φραγμὸν τυπτόμενος σφραγιζέσθω ἢ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ζημιούσθω διπλὴν τὴν βλάβην.<sup>62</sup>

νθ̄ ὁ κόπτων ἀμπέλους ἀλλοτρίας ἐγκάρπους ἢ ἀνασπῶν χειροκοπέσθω ζημιούμενος.<sup>63</sup>

ξ̄ οἱ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θερισμοῦ εἰσερχόμενοι ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ αὐλακὶ καὶ κόπτοντες δέματα ἢ στάχνας ἢ ὕσπρια τῶν χιτῶνων στερείσθωσαν μαστιζόμενοι.<sup>64</sup>

ξᾱ οἱ ἐν ἀμπέλοις ἢ συκαῖς ἀλλοτρίαις εἰσερχόμενοι, εἰ μὲν βρώσεως ἔνεκεν, ἀθῶοι ἔστωσαν· εἰ δὲ κλοπῆς χάριν, τυπτόμενοι τῶν χιτῶνων στερείσθωσαν.<sup>65</sup>

ξβ̄ οἱ κλέπτοντες ἄροτρον ἢ ὕνῃν ἢ ζυγὸν ἢ ἕτερα ζημιούσθωσαν κατὰ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀφ' ἧς τὸ κλέμμα ἐγένετο, καθ' ἐκάστην φύλλεις δώδεκα.<sup>66</sup>

ξγ̄ οἱ καίοντες ἄμαξαν ἀλλοτρίαν ἢ κλέπτοντες τὴν διπλὴν ποσότητα ἀποτινύντωσαν.<sup>67</sup>

ξδ̄ οἱ ἐν ἄλωνι ἢ ἐν θημονίαις βάλλοντες πῦρ πρὸς ἄμυναν ἐχθρῶν πυρίκαυστοι ἔστωσαν.<sup>68</sup>

ξε̄ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ χόρτου ἢ ἀχύρου βάλλοντες πῦρ χειροκοπέσθωσαν.<sup>69</sup>

ξζ̄ οἱ κατασπῶντες οἴκους ἀλλοτρίους ἀνάρχως ἢ ἀχρειοῦντες φραγμούς, ὥς εἰς τὰ ἴδια φράξαντες ἢ κτίσαντες, χειροκοπέσθωσαν.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>61</sup> νς̄ M prefixes to this chapter in capitals *περὶ ἐμπρισμῶν* ἐμβάλοι P ἐν ἀγρῷ] ἀγρῷ M διαδραμεῖν τὸ πῦρ] τὸ πῦρ δραμεῖν Q καῦσαι PQ ἐνκαρπῆς S οὐ Δ] om M; in N it is added above the line by a later hand οὐκ ἐν] over an erasure in G; ἐν M τοῦτο πεπ.] τοῦτο ἐποίησεν Q; ἐποίησε τὸ τοιοῦτον P; τοῦτον οὐκ ἐποίησεν S.

<sup>62</sup> νη̄ ἀμπελῶνος P χεῖρα G; see Duc. 1744.

<sup>63</sup> νθ̄ ἀλλοτρίας] Before ἀμπέλους in M, after ἀνασπῶν in P; ἀλλοτρίους GQS.

<sup>64</sup> ξ̄ τοῦ καιροῦ P; τῶν καιρῶν Q ἀλλοτρίῳ GMPS κόπτοντες] κλέπτοντες PQ δεμάτια Q στάχαιας Q χιτῶνων N.

<sup>65</sup> ξᾱ ἀμπελίοις S σύκοις GS; συκίοις Q ἀλλοτρίοις GS; om Q ἔνεκεν] ἐνεγκεν S; om P χάριν] ἔνεκεν G; ἔνεκα PQ; ἐνεγκεν S.

<sup>66</sup> ξβ̄ ὕνῃν NPQ] ὕνῃν G; οἰνῃν S; ὕλῃν M There is the widest diversity among the

authorities as to both spelling and accentuation of this word. ζυγὸν ἢ ἕτερα] ζύγιστρα P; ζυγοῦ στερα Q κατὰ] om Q ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας GPS τὸ καθεκάστην S; καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν PQ φύλλεις P; φύλλες Q; φύλ<sup>5</sup> S.

<sup>67</sup> ξγ̄ καίοντες] corrected from κλέπτοντες in S κλέπτωντες Q κλέπτοντες] καὶ ες Q ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι P ἀπαιτέσθωσαν G.

<sup>68</sup> ξδ̄ θημονίαις] θυμονίαις M This is the accentuation of all my manuscripts ἐκβάλλοντες Q πρὸς ἀ. ἐ. π. ἔστ.] χειροκοπέσθωσαν PS ἄμειναν G.

<sup>69</sup> ξε̄ is omitted by S but the next chapter is correctly numbered ἐμβάλλοντες Q.

<sup>70</sup> ξζ̄ ἀνάρχως] is added in N in the lower margin ἀχυροῦντες Q φραγμὸν P ὥς εἰς . . . κτίσαντες] This is the original reading in P afterwards corrected to ὥστε τὰ ἴδια φυλάξαι ἢ κτίσαι φράξαντας QS ἢ κτίσαντες] ἢ κτίσαντας S; om Q. The parchment part of N

ξξ οἱ τόκου χάριν λαβόντες ἀγρὸν καὶ πλείω τῶν ἐπτὰ χρόνων φανῶσι καρπιζόμενοι, ψηφισάτω ὁ ἀκροατὴς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπταετίας καὶ τὴν ἄνω πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν κάτω κατὰ τὴν ἡμίσειαν εἰσφοράν στοιχησάτω εἰς κεφάλαιον.<sup>71</sup>

ξη ὁ ἐν ὀρίῳ εὕρισκόμενος κλέπτων σίτον τυπτέσθω μᾶστιξιν ἐν πρώτοις ἐκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ κυρίῳ ποιείτω· εἰ δὲ ἐκ δευτέρου φανῇ, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι ζημιούσθω τὸ κλέμμα· εἰ δὲ ἐκ τρίτου, τυφλούσθω.<sup>72</sup>

ξθ ὁ ἐν νυκτὶ κλέπτων οἶνον ἐκ πίθου ἢ ἐκ ληνοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ βουττίου τῇ αὐτῇ ὑποβλησκέσθω ποινη καθὼς ἐν τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ γέγραπται.<sup>73</sup>

ο οἱ μέτρον σίτου καὶ οἶνου κολοβὸν ἔχοντες καὶ μὴ ἐξακολουθοῦντες τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ πατροπαράδοσει ἀλλὰ δι' αἰσχροκερδίαν παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα μέτρα ἄδικα ἔχοντες τυπτέσθωσαν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς.<sup>74</sup>

οα ὁ παραδοὺς πρὸς νομὴν κτήνην δούλω ἄνευ εἰδήσεως τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ δούλος πωλήσῃ αὐτὰ ἢ ἄλλως πῶς ἀφανίσῃ, ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.<sup>75</sup>

οβ εἰς τὴν εἰδήσει τοῦ κυρίου ὁ δούλος παραλάβῃ οἰαδήποτε θρέμματα καὶ καταφάγῃ αὐτὰ ἢ ἄλλως πῶς ἀφανίσῃ, ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου τὸ ὑβλαβὲς ποιείτω τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῶν.<sup>76</sup>

ογ εἰς τὴν παρέρχεται τις ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ εὖρη κεκλασμένον ἢ ἀπολλύμενον κτήνος καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς μηνύσει, ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ κτήνους ὑποψίαν ἔχει τὸν μηνυτὴν πεπονηρεῦσθαι, ὁμοσάτω περὶ τῆς κλάσεως, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπωλείας μηδεὶς ἀνακρινέσθω.<sup>77</sup>

ends here at the bottom of f. 194 v. The Farmer's Law is continued on a leaf of paper in a 16th century hand. I do not give its readings.

<sup>71</sup> ξξ ἀγροὺς PQ πλείων Q φανῶσι Δ φανέρως M καρπιζόμενοι τὸν ἀγρὸν PQS ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπταετίαν P τὴν ἄνω πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν κάτω κατὰ τὴν ἡμ. τὴν ἄνω καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν (κατ' G) ἡμίσειαν Ω εἰσφοράν M; ἐκφοράν GQS στοιχησάτω S κεφάλαια S; κεφαλὴν M.

<sup>72</sup> ξη P has in the margin: περὶ τοῦ ἐν ὄρ. . . κλέπτοντος ἐν ὀρίῳ ἐνορίῳ MQS; ἐν ὠρείῳ P; ἐν ὠρίῳ G See my note, Rhodian Sea-law, p. 106 τὸν σίτον PQS μᾶστιξιν ἐν πρώτοις] ἐν πρώτῃ μᾶστιξιν Q; ἐν πρώτῃ μᾶστιγας P τῷ κυρίῳ] τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ Q; ἐν πρώτοις M; om P ποιείτω τῷ κλαπέντι P φανείη P ἐν διπ. ποσ. ζημ.] τυπτόμενος ζημιούσθω ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι P τὰ κλεπτά M εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ PQ

<sup>73</sup> ξθ δ] om M ἐκ πίθου οἶνον P Q ἐκ κληνοῦ M; ἐκ κληνοῦ S ἢ ἀπὸ βουττίου] om GPS

ὑποβλήσκεισθαι Q; ὑποβλήσθω G καθὼς] καθὼς ἂν Q καθὼς . . . γεγρ.] καὶ αὐτὸς (, G; om PS.

<sup>74</sup> ο After οἶνον Q adds: ἥτις μόδιον καὶ μέτρον καὶ μὴ] μὴ P τῇ ἀρχ. πατροπ.] τὴν πατρικὴν ἀρχαιοπαράδοτον μέτρησιν P πατρὸς-παράδωσει S; πατρὸς-παράδοσις M; πατρὸς-παράδωσει Q παρὰ τὰ διατ.] παρὰ τὰ διατετυπομένα Q; παρατετυπωμένα P ἄδικα μέτρα P μέτρα ἄδικα ἔχοντες] om Q τυπτέσθω ὡς ἀσεβῆς Q.

<sup>75</sup> οα παραδοῦς Δ δούλω κτήνην P δούλω] om Q καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ δούλος P πωλήσῃ P ἢ] om S ἔστω καὶ ὁ G QS.

<sup>76</sup> οβ In the margin P has: περὶ δούλων ἀλλότρια θρέμματα ποιμενόντων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ PQ ὁ δούλος is put before τοῦ κυρίου in Q and after παραλάβῃ in P οἷα δὴποτε θρέμματα] οἷω δὴποτε τρόπῳ P διαφάγοι Q αὐτὰ] om P αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ M; τῶν θρεμμάτων Δ.

<sup>77</sup> ογ παρέρχεται MP ἀπολλύμενον PQS κτήνους S σπλαγχνισθεὶς S; σπλαγχνισθεὶς GM ἔχη P πεπονηρεῦσθαι PQS ὁμοσάτω P μηδὲν P Q.

οδ̄ ὁ διαφθεύρων ἀλλότριον κτήνος ἐξ οἷασδήποτε προφάσεως διαγινωσκόμενος τὸ ἀζήμιον ποιείτω τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ.<sup>78</sup>

οε̄ ὁ διαφθεύρων κύνα ποιίμνης ἐπιτηδιότητι φαρμάκου λαμβανέτω μάλιστα ἐκατὸν καὶ τὸ διπλάσιον τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ κυνὸς διδότην τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεια τῆς ποιίμνης γέγονεν, πάντων τὴν ζημίαν ὁ φονεὺς διδότην ὡς αἴτιος διαφθορᾶς τοῦ κυνὸς γεγονώς· μαρτυρείσθω δὲ ὁ κυὼν καί, εἰ θηριομάχος ἦν, ὡς προείπομεν ἔστω· εἰ δὲ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, τυπτόμενος τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κυνὸς καὶ μόνον διδότην.<sup>79</sup>

ος̄ ἐὰν μαχομένων δύο κυνῶν ὁ τοῦ ἐνὸς κύριος δώσει τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ μετὰ ξίφους ἢ μετὰ ῥάβδου ἢ μετὰ λίθου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐκείνης τυφλωθῇ ἢ ἀποθάνῃ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐπικίνδυνον πάθῃ, τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιήσας λαμβανέτω μάλιστα δώδεκα.<sup>80</sup>

οζ̄ ἐὰν τις ἔχων κύνα δυνάστην κατεπαιρόμενον τοὺς συννόμους αὐτοῦ ὑπαγγρίσῃ τὸν κύνα τὸν δυνάστην κατὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων κυνῶν, καὶ συμβῇ κυλλωθῆναι κύνα τινα ἢ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιήσας λαμβανέτω μάλιστα δώδεκα.<sup>81</sup>

οη̄ ἐὰν τις θερίσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μερίδα, τῶν πλησίον αὐτοῦ μερίδων μὴ θερισθέντων, εἰσαγάγῃ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήνη καὶ βλάβῃ τοῖς πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐργάσῃται, τυπτέσθω μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ βλαβέντι ποιείτω.<sup>82</sup>

οθ̄ ἐὰν τις τρυγῇ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ὄντων ἀτρυγῆτων μερίδων τινῶν εἰσαγάγῃ τὰ ἴδια κτήνη, τυπτέσθω μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ τὸ ἀζήμιον τῷ βλαβέντι ποιείτω.<sup>83</sup>

π̄ ἐὰν τις ἀνάρχως δίκην ἔχων μετὰ τινος κόψῃ ἀμπέλους ἢ ἄλλο τὸ οἶον οὖν δένδρον, χειροκοπέσθω.<sup>84</sup>

πᾱ ἐὰν τις οἰκῶν ἐν χωρίῳ διαγνώσῃ τόπον κοινὸν ὄντα ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐργαστήριον μύλου καὶ τοῦτον προκατάσχει, ἔπειτα δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ

<sup>78</sup> οδ̄ διαγινωσκομένης G τοῦ κυρίου M.

<sup>79</sup> οε̄ ἐπιδηδιότητι φαρμάκω Q εἰδὲ καὶ M πᾶσαν PQS ὁ φονεύσας GS διαφθορᾶς] τῆς διαφθορᾶς Q; om P τοῦ κυνὸς] τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς φυλακῆς GPS; τοῦ κυνὸς τοῦ κυνὸς φυλακῆς Q δὲ καὶ ὁ Q καὶ εἰ] ἢ Q προείπαμεν S διδότην καὶ μόνον PQ μόνον M.

<sup>80</sup> ος̄ δύων S δώση P ἀλλοτρίου G ἢ (1st)] ἢ καὶ P ἄλλον Q τοῦ κυρίου M ποιήσας] ποιήτω Q; ποιείτω ὁ φονεὺς P λαμβ. μαστ. δώδεκα] om PQ δώδεκα] om GS.

<sup>81</sup> οζ̄ κύνα δυνάστην] κύνα δυνατὸν M; δυνατὸν κύνα Q κατεπαιρόμενον GS; κατεπαιρό(ω- P)-

μενος MP; κατεπαιρόμεν Q συννόμους] νόμους M αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν M ὑπαγγρίσῃ S; ὑπαγγρύσῃ G; ὑπαγγρίσει MP; ὑπαγγρεῖσι Q δυνατὸν MQ τῶν ἀσθ. κυνῶν] τὸν ἀσθενέστερον κύνα Q; τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων (iP; τὸ ἀσθενέστερον S συμβαίνει

P κυλλ. κύνα τινα] αὐτὸν κυλλωθῆναι G; κυλλωθῆναι τινᾶ PS; κυλλωθῆναι Q ἀποθάνῃ Q τοῦ κυρίου GMS.

<sup>82</sup> οη̄ is given twice in M; once (numbered σα) before ος̄ and once (numbered ογ) after it. I quote the readings of the first version as M<sup>1</sup>, of the second as M<sup>2</sup> θερίσας τίς P αὐτοῦ MPG πλησίον GM<sup>12</sup>S μερίδας M<sup>2</sup> εἰσαγάγοι P; εἰσάγῃ M<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ M<sup>1</sup>G κτήνοι Q τοῖς πλ. αὐτοῦ ἐργ] ποιήσει τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλησίω M<sup>2</sup> πλησίον S; πλησίους Q αὐτοῦ] om PQ ἐργάσῃται] ποιήσεται M<sup>1</sup> τριάκοντα ἐξ M<sup>1</sup> After ἀζήμιον G inserts: τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς μοίρας ἔχουν.

<sup>83</sup> οθ̄ καὶ] om P ἀτρυγῆτων M καὶ εἰσαγάγοι P κτήνοι Q τριάκοντα ἐξ G.

<sup>84</sup> π̄ ἀνάρχης Q κόψει M ἀμπελῶνας Q ἄλλον τὸ Q; ἄλλο τι τὸ GP.

ἐργαστηρίου τελείωσιν ἂν ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης καταβοῶσι τῷ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου κυρίῳ ὡς ἴδιον τὸν κοινὸν τόπον προκατασχόντι, πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλομένην αὐτῷ διδόντων καταβολὴν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου ἑξοδον καὶ ἔστωσαν κοινωνοὶ τῷ προεργασαμένῳ.<sup>85</sup>

πβ ἂν μερισθείσης τῆς τοῦ χωρίου γῆς εὖρη τις ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ μερίδι τόπον ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐργαστήριον μύλου καὶ ἐπιμελήσεται αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν οἱ τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων γεωργοὶ λέγειν τι περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου μύλου.<sup>86</sup>

πγ ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρημοὶ χωράφια ἢ ἀμπελῶνας τὸ ἐν τῷ μύλῳ ἐρχόμενον, τὸ ἀβλαβὲς τούτων ποιείτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀργείτω ὁ μύλος.<sup>87</sup>

πδ ἂν οἱ αὐθένται τῶν χωραφίων οὐ θέλωσιν ἵνα διέρχεται τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χωραφίων, ἄδειαν ἐχέτωσιν.<sup>88</sup>

πε ἂν γεωργὸς εὖρη βοῦν ἀλλότριον ἐν ἀμπέλῳ ἀλλοτρίῳ πραιδεύοντα καὶ οὐ καταμηνύσει τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ διώξαι βουλευθεὶς φονεύσει ἢ κλάσει ἢ ἐν πάλῳ ἐμπερεῖ, ζημιωθήτω ἕξ ὀλοκλήρου.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> πα οἶκον ἢ χωρίον Q διαγνώσει M προκατασχεῖ M; προκατασχεῖν (Q ἢ) οἱ M τοῦ χ. κ. κ. τῷ] om M κοινότης] κοινῇ P καταβιώσει (Q τῷ] τὸν PQ κύριον P; om Q ἴδιον] ἴδιον G; ἡδὲ S τὸν κοινόν] καὶ κοινόν P προκατασχόντα P αὐτοῖς Δ δότωσαν GPS κοινοὶ S προσεργασαμένῳ P.

<sup>86</sup> πβ μερισθήσει (Q εἶροι P After μύλου MQ add: τὸ οἶον οὖν (οὐ M).

<sup>87</sup> πγ is treated as part of last chapter in BGS ἂν δὲ BGS χωράφιον P ἀμπέλους (τ τῷ P εἰς τὸν μύλον G ἐρχομένῳ P τούτων] τούτῳ Q; om BGPS ὁ μύλος] om BGPS.

<sup>88</sup> πδ ἂν] an M, space being left for a rubricated initial. The rubricator has neglected to fill it in, as he has also neglected to number

the chapter αὐθέντες S θέλωσιν P] θέλουσιν BGMS; θελέσει (Q αὐτῶν χωραφίων] χωραφίων αὐτῶν BGS; χωραφίων (Q.

<sup>89</sup> πε εἶροι PQ βοῦν . . . ἀλλοτρίῳ] ἐν ἀμπέλῳ βοῦν ἀλλότριον BGS ἀμπελῶνι (Q ἀλλοτρία P, with which word it ends at the foot of f. 100 v. οὐ] μὴ Q διώξεται (Q φονεύσει] om G κλάσει] κλαπῇ BGS ἐν] om BGS ἐμπερεῖ] ἐμπαρεῖ BGS; ἐμπήρει Q; ἐνπαρεῖ M ἐξολοκλήρως (Q BGQS end with π. M goes on as follows: π ὁ ἀρχεὺς μετακινήσας ὕρους ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀγρόν τινος βίᾳ σκοπελίζων κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖσθω. (No number) οἱ (om M) τὰ ὑποθέσια τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀνατρέποντες ἂν ἐπίσημοὶ εἰσι καὶ διὰ κέρδος ἴδιον τοῦτο τολμήσωσι τυπτόμενοι διηνεκῶς ἐξοριζέσθωσαν.

## MODERN GREEK IN ASIA MINOR.

THIS paper is the result of some six weeks' local study of the dialects of the Greek-speaking villages of Cappadocia and of the village of Silli near Konia in the summer of 1909. The account below of the more important books shows that a good deal has already been written on the subject, but the material is very scattered and incomplete, and does not do more than suggest a great many unanswered questions, nor does it touch more than a few of the villages.<sup>1</sup> Besides giving an account of the dialects, I have therefore tried to smooth the way for future workers by collecting and setting in order this already published material.

§ 1.—The especial interest of these dialects is twofold, and I believe that neither point has been at all emphasized. The first is that in Asia Minor Greek has been developing in an isolated area separated from the rest of the Greek-speaking world, and the second is that this process has gone on under the strongest influence of the surrounding Turkish, which now, as the language of the rulers and of an increasing proportion of the population, threatens to crush it altogether. We have thus to do with a language preserved orally only, without the conservative power of writing, and gradually giving way to a superimposed language of a totally different type. A parallel to this unequal struggle between Greek and Turkish is afforded by the rivalry between Greek and Italian in the villages of the Terra d'Otranto, where, however, the case is less interesting, and the scars of combat left on the Greek less marked, in that the difference between Greek and Italian is far less marked than that between Greek and Turkish.

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<sup>1</sup> The following signs occur in this paper:—  
u, o, for the modified *u* and *o* as in German.  
The diaeresis is used only on the Greek *a* and *u*.  
ι according to Modern Greek practice is the English *y*.

γ is used to represent the Turkish vowel of the series *y, u, i, ü*, which follows *a* or *y*.

q represents the Turkish *qaʃ*, and ' the Turkish 'ain.

č, ĵ, š (š), ž (ž), are the English sounds *ch, j, sh*, and the *s* in *measure* respectively.

ν' and λ' represent *n* and *l mouillé*.

ν and η represent the velar nasal (the *n* in *finger*).

ch is the Modern Greek χ.

Greek letters are pronounced as in Modern Greek.

The usual Greek accents are used, but only on words actually accented. Thus many words traditionally written with an accent (*νᾶ*, the article, etc.) are left unaccented. An additional grave accent on a word marks the secondary accent; e.g. ἡσιλ'ισκι (*ἡθελε*), του λᾶσκαρῆν δους (*τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτῶν*).



Such cases of the play of one language upon another have a more than merely local interest. The late Phrygian inscriptions by the contamination of their language with the Greek shew the same losing battle with Greek that Greek is itself now fighting with Turkish, and the same process must have been repeated many times in the course of history. In a similar manner the Gipsy language is now being undermined in every country to which its speakers have carried it. If the contest is equal and both languages survive, both may bear traces of the contact; if one is destined to go under, it will only do so reluctantly, and in a long period of diglossy the disappearing tongue will take much from the stronger, which in its turn can hardly fail to be affected. Cases in point are the Welsh and Irish pronunciations of English. This gradual disappearance is now the condition of the Greek of Cappadocia, and to record some of the details of such a process is therefore not only of interest as a part of the long history of the Greek language, but has also a wider bearing on general philological theory.

A Turkish scholar might with advantage search for traces of Greek in the phonetics and vocabulary of the Turkish spoken in these villages, both in those that are bilingual and in those where Greek has only recently disappeared.

§ 2.—A list follows of the regions in Asia Minor where Greek has, I believe, continuously held its own, although in general the Turks and their language have so thoroughly taken possession of the land, that most of the Christians speak only Turkish. This list of course excludes recent settlements, the Greek traders to be found in every town, and the Greek speakers of the younger generation, who are the result of the planting of Greek schools.

(1) Pontos. This is the most important, and with it must be reckoned the Pontic colonies (*Lazoi*), which reach as far south as the Taurus, and so come into contact with Cappadocian Greek.<sup>2</sup> The authorities mention the following settlements:—

(a) Shabin-Kara-Hisar (Greek Nikopolis) near the source of the Halys, identified by Ramsay with Colonia.<sup>3</sup> The Greek community numbers about 150 families,<sup>4</sup> and the language is said to differ very little from that of Cappadocia.<sup>5</sup> Karolidhis notes that *ai* is prefixed to all the verbs.<sup>6</sup> A Christmas carol, a version of the well-known song in honour of St. Basil, is given by Lagarde.<sup>7</sup>

(b) Settlements in the Ak Dagħ (*White Mountain*) on the north side of the Halys south of Tokat. Two songs are given by Lagarde.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For a bibliography of Pontic, on which much has been written, but not well, see G. Meyer's *Neugr. Studien*, i. p. 88. To this now add D. E. Oekonomides, *Lehrbuch des Pontischen*, Leipzig, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, pp. 57, 267.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii. p. 296.

<sup>5</sup> *Kap.* p. 31. No great weight should be attached to this opinion on the character of the dialect.

<sup>6</sup> *Kap.* p. 170.

<sup>7</sup> *Neugr. aus Kleinasien*, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* pp. 39, 40, and *Kap.* p. 31.

(c) The mining settlement of Bulgar Maden in the Taurus almost due south of Nigde and east of Eregli. Valavánis, who spent his childhood here, says that the miners are a colony from Pontos and speak the Lazic dialect of Greek. The name is a corruption of Μπουγά Μαδενή, the *Taurus mine*, *bugha* being Turkish for *bull* (ταῦρος). He also says that twenty-five years before his date of writing (1891) the place sent a colony to Κουβουκλού between Nigde and the Taurus.<sup>9</sup> This is perhaps Kiepert's Kavukui. With Bulgar Maden Karolidhis mentions also Σουλουτζόβασι, which I have been unable to trace.

(2) The Greek community of Leivisi in Lycia. Here a dialect is spoken which, in spite of the geographical position of the place and its local traditions, has no resemblance to that of the neighbouring islands, but must rather be reckoned as a genuine Asiatic dialect.<sup>10</sup>

(3) The Greek-speaking places in Bithynia near Nikaia and Nikomedia, of the dialects of which I know nothing, except that they are very plausibly said to resemble Thracian. It is possible that they are colonies from Thrace.<sup>11</sup>

(4) The village of Phárasa (τα Φάρασα) on the Zamanti Sou in the Antitaurus east of Nigde. With Pharasa must be classed the small Christian villages of Tschukuryúrt, Kíske, Aphsar-köi, and Giaour-köi.

(5) The villages in Cappadocia which stretch from Ferték near Nigde to Sinasós near Urgúp. As most of these lie in the treeless plain of the Poutak Ovasi, their dialect may conveniently be called by this name.

(6) The large village or small town of Silli, which lies in a valley about an hour N.W. of Konia.

This paper deals with 5 and 6 only. At Silli I spent a fortnight, and made shorter visits to the villages in the Poutak Ovasi which are marked with a star in the list below. Of 1-4 I have no personal knowledge.

§ 3.—About the dialects of Pharasa, the Poutak Ovasi and Silli there exists some published information, to which as well as to Gustav Meyer's Bibliography I am much indebted.<sup>12</sup> Unless however an express reference is

<sup>9</sup> Βαλαβάνης, *Μικρασιατικά*, pp. 134-139.

<sup>10</sup> For common points between this dialect and that of Silli see §§ 7 and 14 below. An account of it is given in Βατταρισμοί, *ἤτοι λεξιλόγιον τῆς Λειβησιακῆς διαλέκτου*, ὑπὸ Μ. Ι. Μουσαίου, Athens, 1880. This book, the only published source for the dialect, and, unless some further local researches be made, its sole monument to posterity, was written by a local schoolmaster with the curiously different object of destroying it altogether, by giving his pupils an easy means of correcting their native speech, the forms of which he prints in parallel columns with those of the purified language.

<sup>11</sup> Twenty-one songs from Bithynia, with the names of the villages, are included in the col-

lection published in the Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλή under the title 260 *Δημῶδη Ἑλληνικά Αἰσματα κ.τ.λ. συλλεγόμενα καὶ παρασημαθέντα ὑπὸ Γεωργίου Δ. Παχτίκου*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1905. But, as the author very truly says (p. κζ'), songs do not give a faithful representation of the local dialect. I know of no other published material except proverbs in Politis (Παροιμίαι) quoted by Kretschmer (*Der heut. Lesb. Dial.* p. 18), from which it appears that unaccented *i* is dropped.

<sup>12</sup> *Neugriechische Studien*, i. p. 86, Wien, 1894, in Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Classe, Band cxxx. This adds a few less important references.

given, the statements in this paper rest upon local oral information and notes.

The more important books are :—

‘*Η Σινασός, κ.τ.λ., ὑπὸ Ἰ. Σαραντίδου Ἀρχελαίου*. Athens, 1899 (quoted below as *Σιν.*).

The author is a doctor, a native of Sinasos, where he received me with great kindness. His book gives a good account of Sinasos in especial and in general of all the Greek-speaking communities of Cappadocia, with short samples of their dialects and a fuller study of that of Sinasos with texts. This latter is especially valuable, as the old dialect has now almost disappeared under the influence of the excellent schools and close connexion with Constantinople.<sup>13</sup>

‘*Η ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ λαλουμένη Ἑλληνικὴ διάλεκτος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σωζόμενα ἔχνη τῆς ἀρχαίας Καππαδοκικῆς γλώσσης, ὑπὸ Π. Κ. Καρολίδου. Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, Περίοδος τετάρτη*. Smyrna, 1884.<sup>14</sup> (Quoted as *Καρ.*)

This book of Professor Karolidhis I believe first called attention to these dialects. It deals mainly with the language of Pharasa. The author quotes a suggestion of Kiepert,<sup>15</sup> based on place-names, that possibly these dialects preserve relics of the old Cappadocian language, and of Niebuhr<sup>16</sup> that Lycaonian has left its mark upon the dialect of Silli, and seeks to prove this thesis by an entirely uncritical use of the Pharasa vocabulary. He does not prove his case, but he has gathered a good deal of linguistic and other information, and gives a suggestive, though very defective, sketch of the grammar. A scientific study of the Cappadocian vocabulary, with its ancient Greek and medieval Byzantine words, would be of great interest.

*Neugriechisches aus Kleinasien*. Mitgetheilt von Paul de Lagarde. Göttingen, 1886. Aus dem 33en Bande d. Abhandl. d. könig. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

This is a publication of texts sent by Karolidhis to Lagarde in support of his Cappadocian theory, and its most valuable result. The texts consist of samples of a translation of the Gospels into the dialect of Pharasa from a MS. in the church there, of songs from Delmeso, Sinasos, Ak Dagħ, and Nikopolis, and a word-index. It would be an excellent work to find and publish this Pharasa MS., if it still exists.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Chatzidhakis has reprinted his valuable review of this in *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, ii. pp. 532–544.

<sup>14</sup> Also published separately as *Γλωσσάριον συγκριτικὸν Ἑλληνοκαππαδοκικῶν λέξεων ἥτοι ἡ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κ.τ.λ.*, Smyrna, 1885.

<sup>15</sup> Kiepert, *Memoir über die Construction der Karte von Kleinasien*, p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> I have not traced this reference.

<sup>17</sup> As to Karolidhis' thesis I cannot do better than quote from Kretschmer, *Die Griech.*

*Sprache*, p. 399: ‘Karolidis hat in dem heute nördlich des Tauros gesprochenen griechischen Dialekt eine Reihe von Elementen entdeckt, welche sich aus dem Griechischen nicht deuten lassen, und die er deshalb auf die alt-Kappadokische Landessprache zurückführt: das ist möglich, jedenfalls nicht widerlegbar, aber seine Etymologien, auf Grund deren er das Kappadokische für eine arische, dem Phrygischen verwandte Sprache erklärt, sind nichts weniger als zwingend.’ Chatzidhakis has re-

Τὰ Φερτάκαινα ἀπὸ ἐθνολογικὴν καὶ φιλολογικὴν ἔποψιν ἐξεταζόμενα, ὑπὸ Σωκ. Κρινοπούλου. Athens, 1889; pp. 76.

A little book containing a general account of the Greeks in Cappadocia, with a short grammar and glossary of the dialect of Fertek. The whole of p. 13, with the list of places where Greek is spoken, is taken verbally from Karolidhis, p. 31, and has no independent value.

Ἀλεκτορίδης, Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, i. Athens, 1884; pp. 480-508.

Grammatical notes and glossary of the dialect of Fertek, and pp. 712-728, *Αἵσματα Καππαδοκικά*. Of these the author says that one is from Anakou, and to judge from the occasional change of *τι* to *τσι* (*ί*), the rest are probably from Delmeso, Ghourzono, or Aravan. See § 46.

Τὰ Σύλατα, κ.τ.λ., ὑπὸ Συμέων Σ. Φαρασοπούλου. Athens. 1895; pp. 136.

An account of Silata with a short glossary and a few songs, which have also been published with a few variants in the Athenian periodical *Ξενοφάνης*, ii. pp. 322 ff., 1905. The statistics from this book are used below.

Ν. Σ. Ρίζος, *Καππαδοκία, ἦτοι κ.τ.λ.* Constantinople, 1856.

Not in Meyer's bibliography, and therefore probably rare. I saw a copy at Malakopi. It gives a list of the Greek villages with a few details as to their population and dialect, which I quote below. The age of the book makes it especially valuable.

H. Grégoire, *B.C.H.* 1909, pp. 148-159. Grammatical notes and a folk-tale of Pharasa. Except from the point of view of lexicography, these few pages, the result of two evenings' work, contain more real information about the dialect than all the other publications.

*Βαλαβάνης, Μικρασιατικά*, Athens, 1891, gives a short glossary from Aravan, and much interesting matter.

The linguistic material hitherto available has therefore been, for Silli, a short paragraph on the grammar and two inadequately recorded short tales published by Archelaos<sup>18</sup>, and for the Poutak Ovasi dialects, Archelaos' specimens, some small glossaries, two very scanty grammars from Fertek, and the fuller study of the Sinasos dialect. The short glossaries from Aravan and Silata do not help much, and all these works ignore the very important Turkish element. Their greatest value lies in their information as to social conditions.

Mr. Anastasios Levidhis of Zindji Dere near Talas has written, but not published, a grammar of Cappadocian Greek with glossaries and what seems to be a valuable collection of folk-songs. I believe that most of his material

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viewed Karolidhis, and shewn that many of his 'Cappadocian' words are found in other Modern Greek dialects. Our ignorance of ancient

Cappadocian is a prime factor in the problem, which is passed over by Karolidhis.

<sup>18</sup> *Σιν.* p. 144.

is from Pharasa. I saw the MS. in Mr. Levidhis' house, and its publication is greatly to be desired.

Lastly Mr. Nikolaos Kechayopoulos of Aravan has sent me a MS. account of his native dialect, with a few notes on the other Poutak Ovasi villages. All quotations from this I have marked N. K.

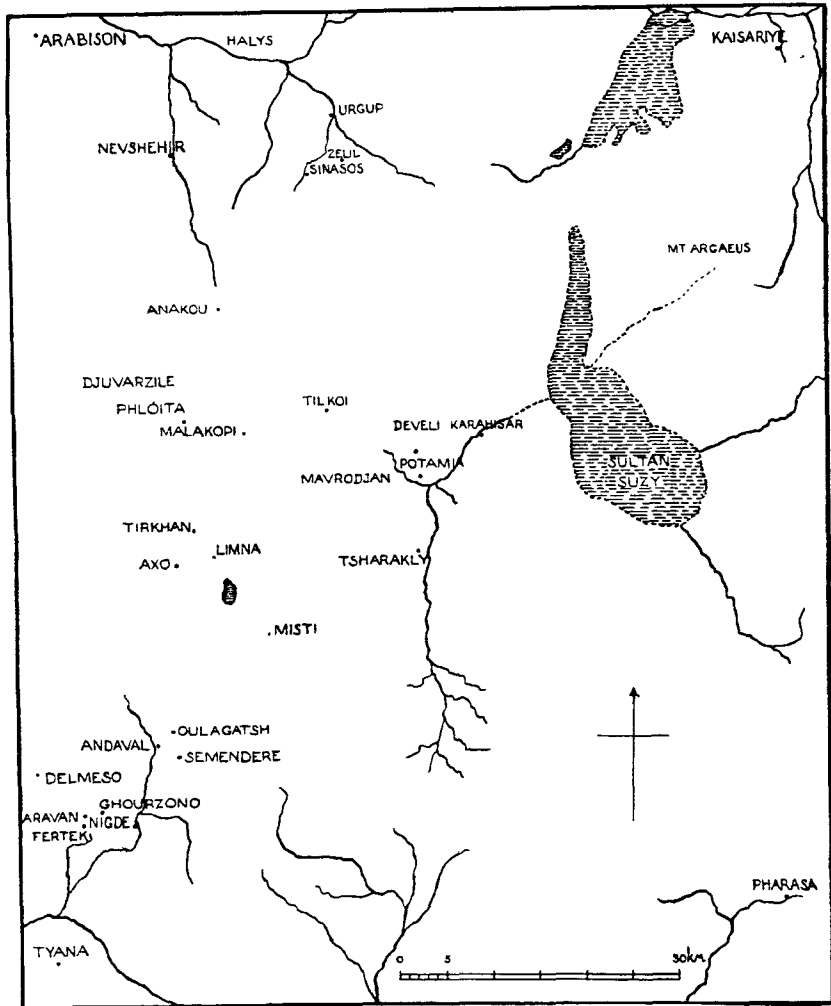


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP MARKING THE GREEK-SPEAKING VILLAGES IN CAPPADOCIA.

§ 4.—I add a list of the Greek-speaking villages, marking those which I visited with an asterisk, and giving the numbers of Christian and Turkish inhabitants, distinguished by a cross and a crescent respectively. The figures of 1895 are taken from Pharasopoulos (*Tà Σύλατα*), those of 1899 from Archelaos (*Συνασός*), and those of 1909 are from my own inquiries. My informants counted by houses, and five inhabitants are reckoned to a house.

The Turks always speak exclusively Turkish, except a few at Sinasos, and the Christians, except a few women at Axo and Misti, are bilingual, but tend to lose Greek. The accompanying sketch map (Fig. 1), taken from Kiepert, shews the position of the places in Cappadocia.

## NEAR KONIA.

\*Silli: 3500†, 3500~ (1899).  
2250†, 5750~ (1909).

## VILLAGES OF THE POUTAK OVASI DISTRICT.

- \*Ferték: 2500†, 300~ (1895). Locally called *Βαρτάκαινα*, but  
2700†, 300~ (1899). the Greeks usually use the  
1100†, 2000~ (1909). form *Φερτάκαινα*.  
 $\frac{3}{5}$ †,  $\frac{2}{5}$ ~ (Δελτ. i. p. 482, 1884).  
Christian and Turkish, Rizos,  
p. 105.
- \*Delmesó: 1500†, 20~ (1895). In Kiepert's map, Dylmusun.  
1500†, 20~ (1899).  
2000†, 150~ (1909).  
Christian, with some Turks,  
Rizos, p. 105.
- \*Araván: 1000†, —~ (1895).  
1000†, —~ (1899).  
900†, —~ (1909).
- \*Ghoúrzonο: 1500†, —~ (1895). In Kiepert's map, Kaÿr Dunus.  
1500†, —~ (1899). The Greeks write it Γούρδονος.  
1500†, —~ (1909). For δ→ζ see § 45.
- Semenderé: 1800†, 400~ (1895). Turkish vocabulary gaining on  
1800†, 400~ (1899). the Greek (N.K.). Rizos  
Turkish gaining (1909). (p. 101) records it as Greek-  
speaking.
- Oulágatsh: In Kiepert's map, Ulu Aghatsh  
Οὐλ-Αγάτζ, Δελτ. i. p. 481.  
Greek vocabulary poor (N.K.).
- [Andavál]: 2000†, —~ (1895). In Kiepert's map, Eski Andaval.  
2000 (? Christians), (1899). Greek no longer spoken. So  
All Christians (1909). too *Kap.* p. 81.

- \*Mistí: 4800†, —~ (1895).  
 8000†, —~ (1899).  
 3500†, —~ (1909).  
 300 houses, Rizos, p. 100.
- Jeklék: Both this and Tsharakly are quite small places. With j (j as in English). A colony from Misti (N.K.).
- Tsharaklý: A colony from Misti.
- Díla: 200†, —~ (1895). A colony from Misti (Σύλ. p. 99).  
 200†, 75~ (1909). I think this is Kiepert's Til-Köi (Kaisar-K.) east of Malakopi on the road thence to Develi Karahisar.
- Límna: 750†, 200~ (1895). Greek-speaking, Rizos, p. 99.  
 800†, 200~ (1899). Greek is now understood only by a few old people. Archelaos (Σύλ. p. 126) says that the language was lost about 1880. It is called in Turkish Göljük, a translation of the Greek name.  
 2000†, 650~ (1909).
- \*Axó or 4000† and more, —~ (1895). Turkish Hasa-Köi.  
 Naxó: 4500†, —~ (1899).  
 3000† or more, —~ (1909).  
 About 300 houses, Rizos, p. 98.
- \*Trochó: 1500†, —~ (1895). Turkish Tirkhin. Kiepert marks it as Tirkhan. It is a small village a mile from Axo, on the road to Malakopi.  
 1500†, —~ (1899).  
 400†, —~ (1909).
- \*Malakopí: 1600†, 400~ (1895). In Kiepert's map, Melegob.  
 2000†, 400~ (1899).  
 2000†, 800~ (1909).  
 Christians and Turks, Rizos, p. 97.
- \*Phloítá: 2800†, 400~ (1895). Turkish Souvermez (= *It does not give water*). Greek-speaking, Rizos, p. 99. The Greek vocabulary rich and the language comparatively pure (N.K.).  
 2800†, 400~ (1899).  
 1500†, 650~ (1909).

*Anakού :	1000†, 1800~ (1895). 1000†, 1800~ (1899). 750†, 1500~ (1909).	Turkish Inegi.
Silata :	1000†, 1000~ (1899). 750†, 300~ (1909).	Turkish Zile. As the village is near Anakou it is probably the place marked by Kiepert as Djuvarzile. It is the subject of <i>Tā Σύλατα</i> mentioned above. Language relatively pure (N.K.).
Arabisón :	6000†, 14000~ ? (1895). 8000†, 4000~ (1899).	In Kiepert's map, Arebsun.
*Sinásós :	4000†, 1000~ (1895). 4500†, 600~ (1899). 3000†, 1000~ (1909). 400†, 100~ houses, Rizos, p. 86.	Rizos says: 'The Greeks speak the vulgar Greek pretty well ( <i>ἀρκετὰ καλῶς</i> ), and most of them do not know Turkish.' Here and at Tshaléla the language is much purer and nearer the <i>δημώδης γλῶσσα</i> (N.K.).
Tshaléla, or Zaléla :	800†, 300~ (1895). 700†, 400~ (1899). 750†, 300~ (1909).	Probably Kiepert's Zelil near Sinasós. It is called in Turkish Jemil ( <i>j</i> as in English), <i>beautiful</i> , because, Archelaos says, Zalel has a bad meaning in Turkish ( <i>Σιν.</i> p. 119).
Potámia :	800†, 100~ (1895). 900†, —~ (1899). 600†, —~ (1909).	Marked in Kiepert as Orta Kōi ( <i>the middle village</i> ), being between Bash-Kōi and Mavrodjan. It is called also Dere-Kōi, <i>the village of the stream</i> ( <i>Σύλ.</i> p. 99), and is mentioned as a Greek-speaking place in <i>Παρνασσός</i> , xv. p. 457.



## THE PHARASA GROUP.

Phárasa:	1800†.	The populations are entirely Christian. The figures are from Archelaos ( <i>Σιν.</i> p. 121). Kiepert marks neither Aphsar-Köi, nor Giaour-Köi, and Tschukuryurt and Kiske, both N.E. of Pharasa, fall outside the limits of the sketch-map. Giaour-Köi is mentioned only by Karolidhis (p. 75), who says that it is a colony from Pharasa.
Tshukuryúrt:	400†.	
Kiské:	400†.	
Aphsár-Köi:	200†.	
Giaour-Köi:	?	

§ 5.—With all due allowances for the roughness of these figures, they all agree in one point, the increase of the Turkish element. This is most marked at Silli and Fertek, but Delmeso, Phloïta, Malakopi, Dila, and Sinasos all have the same story. Only at Silata, if the figures, which I got at Malakopi, are at all correct, have the Greeks gained proportionally. This increase of the Turk may well account for the disappearance of Greek at Limna, but it is hard to see why the exclusively Christian Andaval should have become Tourkophone. But in fact in all these villages the local dialect is in danger of being lost. It is attacked on two sides; by Turkish, and by the purified Greek taught in the schools. Grégoire says of Pharasa that all the women now know Turkish;<sup>19</sup> I hardly found any place where they did not, and it may be said that, except in Misti, Axo, Trocho, Ghourzono, and Aravan, villages where there are no Turks, the women even taught Turkish to their husbands, and the local Greek is used only by the women and children, though the men also understand it. Where the schools are exceptionally good, as at Malakopi, the men now incline to talk the common popular Greek or even a pure form of it, and this is helped by their custom of going to Constantinople to find work. The schools for girls (*παρθενωγωγεία*) cut at the root and last stronghold of every local dialect, the conservatism of the women.

The extent of the Turkish influence may be judged from the great number of Turkish words in the texts printed below, and by the lists of Turkisms at the end of this paper (§ 87). To a Christian living where there are Turks, a knowledge of Turkish, for the men at all events, is a necessity, whilst Greek is not, and therefore tends to lose ground.<sup>20</sup> Another point is, that from economic causes the Turkish element in these villages is increasing and the Greek decreasing. Only in the exclusively Greek villages

<sup>19</sup> *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 148.

<sup>20</sup> Thus at Viza in Thrace, with a mixed population of Turks and Greek-speaking Christ-

ians, the women generally know only Greek, but all the men are bilingual.

will the dialect last any length of time, and there under the influence of schools and national feeling it will give way ultimately to the common colloquial Greek. This will I think happen at Aravan and Ghourzono. The primitive, purely agricultural villages of Axo and Misti, where the men stop at home and work in the fields, will keep the dialect longest, and indeed it shews at present no signs at all of dying out.<sup>21</sup> The size of the villages, the largest in the district, is an additional safeguard. Fertek will follow Limna and Andaval and become entirely Tourkophone unless its schools save a small remnant to speak the common modern Greek.

Sinasos has for very many years been in close touch with Constantinople,



FIG. 2.—MISTI: THE SEASON OF HARVEST.

and, though the dialect has many features in common with that of the Poutak Ovasi, I doubt if it has ever been so deeply corrupted. Its schools and its flourishing condition have now at all events set it firmly on the path of the Modern Greek *Κοινή*, and it is, as the inhabitants boast, an Hellenic oasis, where even some Moslems know Greek. It is noticeable too that Greek has always been written at Sinasos. I saw no Turkish inscriptions in the church, and old tombstones of the beginning of the eighteenth century are written in Greek. In the other villages the tombs, until the quite recent days of schools, were all inscribed in Turkish, and the pictures in the churches bear Turkish legends, though in Greek characters. Even now the Greeks use Turkish in Greek characters for their correspondence.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is hard to see why Archelaos (*Σιν.* p. 126) should say that there is danger of the Greek dialect disappearing at Axo.

<sup>22</sup> Just as the Armenians write Turkish in Armenian characters.

This use of Turkish for writing shows that the dialects have been transmitted for many years entirely orally. Greek schools are quite recent,<sup>23</sup> and indeed at Misti and Axo are only just beginning, and also the difference between the local speech and the Greek of the schools is so great that the schoolmaster's efforts rather go to substitute another language for the local dialect than gradually correct it, as happens in places where the divergence between the two is not so marked. For the same reason the liturgical use of Greek has had little or no effect. The older generation of priests hardly understood the services, and the people not at all. If it is necessary to make the people understand, Turkish is used. When I was at Fertek, the bishop



FIG. 3.—MISTI: GREEK-SPEAKING INHABITANTS.

was there, and the sermon which he preached was Turkish, and so was nearly all his conversation with his flock. Thus the retarding influences, writing and, the invariable accompaniment of writing in Greek lands, the written transmission of the old Byzantine style, have both been absent, and the conditions in Cappadocia have in this way been very different from those in the rest of the Greek world, where the church Greek and the use of the language for writing have always kept the spoken language in some touch however slight with the old tradition, and have helped to check any extreme rapidity of development. It is said that at Silli the dialect was not so long ago used for writing, but even if this be true, it is at Silli that the degree of corruption is least.

<sup>23</sup> The very word for reading (διαβάζω) has been lost in that sense, and as the only reading known was the singing of the church services,

the dialects all use the same verb (ψάλλω, locally ψαλλίσκω, etc.) for both chanting and reading. Even to read to oneself is still ψάλλω.

The existence at Pharasa of a translation of the Gospels from Turkish<sup>24</sup> into the local dialect shows how much Turkish has gained since this was made. Now everyone there, even the women, understands Turkish, but when this translation was made the only language they understood was their own local Greek. No information is to be found as to the date of this manuscript, but the usual ill-treatment of Greek service-books makes it unlikely that it is very old.

It will be convenient to give first a sketch of the dialect of Silli, then of that of the Cappadocian villages, and to end with some general conclusions.

#### THE DIALECT OF SILLI.

§ 6.—The following sketch, drawn up from my notebooks, gives the main points of difference from ordinary modern Greek.

##### *Phonetics.*

§ 7.—In terminations unaccented *e* (*ε, αι*) and *o* (*ο, ω*) change to *i* and *u* respectively, *e.g.* ἔρχομαι (*ἐρχομαι*), κείνους (*ἐκεῖνος*).<sup>25</sup> The plural in *-es* is generally an exception: *τες βέρρες the carrings*. In stems this change is rare.

§ 8.—The Turkish Vowel-harmony has affected the dialect, though only partially and inconsistently, and naturally most fully in the Turkish words with Greek terminations. The following cases may be distinguished.

(1) The present of the numerous verbs formed from Turkish stems by the addition of *-dō*, and conjugated as verbs in *-άω*. An example is *baσλadō*, Turk. *başlamaq*, *to begin*.

Sg. *baσλadō*, *-dās*, *-dā*.

Pl. *baσladούμι*, *-dāti*, *-dōūsi*.

These are the usual Greek endings, but when the stem has the vowel *ö* or *ü*, these are modified according to the Turkish system by which *e* is the alternative vowel to *a* and *ü* to *u*, for use after stems with *ö* or *ü*. *E.g.* *düšündō*, Turk. *düşünmek*, *to consider*.

Sg. *düšündō*, *-dēs*, *-dé*.

Pl. *düšündúμι*, *-dēte*, *-dūsi*.

The full observance of the harmony would demand *baσladýμι*, *-dýsi*, for of the vowel group *u, y, i, u*, it is *y* which follows *a*, but I did not observe this.

(2) The 1st sg. pres. dep. has alternative ending *-μου* by the side of the usual *-μι* (*=-μαι*), in agreement with the *-ου-* of the previous syllable.

<sup>24</sup> Lagarde, *Neogr. aus Kleinasien*, p. 4, says expressly on the authority of Karolidhis that the translation is not from the Greek but from a Turkish version.

<sup>25</sup> The only other dialect, so far as I know,

which has this weakening of unaccented *e* and *o*, without at the same time dropping unaccented *i* and *u*, is that of Leivisi in Lycia. See *Μουσαῖος, Βατταρισμοί, πασσίμ*.

Examples are *ἔρχουμον, φοβούμον, κάσουμον* by the side of *ἔρχουμι, φοβούμι, κάσουμι* (*κάθομαι*), *I sit*. I noted also *ἔἰς σου*; (*τίς εἶσαι*;) and *εἶμου* by *εἶμαι*, where the ending must be accounted for by the analogy of the other dep. stems, which all end in *-ουμον, -ουμι*.

(3) The pl. *ἄρτουπουρου* (*ἄνθρωποι*) given by Archelaos,<sup>26</sup> as against my form *ἄρτουπουρι*. The case cannot be common, as plurals in *-ουρι* are rare. All the *-ος* nouns I noted, except *ἄρτουπους*, have the plural in *-ιρι*.

(4) Isolated cases. I note *ὀϊάκυ, pyre*, Turk. *oĵak*; *μαναχῆς* (*μοναχός*).

§ 9.—T (and *vd*, from anc. *ντ* and *νδ*) and *σ* (*ξ, ψ*) before original *i* are pronounced *č* (*ηĵ*) and *š* (*kš, pš*), but not before the *i* which replaces an unaccented *e*. Examples are: *ῥῥι* (*ῥτι*); *ρόνῃα* (*δόντια*), *teeth*; *ἔχουσι*; but *ἀβόψι* (*ἀπόψε*) *this evening*; *τότι* (*τότε*); *ἔρσιτι* (*ἔρχεται*).

The same change is found in Turkish loan-words, e.g. *κιζμέτι* (*qysmet*), *fate*.

§ 10.—N and λ before all *i*-sounds, old and new, are pronounced mouillé (*ν', λ'*). E.g. *βουν'ί*, *mountain*; *σέλ'ει* (*θέλει*); *ἔσικν'ί* (*ἔθεκνε*) *he used to set*, impf. of *σέκνω* (mod. *θέτω*).

§ 11.—X before *e* and *i* is pronounced *š*; e.g. *ῥέρι* (*χέρι*) *hand*; *εἶσι* (*εἶχε*); *βροσῆ* (*βροχή*).

§ 12.—Θ and δ initial and intervocalic are pronounced *s* and *r* respectively, the *r* being said to be not quite the same as the old *ρ*. This *s* is unaltered before *i*. Examples are: *σύρα* (*θύρα*); *ρῶκι* (*ἔδωκε*): *παιρί* (*παιδί*); *συμήσ' τα* (mod. *ἐνθυμήσου*) aor. imper. of *ἐνθυμούμαι*.

In a few words δ is pronounced *d*; I could only find *δοῦμα* (*δῶμα*), *flat roof*; *δαδί* (*δαδίον*); *δομάδα* (*ἐβδομάς*); *γάιδουρους* (*γάϊδαρος*) *ass*. *Δουλεία* becomes *ζουλιά*. See also § 45.

In consonant-groups θ and δ are pronounced *t* and *d*, and *θρ, δρ* become *ρτ, ρδ*; e.g. *ἡρτα* (*ἡλθον*); *ἄρτουπους* (*ἄνθρωπος*). *γιουρδόννου* (*ιδρόνω*), *I sweat*. Σφ is pronounced σ. E.g. *σαλῶ* (*σφαλίζω*).

### § 13.—The Article.

This only survives in the accusative, with the forms: sg. *m. τουν*, *f. ἔην*, *n. του*; pl. *m. τους*, *f. τες*, *n. τα*.

To its disuse in the nominative there are two exceptions:—

(1) It is used occasionally before neuters.

(2) When the possessive genitive is followed by a neuter noun, a τ is placed between them. This is locally regarded as the genitive of the article postfixed,<sup>27</sup> but as in all the examples the following noun is neuter and

<sup>26</sup> Cf. § 14 and Σιν. p. 144.

<sup>27</sup> Thus Archelaos (Σιν. p. 144) gives the gen. of *ἄρτουπους* (*ἄνθρωπος*) as *ἄρτουπουτ*, and the gen. pl. as *ἄρτουπουρουτ*, which is really the

acc., very probably, as often in Modern Greek, used for the gen., with the article of the following word.

there is no Greek precedent for the postfixing of the article, it is more reasonable to regard it as the nom. or acc. of the neuter article. *E.g.* πατισαχιού τ παιρί (τὸ παιδί τοῦ βασιλέα), *the king's son*; Ἰάννη τ παιρί, *John's son*, but Ἰάννη κόρη, *John's daughter*. These relics of the nom. of the article agree with the Cappadocian dialects, where, however, the disuse does not go so far, as the article has disappeared only before proper names.

#### § 14.—*The Substantive.*

The declensions differ from the usual standard chiefly in that the pl. of nearly all masculines ends in -ρι, acc. -ρις or -ρι. Examples are:—

παπάς, παπάρι, *priest*.  
 ἄνδρας, ἄνδραρι, (ἄνῆρ).  
 σκούνδους, σκούνηρι (σκύλλος), *dog*.

Archelaos (Σιν. p. 144) gives n. pl. ἀρτέπ (ἀνθρώποι) and ἄρτουπουρουν for nom. and acc., for which see § 8 above.

The full decl. of ἄρτουπους (ἄνθρωπος) is:—

Sg. N. ἄρτουπους.	Pl. N. ἄρτουπουρι.
A. ἄρτουπουν.	A. ἄρτουπουρις.
G. ἄρτουπιού.	G. ἄρτουπουριῶ or ἄρτουπιῶ.

So also κλέφτης, *thief*, gen. κλεφτήιου.

Pl. κλέφτηρι, Gen. κλεφτήριῶ.

This -ρι plural may be the usual Mod. Greek form in -δες, at Silli -ρις, differentiated into nom. -ρι, acc. -ρις on the -οι, -ους model, or perhaps the same as the pl. in -δοι, instead of -δες, found at Leivisi. In this latter case, we should have a further link between Silli and Leivisi.

#### § 15.—*The Adjective*

A feminine in -άσσα is noticeable, used at all events for all adj. in -άς borrowed from Turkish. *E.g.* βασκάς, βασκάσσα (Turk. *başkı*) for ἄλλος, ἄλλη; χοςάς, χοςάσσα (Turk. *khoş*), *beautiful*.

#### *Pronouns.*

§ 16.—The pronominal object as a rule follows the verb, unless it be introduced by να, σε (=θά) or the negative ρέ(ν, when it precedes. *E.g.* λαεῖ του, *he says to him*; σε ζρώσου (θὰ σοῦ δώσω), *I will give thee*. This is the rule in the Cyclades and Southern Sporades.

A transitive verb must have an expressed object, and this is very often supplied by the neut. pl. τα, quite irrespective of the real gender and number.<sup>23</sup> An example is: Ρωτοῦν ἡ, ἔγερ να σελήσῃ νὰ πάρῃ πατισαχιού τ παιρί. τούτῃ κι, 'Παίρω τα,' λαεῖ. *They ask her if she will be willing to take the king's son. And she says, 'I take him.'* The τα may be used even

<sup>23</sup> For the same thing at Pharasa see Grégoire, *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 156.

when a masc. or fem. object is expressed *e.g.* Συμῆς τα του Στέφανου (ἐνθυμήσου τὸν Στέφανον), *Remember Stephen*.

This and the use of *κό μου* for all genders and numbers are the only points in which the Silli grammar breaks down.

§ 17.—The demonstratives are curious. Besides *τούτους* and *κείνους* (οὗτος and ἐκείνος) we have for ‘*this*’ *τιάς* used as adj. or subst. It is declined :—

	m.	f.	n.
Sg. Nom.	τιάς.	ῥιά.	τιά.
Acc.	τιάν δου(ν.	ῥιά ῥη(ν.	τιά του.
Pl. Nom.	ῥιά.	τεές.	ταγιά.
Acc.	τεές τους.	τεές τες.	ταγιά τα.

*Αὐτός* is rare. Instead of it forms based upon *ἔδω* (*here*) and the demonstrative particle *δά* are used adjectivally. These forms *ρώ* and *ρά* (*δ* being pronounced like *ρ*) are followed by the article in the neut. sg. almost always reduced to *τ*. The forms are found most frequently in the neuter, where all the cases are used; in the masc. and fem. only the acc. occurs, *τούτους* and *τιάς* being used for the nom. The resemblance of *ρώ* and *ρά* to masc. and fem. endings may explain the rarity of *ρώ* in the fem. *ρὼ ν ἦην ὥρα* is the only example I have, although *ρώ* and *ρά* are used quite indiscriminately for the masc. and neut. Examples are :—

Masc. Acc. Sg. *ρὼ (ρὰ) τουν ἄρτουπουν* (*this man*).

Pl. *ρὰ τους ἄρτουπουροι* (*these men*).

Fem. Acc. Sg. *ρὰ ῥην γόρη* (*this girl*).

Pl. *ρὰ τες κόρες* (*these girls*).

Neut. Nom. and Acc. Sg. *ρὼ (ρὰ) τ παιρί* (*this boy*).

*ρὰ τ παρά* (*this money*).

*ρὼ του σπίτσι* (*this house*).

Nom. and Acc. Pl. *ρὼ τα τέκνα* (*these children*).

Gen. Pl. *ρὼ τ τεκνῶν*.

A corresponding substitute for *ἐκείνος* is made from *ἐκεῖ* and the article: *e.g.* *κεῖ τ χωριό*, *that village*. It is not so common as *ρώ*, *ρά*.

§ 18.—The forms of *τίς* in use are nom. m. and f. *ῥίς*; acc. *ῥίνα*; gen. *ῥίνους*.

§ 19.—The substantival or emphatic possessive is based on the common Mod. Greek *ἰ)δικός μου*, and is *κό μου*, *κό σου*, etc., followed before a neut. noun by the *τ* of the article and in the pl. by *τα*. *E.g.* *κείνου κό σου τ κιζμέτσι νε*, *that is thy fate*. *Κό μου* etc. do not alter with the gender and number of the substantive: *e.g.* *κό μας τα σεράια*, *our own palaces*.

The usual possessive is, as in Mod. Greek, *μου*, *σου*, etc. Before a neuter these also have a *τ* for the article of the following noun like other genitives: *e.g.* *γὼ σέλω νὰ ριῶ μέγα μου τ παιρί* (*ἐγὼ θέλω νὰ ἰδῶ κ.τ.λ.*), *I wish to see my eldest son*.

*The Verb.*

§ 20.—Very many verbs have been taken over from the Turkish and these have the ending -δῶ or -τῶ, and are conjugated like verbs in -άω with the present endings -δῶ, -δᾶς, -δᾷ; -δοῦμι, -δᾷτι, -δοῦσι, or -δῶ, -δές, -δέ; δῶμι, δέτε, δῶσι according to the vowel of the stem. See § 8 above.

Examples are:—

γοῖακλαδῶ, from *guyaqqlamaq*, to embrace; aor. γοῖακλαῖσα.

βαῖσλαδῶ, from *başlamaq*, to begin; aor. βαῖσλαῖσα.

χαῖριλαδῶ, from *hazyrlamaq*, to make ready; aor. χαῖριλαῖσα.

γαζανδῶ, from *qazanmaq*, to boil; aor. γαζάνισα.

ἐαλιστῶ, from *ēalishmaq*, to work.

σεβινδῶ, from *sevirmek*, to rejoice; part. pass. σεβινῃζόμενος.

βιτισιμένους, the participle from *bilişmek*, to be conterminous, the reciprocal form of *bütmek*, to come to an end.

As in Mod. Greek generally there is a tendency for the verbs in -εῶ to pass over into the -άω conjugation.

§ 21.—Just as the final *ν* of the article has become permanently appended to some substantives,<sup>29</sup> so the particle *να* has become a part of a few verbs with the loss of its meaning. Thus by the side of *ἡδρι* we have *ναῦρι τα* (*he found it*), and so always in the subjunctive: e.g. *σε ναῦρης* (*thou wilt find*), and the subj. of *ἦρτα* (*ἦλθον*) has always the *να*: e.g. *σε νᾶρτω* (*I will come*); *ὥς ποῦ να νᾶρτη* (*until he come*). The same thing occurs, but more rarely, with *ἰνῶ* the aor. of *ἐνίσκουμαι* (*γίγνομαι*) and *ἔχω*. This last is my only example of a present so treated, no doubt owing to the greater frequency of the aorist in a subordinate clause.

§ 22.—The third pl. act. ends in -σι, but, if the pronominal object follows, in -ν: e.g. *παρακαλοῦν δους*, *they request them*, but *παρακαλοῦσι του παιρί*, *they request the boy*. This appears to be the rule in the Southern Sporades, where the ending -σι is used, though the -ν ending is also used without the pronoun.

§ 23.—The present, e.g. of *σέλου* (*θέλω*), runs:—

σέλου, σέλ'εις, σέλ'ει.

σέλουμ (ι' σέλ'ιτι, σέλουσι or σέλουν.

For the endings of contracta see §§ 8 and 20.

§ 24.—The imperfect has an ending -ινόσκα, or more commonly -ινόνισκα, quite peculiar to Silli. Forms in -ινα or -ισκα, the endings

<sup>29</sup> A few examples from various dialects are *νύπνος* (*ὑπνος*), *Νιό* (*ἴος*), *νῆλιος* (*ἥλιος*), *νῶμος* (*ἄμος*).



found in the Poutak Ovasi (see § 70 below), are much rarer. Examples are *ἡσιλίσκα* (from *θέλω*); *ἀγάπινα* (*ἀγαπῶ*).

Examples of the common type are:—

*γιουκούγου* or *γιουκούννου* (*ἀκούω*), *γιουκουνόνjisκα*, aor. *γιούξα*.  
*σέκνου* (*θέκνω* = *τίθημι*), *σεκν'ινόσκα*, aor. *ἔσκα*.  
*κλαίγου* (*κλαίω*), *κλαϊνόνjisκα*, aor. *ἔκλαψα*.  
*τρανῶ*, *I see*, *τραν'ινόνjisκα* or *τραν'ινόσκα*.  
*πον'εῖ*, *πον'ινόνjisκι*.  
*τραγρῶ* (*τραγουδῶ*), *I sing*, *τραγρινόνjisκα*, aor. *τράγρησα*.  
*παγαίννου*, *I go*, *παγαινν'ινόνjisκα*, aor. *ἐπήγα*.

It is used also for deponents, and the old dep. form only survives in the subst. verb. I could get no examples of the passive. Examples are:—

*έρχουμι*, *έρσινόνjisκα* or *έρχόνjisκα*, aor. *ἦρτα*.  
*κοιμούμι*, *κοιμινόνjisκα*, aor. *κοιμήσκα* (i.e. Mod. *ἐκοιμήθηκα*).

§ 25.—When the tense-stem ends in *s*, this is often dropped before the *s* of the ending of the 2nd sg. I noticed this in the aor. subj. e.g. *σε ρωήσου* (*θα ρωτήσω*) *I will ask*, and 3rd sg. *σε ρωήσῃ*, but 2nd *σε ρωήῃς*. See §§ 69 and 71.

§ 26.—The pres. deponent runs:—

Sg. *έρχουμι* or *έρχουμου*, *έρῶσι* or *έρῶσις*, *έρῶτι*.  
 Pl. *έρχουμιστι* or *έρχουμιστιν'ιζ*, *έρῶστι* or *έρῶστιν'ιζ*, *έρχουνδι*.

For *έρχουμου* see § 8 on the vowel-harmony. The lengthened form in *-ιστιν'ιζ* is commoner in the 2nd pl. than in the first. It seems to be the Turkish 2nd pl. *siniiz*, added by analogy also to the 1st person. The other forms have only suffered the regular vowel-change.

§ 27.—The aor. dep. and pass. (historically the ancient aor. pass.) has the *-κα* ending usual in Modern Greek: e.g. *ἐστάσκα* (*ἐστάθηκα*) from *στέκουμι* (*στέκομαι*). The imper. is *στάσα*, pl. *στασάτι*, on the model of the many act. imperatives in *-α*.

§ 28.—*Pluperfect*. Instead of the usual Mod. Greek pluperfect of the form *εἶχα ἔλθει*, etc., a tense has been formed from the aorist and the 3rd sg. of the subst. verb: e.g. *ἦρτα ἦτου*, *ἦρτις ἦτου*, etc., *I had come*. This tense has been framed on the model of the Turkish type *geldim idi*, *I had come*, and the accidental resemblance between *ἦτου* and *idi* (*udu*, etc.) has probably facilitated the process. For the same tense in the Poutak Ovasi see § 79.

§ 29.—The substantive verb is generally enclitic after a noun and placed at the end of the sentence, like the Turkish *dir*.

§ 30.—The absolute forms are :—

Present: Sg. εἶμι (εἶμου), εἶσι (εἶσου), εἶν'ι.  
 Pl. εἶμιστι(ν'ίζ, εἶστι(ν'ίζ, εἶνου.  
 Imperfect: Sg. ἦτα, ἦσου, ἦτου.  
 Pl. ἦταμι, ἦτιτι, ἦτασι.

The act. ending of ἦτα is curious.<sup>30</sup> ἦσου and ἦτου are the only relics of the common Mod. Greek inflexion ἦμου, ἦσου, ἦτο, *vel. sim.*

§ 31.—The enclitic forms are as follows. They are here combined with the adj. χαστάς, pl. χαστάρι, *ill* (Turkish *khasta*).

Present: Sg. χαστάδμου, χαστάισου, χαστάσεν'ι.  
 Pl. χασταριμίστιν'ίζ, χασταρίστιν'ίζ, χαστάρινου.  
 Imperfect: Sg. χαστάδμιον or χαστάστα, χαστάδισου, χαστάδμιτου.  
 Pl. χασταρίταμι, χασταρίτιτι, χασταρίτασι.

In χαστάισου the final σ of χαστάς is dropped before the σ of ισου, as in 2nd persons, like ρώης (δώκης).<sup>31</sup>

The 3rd sg. pres. varies in form with the accent of the word to which it is enclitic. It is least accented after an oxytone: *e.g.* ἐῖς ι; *who is it?* τσά ν'ι, *it is thus*, and after a proparoxytone or paroxytone word it has enough accent to prevent the final ε of the εἶναι (εἶνε), which is the base of the form, being weakened to ι. *E.g.* κό μου νε, *it is mine*.

### *Syntax.*

§ 32.—The possessive genitive is always placed before the noun upon which it depends: *e.g.* Σογρὰ πατῖσαχιοῦ τ παιρὶ φιλᾷ γουγιουμῆ τ ἑέρι, *Afterwards the son of the king kisses the goldsmith's hand*, not as generally in Mod. Greek τὸ παιδὶ τοῦ βασιλέα etc. This is the Turkish order.

§ 33.—The Greek present expresses either a repeated action or an action now in progress: it corresponds, that is, to the two Turkish presents *gelirim* and *geliyorum*.<sup>32</sup> To render this difference and to provide a form for *geliyorum*, a phrase with κάσουμι (κάθομαι) has been invented. Thus 'I go' (*gelirim*) is ἐρχομι, but 'I am now going' (*geliyorum*) is ἐρχομι κὶ κάσουμι and its past ἐρσινόνῃσκα κὶ κασινόνῃσκα.

§ 34.—A question, if not marked by an interrogative word, is distinguished by the particle μι, as in Turkish, *e.g.* χαστάζ μι ἦσου; *wast thou ill?*

§ 35.—*Vocabulary.* The notable points are :—

(1) The great number of Turkish words used, of all parts of speech.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the act. endings of the aor. pass. in the Poutak Ovasi, § 75.

<sup>31</sup> It is doubtful if there is any real distinc-

tion between χαστάισου and χαστάίσου, χαστάδμου and χαστάδμιου.

<sup>32</sup> From *gelmek*, to come.

(2) The ancient words which have survived here though not generally in Mod. Greek. I notice ὄχι (ὄτι), σύρα (θύρα), and there are probably many more.

(3) Greek words used in senses not usual elsewhere; βλέπου, *I wait*; γροικῶ, *I understand* (used in the islands, meaning *I hear*); κι (καί) used enclitically to give emphasis, as well as for a connecting particle.<sup>33</sup>

(4) The number of Italian loan-words is, as would be expected, apparently very small. Σπίλι and στράτα are Latin,<sup>34</sup> and of Meyer's list of Italian loan-words I have recorded only βέργα (*earring*),<sup>35</sup> jίπ (*at all*, after a negative),<sup>36</sup> and σκρόφα (*sow, harlot*).<sup>37</sup> Γαλαῖεύου, *I speak*, used also in Cappadocia is from *colloqueύω*.<sup>38</sup>

#### Accent.

§ 36.—A remarkable point is the strength of the accent on the negative ρέ(ν, after which the verb often follows enclitically. *E.g.* σαλῶ (σφαλίζω) *I close*, aor. σάλισα; with neg., ρέ σαλιστα. A secondary accent may sometimes be heard: ὑρεύου (γυρεύω), *I seek*, aor. ὕριψα; with neg., ρέν ὑρίψα. This is not merely local; it occurs also in Cyprus<sup>39</sup> and in the Poutak Ovasi (§ 84).

#### § 37.—A Folk-tale from Silli.

Ἦτασι γγὺ νομάχοι. Τούσοι ρχὸ τοὺς ἐν'ήκασι ἀρκαδάσιρι. Εἰς τοὺς λαεῖ. 'Να εἰποῦμι χεμὲν ψεματάκι' τουτσὰ να γαζανῆσουμ παρά.' Εἰς τοὺς κι λαεῖ, 'Να εἰποῦμι ἀλ'ήσια, κι Σεὸς ἔη ζουλιὰ μας να ἔη φέρη ράσια.' Ψεύτης ἄρτουπους λαεῖ ὄχι, 'Να τα ρωῆήσουμι 'ς τ' ἕνα παπά, να ριούμ ὁ σε μας πῆ. 'Αμὰ ἔγερ να ν'ῆ κό σου τ γαλαῖ, γὼ οὔλα τα ρούχα σε τα ρώσου σένα' ἔγερ να ν'ῆ κό μου τ γαλαῖ, σὺ τα ρούχα σου σε τα ρώηζ μένα.' Ὡς τα λαλουῖς' τουτσά, ὅπ χαρσὸν φανέτι ὅπ μακρὰ εἰς παπάς. Ρωτοῦν δα σε τούτου, 'Ψέματα μι να ποῦμι, γιόκσα ἀλ'ήσια μ';' Παπάς κι λαεῖ τοὺς ὄχι, 'Ψέματα πέτι.' Τούτου ρέν δουν ἱνανῆ, κιὰτ σελ'ινόσκι ἔην ἀλ'ήσια. Πορπατοῦσι ν'ῆγου, κ' ὕστεριανὰς ἔρσιτι χαρσὸν τοὺς ἀλλ' εἰς παπάς ν'ῆγου γεραζμένους. Ρωτοῦν δα πάλ' ὄχι, 'Ψέματα μι νὲ καλὸ να γαλαῖπέσῃς, γιόκσα ἀλ'ήσια μ';' Παπάς κι λαεῖ τοὺς ὄχι, 'Ψέματα νὲ καλὸ να γαλαῖπέσῃς.' Γγὺ φορὰς κιὰτ σελ'ινόσκι ἔην ἀλ'ήσια χάνν'ει. Ἦσιλ'ίσκι τα ρούχα του να τα ρώσῃ οὔλα τουν γιτινὸ ἀρκαδάσιν δου. Λαεῖ ὄχι, 'Να τα ρωῆήσουμι 'ς τ' ἄλλ' ἕνα' ἔγερ κι κείνους να εἰπῇ ὄχι, καλὸ νε να γαλαῖψιτι ψέματα, σε σου τα ρώσουν.' 'Ἐρσιτι ἀλλ' εἰς παπάς κιᾶλλου γεραζμένους, κι τούτους λαεῖ ὄχι, 'Καλὸ νε να γαλαῖψιτι ψέματα.' Κι τότε κιὰτ ἡσιλ'ίσκι ἔην ἀλ'ήσια ρών'ει οὔλα του τα ρούχα ὡς τ' ἱμάχιν δου. Πορν'ίσκιτι ἱπλάχης.

<sup>33</sup> Dr. Menardos suggests that this κι is not καί but ἐκεῖ.

<sup>34</sup> G. Meyer, *Neugr. Studien*, iii. p. 63.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* iv. p. 17. Βέργα, *King*.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* iv. p. 66. Ντίπου, *Di pin*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* iv. p. 83. Σκρόφα, *Sau*.

<sup>38</sup> Grégoire, *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 154, who compares also *defendeύω*, *applianceύω*, etc. See also Meyer, *Neugr. Stud.* iii. for such words.

<sup>39</sup> Menardos, *Φωνητική τῆς διαλέκτου τῶν σημερινῶν Κυπρίων*, Ἀθηνᾶ, vi. p. 171.

Κλαίει πικρά, πικρά· düšündé· 'Ὡς düšündé, ἔρσ'ίτι 'ς του νοῦν δου ὄτι, 'Να ὑπάγου 'ς του μύλου κι, να ἰνῶ σιτύρης.' βαίν'νει 'ς του μύλου· κάσιτι. 'Ὡς κάσιτι, γιουκούν'νει ν'ῖες πικρὲς φωνές· φοβᾶτι· χιὺ ὅπ τουν δόπουν δου ρὲ σαλεύγει. Γιουκούν'νει ὄτι γιάβλουροι λαλοῦσ' του λάσκαρην dous, ἔοργιὰν ποίκασι κῦτιλιῖα. Εἰς τους ὅπ αὐτοὺς λαεὶ ὄτι 'ς του λάσκαρην dous, 'Γὼ σήμερι ἀλδάῖσα πατισαχιὺ ἔην γόρη. Αὐρῖ ρών des ὥρες, σε ἔη φέρουμι ρῶ να ἔημ βοίσουμι ν'ύφη.' Λάσκαρής τους κι ρωτᾶ του ὄτι, 'Νάχαλ ἐν'ίσκιτι καλά; νάχαλ λαρών'νει;' Γιάβλους κι λαεὶ ὄτι, 'βαχῆάν dous ἐν'ί ἔνα χορτάρι· ἔγερ κείνου να τα φάη, σε να ν'ῆ καλά.' Σοργρά κοιμουῖνδ'· ἥριμις σκωσοῦσι, τούτους ἔρκανδα παγαίν'ν' πατισαχιὺ τοῦ σπῖ'ι, λαεὶ ὄτι, 'Γὼ κό σας ἔην γόρη σε ἔημ βοίσου καλά, ἔγερ να μ ρώστι μιὰ χοῦφτα παρά.' Πατισάχης κι λαεὶ ὄτι, 'Κέσκι σὺ ποιῆς ἔην γαλά κι ἔην γόρη μου, να ἔη ρώσου σένα.' Τούτους ἀψουῖκανὰς φῆάν'νει ἔη καλά· ἔην γόρη παίρει ἔη ἐν'ίσκιτι πατισαχιὺ γαμβρός· Κιὰτ ἀγάπιν'ι ψέματα, ἐν'ηκι εἰζ ζιργάνους, διελν'ής. Ρωτᾶ του ὄτι, 'σὺ νάχαλ ἐν'ηκις ζεργίν'ης; πὲ τα μένα κι, να ἰνῶ κάγῳ κι.' Λαεὶ του ὄτι, 'Σκύμα 'ς του μύλου· βλέπι μιὰ ν'ύχτα, κι μάνν'ησ' τα· ἐν'ίσκισις κι σὺ κι ζεργίν'ης ἱργια μένα.' Σαυριν'ῆ βραδὺ παγαίν'νει· πέφει 'ς του μύλου. 'Ὡς στέκτι κεί, ἔρχουνδ'ι γιάβλουροι να ποίσουσι ἕνα κουφεράσου. Ράσκαλ'ής τους ρωτᾶ τους ὄτι, 'Πόνα εἶχα να ποίσουμι γάμου; ποὺ πόμν'ι;' Κι κείνους λαεὶ ὄτι, 'Μεῖς ρῶ ὡς τα γαλαῖβεγουμε, ἀπάνω ἦτου εἰζ ἄρτουπους, κι οὔλα φροικίσκιν da. Πῆγι, λάρουσι πατισαχιὺ ἔην γόρη. Μαδέμ κι τσά ν'ι, να τραν'ήσουμ' ἀπάνω να ριοῦμ ἐῖς ι.' Οὔλοι ξεβαίννουσ' ἀπάνω· τρανοῦσ'· σωροῦσ' ὄτι ἐν εἰζ ἄρτουπους, ἱργιὰν δου ζιργάνου. Τούτου καλούτσικανὰς κοπανοῦν δου, ὄτι, 'Σὺ τουν ἀρκαδάση σου ποίκις του ζιργάνου· ἦρτις να ποιῆς κι μάς κι μ' ;' Καλούτσικανὰς κοπανοῦν δου, ὡς να πεσαν'ῆ. 'Οὐδὰ ἐισκιὰν λαεὶ ψέματα, τουτσὰ ἐν'ίσκιτι. Καλ'ῆ ν'ύχτα. Να χαρισ' κι σένα, να χαρισ' κι μένα.

*Translation.*

There were two men. These two became companions. One of them says, 'Let us always speak lies, thus to gain money,' but the other of them says, 'Let us speak truth and God forward our work.' The liar says, 'Let us ask a priest to see what he will tell us; but if it be thy word, I will give thee all my clothes, but if it be my word, then thou shalt give me all thy clothes.' Whilst they are speaking thus, a priest appears in their way at a distance. They ask of him 'Are we to speak lies or truth?' The priest says to them, 'Speak lies.' The man who wanted the truth does not believe him. They walk on awhile, and afterwards another priest comes in their way, somewhat aged. They ask again, 'Is it good that thou speak lies or truth?' The priest says to them, 'It is good that thou speak lies.' Twice he who wanted the truth loses. He wanted the other his companion to give over all his clothes. He says 'Let us ask another. If he too says that it is good that you speak lies, I will give them to thee.' Another priest comes still more aged, and he says, 'It is good that you speak lies,' and then he who wanted the truth gives up all his clothes even to his shirt. He remains

naked. He weeps bitterly, bitterly. He ponders. Whilst he is pondering, it comes into his head 'I will go even to the mill.' He goes into the mill. He sits down. As he sits, he hears some shrill voices. He is afraid. Not a whit does he stir from his place. He hears devils telling their master what wickednesses they have done. One of them says to their master, 'I have to-day beguiled the King's daughter: to-morrow at this hour we will bring her here to make her a bride.' Their master asks him 'How can she become well? how can she be restored?' and the devil says, 'In their garden there is a herb; if she eats it, she will become well.' Afterwards they sleep. Before they rise up, the man goes early to the King's house. He says, 'I will make your daughter well, if you will give me a handful of money,' and the King says 'Would that thou couldst make my daughter well; I would give her to thee.' The man immediately makes her well. He takes the girl in marriage. He becomes the King's son-in-law. The man who loved lies became a vagabond, a beggar. He asks him, 'How didst thou become rich? tell me too, that I may become so also.' He says to him 'Go to the mill, wait a night and learn, thou also wilt become rich like me.' The evening of the morrow he goes, he lies down in the mill. Whilst he is there, the devils come to hold a parley. Their master asks them 'Where is the marriage we were to make? where is she?' and that other says, 'Whilst we are talking, up above there was a man, and he heard it all; he went, he cured the King's daughter; and since this is so, let us look above to see who it is.' They all go out up above; they look and they see that there is a man, even the vagabond. Him they pound well saying 'Thou hast made thy companion a vagabond; Hast thou come to make us also so?' Very well they pound him, even to death. Behold whoso tells lies, fares thus. Good night. May it both please thee and please me.

### § 38.—Notes.

τομάχοι: *individuals* (ὄνομα).

ργό (or γυό): *δύο*.

ἀρκαδιάστροι: *companions*; Turk. *arquadaş*.

χεμέν: explained as *πάντα*, *always*. But Turk. *hemem* means *almost*.

γαζανήσουμ: *γαζανδῶ*, *gain*; Turk. *gazanmaq*, 1st pl. aor. subj.

παρά: *money*; Turk. *para*.

λαεῖ: *λαλῶ*, 3rd sg. pres. The liquid λ is seldom heard, and λαλ'εῖ becomes λαεῖ.

ράσια: possibly from Turk. *rast*, *a meeting*. *Rast* would become *ράσσι* and *ράσια* seems to be an adverb from this, and to stand for *ράσσια*. Dr. Menardos suggests a connexion with *δεξιὰ*.

᾽ς τ' ἔνα: *᾽ς* (=ἐξ) τ' ἔνα, *let us ask of a priest*. The disuse of the article in the nom. has led to its being regarded as a mark of the acc., and thus it is often used before *εἰς* and *ἄλλος*, where it is literally against the sense; e.g. *πήγμ' ᾽ς ἐν μυνὰ βρύσι*, *he went to a spring*; *σε γεβῆς* (θα διαβῆς)

ὅπ τ' ἔνα κοπροῦ, *thou wilt pass through a gate*; and below, Να τα ρωήσουμι  
'ς τ' ἄλλ' ἔνα, *Let us ask it of another*.

ἔγερ: *if*; Turk. *eyer*.

γαλαΐ: *a word*, neut. The verb is γαλαΐεῖν, *I speak*. Cf. § 35.

σε τα ρώσου: Mod. Gr. θὰ τὰ δώσω.

σε τα ρώηξ: Mod. Gr. θὰ τὰ δώσης. The final *ς* of *ρώης* changes to *ξ* before the initial *μ* of *μένα*. For the dropped medial *σ* see § 25 above.

χαρσού: *in their way*; Turk. *qarşe*, *opposite*.

φανέτι: φαίνεται.

ρωτοῦν *da*: *they ask him*. For this use of *τα* (*da*) see § 16 above.

ψέμματα-μι: *μι* is the Turkish interrogative particle *mi*.

γιόκσα: *or*; Turk. *jogsa*.

παπάς *κι*: *κι* (*καί*) here has its use as an enclitic particle to give emphasis.

ἰνανδᾶ: *believes*. Ἰνανδῶ, Turk. *inanmaq*, is one of the very numerous verbs formed by adding -*dῶ* to a Turkish stem. See § 20.

σελινόσκι: σέλου (=θέλω), 3rd sg. impf. There are other forms, σελινόνησκα and ἥσιλίσκα.

νύγον: *somewhat*, from the adj. νύγους, *some*. Derivation?

φοράς: the old acc. pl. is preserved in this phrase.

τουρ γιτινό: κιτινός (= ? καὶ τ' ἕνας) means *the other*, ὁ ἄλλος. 'Another' is either ἀλλ' εἰς, acc. τ' ἀλλ' ἕνα, ἄλλη μυιά, ἀλλ' ἕνα, or βασκάς, βασκάσσα, βασκά; Turk. *başqa*.

ρῶν'ει: ρώνου, 3rd sg. pres. The form ρώνου is due to the aorist ρῶκα, Mod. Gr. ἔδωκα.

πομνίσκιτι: ἀπομένει.

ἵπλάχης: *naked*. Turk. *ēplaq*. The *ῖ* instead of *ῑ* is due to the 3rd sg. of the verb before, which tends to end with *ν*. The -*ys* ending instead of the Greek -*ης* is due to the Turkish vowel-harmony, which makes *i*, *y*, *u*, *ü* equivalent vowels, and after *a* requires *y*. See § 8.

düşündē: *considers*. 3rd sg. pres. of düşündō; Turk. düşünmek. For the ending -*dē* instead of *dᾶ*, see § 8.

σιτύρης: cf. Turk. *setr etmek*, *to cover*.

γιουκούν'ει: γιουκούννου (ἀκούω).

χιῖ: with negative, *not at all*; Turk. *hiç*.

ὅπ: ἀπό.

ρέ: *not*; Mod. Gr. δέν, δ→ρ.

γιάβλουροι: διάβολοι. Pl. of γιάβλους.

λάσκαρην: λάσκαρης or as below ράσκαλης is for δάσκαλης, with δ→ρ, and is a by-form of δάσκαλος.

kötülüā: *wickednesses*; Turk. kötü, *bad*, kötülük, *wickedness*.

ἀλδάησα: aor. of ἀλδᾶδῶ; Turk. *aldutmaq*, *to deceive*.

νάχαλ: deriv.?

λαρών'ει: explained as ἰλαρὸς γίγνεται. The aor. (see below) is λάρουσα.

βαχῶάν *dous*: Turk. *baghçe*, *garden*.

σογγρα: *afterwards*; Turk. *sonra*.

βίρμις: *πρίν*. At Pharasa *πίρμι*.

έρκανδα: *early*; Turk. *erken* with locative suffix -*da*.

χοῦφτα: *handful*. Literally *palm of the hand*.

κέσκι: *Would to God*; Turk. *Keşke*.

ποιῆς: 2nd sg. aor. subj. with the -σ- dropped, as in *ρώης* for *ρώσης* (§ 25). The indic. is *ἔποικα*, the pres. *φᾶνον* (Mod. Gr. *φτιάνω*).

ἀγάπιν'ι: impf. of *ἀγαπῶ*. The other form is *ἀγαπινόνισκα*.

ζιγγάνους: *gipsy, vagabond*.

διλενής: *beggar*; Turk. *dilenji*.

σκάμα: impv. *go*: deriv.?

βλέπι: impv. of *βλέπου*, *wait*.

μάννησ τα: *μάννου* (*μανθάνω*), aor. impv., and the pronoun obj. *τα*.

ἐν'ίσκισις: *ἐν'ίσκουμαι* (*γίγνομαι*), 2nd sg. pres.

πέφει: Mod. Gr. *πέφτει* (*πίπτει*). Often in Mod. Gr. this verb means *to lie down to sleep*.

πόνα: explained as *πούντο*, *where is it?* The structure of the sentence is obscure; *εἴχαμ* would make it easier.

πόμν'ι: Mod. Gr. *ἐπόμεινε*: anc. Gr. *ἀπέμεινε*.

φρικίσκιν: 3rd sg. aor. of *φρικούμι*. Vlachos (*Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνογαλλικόν*) gives *ἀφηγκράζομαι*, *ἀφηγκρηοῦμαι*, *to hear*.

μαδέμ: *since*; Turk. *madam*.

τσά-ν'ι: *ἔτσά*, *thus* and the 3rd sg. pres. of the subst. verb.

να ριοῦμ: 1st pl. aor. subj. from *εἶρα*, Mod. Gr. *εἶδα*, used as aorist to *σορῶ*, *I see*, old Gr. *θεωρῶ*.

ὀνδά: Turk. *onda*.

R. M. DAWKINS.

(*To be concluded.*)

## THE CHARIOT GROUP OF THE MAUSSOLLEUM.

THE following paper represents the results of a dissertation recently submitted for the M.A. degree at London. The whole question of the Maussoleum is of an exceedingly complex nature, while the composition of the Chariot Group, though only incidental to the reconstruction of the building, has been the subject of much controversy.

The evidence put forward in this article cannot be regarded as entirely conclusive, but I hope to show that the margin of probability which lies on the side of those who do not think that the statues occupied the chariot is rather broader than has usually been supposed.

The attitude in which I have approached the question is quite unbiassed and this will account for the fact that I appear in some parts of the paper to be arguing against both sides in turn. In reality, however, I have endeavoured to examine the evidence impartially and then to form a conclusion from those arguments only which have stood the test of examination. The conclusion I have reached on the matter is the same as that of Prof. Percy Gardner, but I do not entirely agree with him as to the grounds on which that view is to be based.

I propose to divide my enquiry into four parts :—

A.—A brief historical account of the question.

B.—A discussion of the various points raised by Prof. Gardner<sup>1</sup> together with Mr. Oldfield's reply.<sup>2</sup>

C.—An elaboration of the question of technique, which will, I think, prove of great value to Prof. Gardner's views.

D.—The probable position of the two statues on the building.

### A.—*The History of the Question.*

It would be both tedious and unnecessary to treat this part at any great length, for it is mainly of interest in showing how far the arguments of later writers are original. The order adopted is chronological.

I. The following are the arguments in favour of the original idea that the two statues adorned the chariot of Pythis :

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<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. xiii. p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. lv. Pt. 2, p. 343.



- (i) The find-spot—Newton.<sup>3</sup>
- (ii) The elevation of the right arm of Maussollos points to the fact that he held the reins—Roessler,<sup>4</sup> Overbeck.<sup>5</sup>
- (iii) The technique of the back of male statue is equal to the front—Overbeck.<sup>6</sup>
- (iv) Artemisia holds the reins—Stevenson.<sup>7</sup>

## II. Arguments in favour of opposite theory :

- (i) The technique of the back of male statue is very careless—Stark.<sup>8</sup>
- (ii) The careful execution of lower front drapery and sandals shows that they were meant to be visible—Stark,<sup>9</sup> Mitchell.<sup>10</sup>
- (iii) Quiet attitude and total absence of interrelation—Stark.<sup>11</sup>
- (iv) Maussollos is draped as a philosopher—Beulé.<sup>12</sup>
- (v) Neither statue could have held the reins—Wolters.<sup>13</sup>

The opposed opinions of Overbeck and Stark on the question of technique are noteworthy, also the fact that Stark as early as 1865 questioned the connexion between the statues and the chariot.

## B.—*Discussion of the Papers by Professor Gardner and Mr. Oldfield.*

The consideration of the arguments put forward by the two most recent and important contributions to the controversy will occupy a large part of the present paper. The chief point raised by Prof. Gardner is that the horses are larger in proportion than the statues. This I will deal with last of all and commence by briefly examining the minor arguments of which he has made use.

I. If the statues had stood in the chariot, Pliny would have mentioned them. This is a difficult question. If the two statues are really those of Maussollos and Artemisia, it is difficult to understand Pliny's silence. But their identity is supported by no material evidence, and, as Mr. Oldfield remarks in his reply to Prof. Gardner, the chariot was seen under normal conditions, that is with two or more persons driving. But the passage dealing with the Maussoleum is very concise, and it must not be forgotten that Pliny probably drew his material from the lost treatise by Satyros and Pythios. I do not think that this argument can be safely credited to either side.

II. (a) The unlikelihood of important iconic statues being placed so high and (b) the necessity of a solid base. In answer to (a) Mr.

<sup>3</sup> *Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*. vol. ii. p. 207 (1862).

<sup>4</sup> *Le tombeau de Mausole*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, ii. s. 72. 77 (1881).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Paper read before the Society of Antiquaries (May 7th, 1896).

<sup>8</sup> *Philologus*, vol. xxi. p. 453 (1865).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 473 (1883).

<sup>11</sup> *Philologus*, loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup> *Fouilles et Découvertes*, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Gipsabgüsse*, p. 427 (1885).

Oldfield instances the Mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian; but it is no more fair to quote the usages of the Romans in the sculpture of these monuments than it would be to instance the superimposed orders of the Colosseum as evidence that the Greeks were addicted to the same practice. It is more on artistic grounds that this point must be considered, and though Mr. Oldfield quotes the back of the Theseus of the Parthenon as an example of highly-finished work in an invisible position, it is only right to note that the Theseus is quite an exception and that as a general rule the Greek sculptors did not expend labour in vain. We have in fact only to refer to the backs of our two statues and to a comparison with the horses of the chariot to see that it is far more likely that the fronts of the statues alone were meant for close inspection. But this question of technique must be left till later on, though again it must be remembered that the identity of these statues is not proven, and, if so, Prof. Gardner's argument lapses.

To (b) I would answer that a solid base is surely unnecessary, if the equestrian rider could be supported on a stone prop with a horizontal section of about a square foot. A horizontal slab of marble with two such supports underneath would be ample, provided that the statues were placed above the supports. From an artistic standpoint, too, a solid base would be unsuitable.

III. The appropriateness of an empty chariot in a sepulchral monument. The riderless horses on grave stelae, which Prof. Gardner quotes in support, are, according to Mr. Oldfield, only waiting to convey their dead master to Hades. But the significance of the horse on these stelae is very doubtful, as doubtful in fact as the empty chariot would be in the Maussoleum. I rather incline to think that Prof. Gardner's idea is entirely a modern one, such as one sees exemplified in 'The Empty Chair' by Briton Rivière, and that to the Greek mind such a representation would be meaningless, at least if we may judge from grave stelae. For in these monuments it is usually the custom to show the deceased engaged in his favourite occupation, and if Prof. Gardner relies on grave stelae to support his contention, it would be more appropriate if the chariot were occupied by a figure. In fact, as M. Collignon<sup>14</sup> well says, 'On ne comprend guère un char sans figures.'

IV. Disconnexion of the two statues with the chariot they have been supposed to be driving. This point was first mentioned by Stark,<sup>15</sup> while Beulé noted the fact that Maussollos was draped as a philosopher, not as a charioteer, another point which Prof. Gardner strongly emphasizes. Mr. Oldfield replies that a charioteer's dress would not suit the dignity of Maussollos as king, and that, as the whole group was at rest, the effect of wind resistance could scarcely be looked for in their draperies. This may be so, but the position of the arms of Artemisia precludes any idea that she was holding the reins and what the arms of Maussollos were doing we can only conjecture. There is, however, another significant point in their attitude.

<sup>14</sup> *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, vol. ii. p. 338.

<sup>15</sup> *Philologus*, loc. cit.

Both statues have one knee bent. Can one conceive a more unsuitable position for anyone driving a team of four spirited horses? A movement on part of the horses would find them both unprepared; and this lack of alertness is brought all the more into prominence by that dreaminess of features which shows conclusively that, whatever the sculptor intended the statue to be, he did not intend it for a charioteer. One has indeed only to compare the Charioteer from Delphi to see at once how far Maussollos falls short of all that is necessary to the driver of a quadriga. This is one of the strongest arguments for those who support Prof. Gardner.

V. We now come to the difficult question of weathering. Prof. Gardner maintains that statues which have stood for at least 800 years would surely show more distinct traces of exposure to the elements. The obvious but not altogether correct answer to this argument is that adopted by Mr. Oldfield, who replies that the horses show no more signs of weathering than do the two statues. It is, I think, a fairly well attested fact that the larger the surface the less likely is it to weather badly, and conversely, delicate technique, such as we get in the statues, would suffer to a much greater degree. It does not, however, immediately follow that, because more traces of weathering are not visible, the statues did not stand in the chariot. The remark of Eustathius, writing in the 12th century, concerning the building '*θαῦμα καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐστίν*,' would tend to show that it had suffered somewhat, perhaps from depredation, perhaps, and more likely, from earthquake shocks. The great shock between the 12th and 15th centuries, which demolished the Maussolleum, would very possibly have been preceded by smaller ones and any one of these may have sufficed to cause the top of the building, where the extent of the movement would naturally be greatest, to sway so much that the chariot and horses would be dislodged. This earlier shock would account for much of the unweathered appearance. I do not think then that any trustworthy evidence can be deduced on either side from the question of weathering.

VI. The evidence of the find-spot has been greatly exploited. If, as Prof. Gardner observes, this evidence is to be considered conclusive, the remaining assortment of statues which were also found in the same spot must have stood on the top of the pyramid. But although find-spot evidence is not always trustworthy, as in the case of the Olympia sculptures, it would seem that here is a very strong argument for the opposite side. As we shall see later, it constitutes the only argument they can attempt to use, and even then it is not very difficult to put forward a theory which will render it of less importance.

VII. The next point, which has often been mentioned, is the break in the drapery of Maussollos. This was one of Mr. Murray's arguments for placing the statues in the chariot. Both Prof. Gardner and Mr. Oldfield, however, concur in seeing the futility of using it for either side, the best objection being that of Prof. Gardner, who points out that it would cause the rail of the chariot to come too low.

VIII. We have now to consider the most important of all Prof. Gardner's arguments, namely, the question of proportions. I have reserved it to the last because it will have to be treated at considerably greater length than the preceding ones. The importance which attaches to this question is quite apparent. If the statues can be proved to be out of proportion to the wheel or to the horses, we have one of the strongest possible arguments that the statues and the horses never formed part of one group. Prof. Gardner in his article claims to show that the statues of Maussollos and Artemisia are both of less dimensions than they would have been, if they had been constructed on the same scale as the horses or the wheels. It is more on this point than on any other that I am not in accordance with Prof. Gardner, and I think that the consideration of the question which I now bring forward will tend to show that the proof of the non-occupation of the chariot by the statues will have to rest on quite other grounds. His statement on the question of proportions resolves itself into three parts:—

- (a) That the chariot wheel is too large compared with the height of Maussollos, it being three-fourths of his height.
- (b) That, as a rule, in the best Greek art the standing man and the standing horse are about of equal height, but that the head of Maussollos is two feet lower than that of the chariot horse.
- (c) That the head of Maussollos would only have been visible at a distance of quite a third of a mile provided that the building was of the Plinian height of 140 feet.

To which Mr. Oldfield writing in *Archæologia* replies:—

- (a) That we are dealing with the chariot of an Asiatic monarch, and that the chariot wheels of a Persian monarch, such as are seen in the Grand Mosaic of Pompeii, were of a much larger proportion than was usual in Greece; and that this is also true of Sicilian chariots, from the evidence of coins from Sicily.
- (b) That a horse of 16 hands to the shoulder is exactly the height of an average full grown woman namely 5' 4", so that, if Artemisia was of that normal stature, this horse must have been intended for a trifle under 16 hands, a fraction indeed over 15½. Then after noting the fact that owing to the principle of isocephalism in friezes and vase representations horses are often drawn under 15 hands, he goes on to say that 'on the summit of a lofty monument horses in the proportion of 15 or 16 hands, such as we know to have existed in Greece and Asia Minor, might legitimately have been chosen by the sculptor, if he thought them more conducive to effect.'
- (c) To the remaining argument of Prof. Gardner, namely the great distance away that one would have had to take up a position to see the head of Maussollos from the front, he makes no reply.

Before, however, we turn to the examination of the relative merits of these arguments, it will save time if I give here the measurements of the sculptures (i) contained in the Mausoleum Room Guide, (ii) made by Prof. Gardner, (iii) those which I have myself made for purposes of verification and also certain additional ones. It will be more convenient if they are stated in tabular form.

		GUIDE.	PROF. GARDNER.		SELF.
Maussollos . . .	Height	9' 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	9' 10"	} Taken from Guide, small fractions dis- regarded	—
Artemisia . . .	"	8' 9"	8' 8" <sup>16</sup>		—
Wheel . . . . .	Diam.	7' 7"	7' 7"		7' 7"
Horse (i) . . . .	Height <sup>17</sup>	—	11' 9"	(From Ground)	11' 8" <sup>18</sup>
" (ii) . . . . .	"	—	8' 6"	(To Saddle) <sup>19</sup>	—
" (iii) . . . . .	"	—	—	(To Shoulder) <sup>20</sup>	8' 11"

We now come to the discussion of the first argument, (*a*) viz.:—The question of the proportion of the chariot wheel (i) to the horses, (ii) to the statues of Maussollos and Artemisia. The diameter of the wheel is 7' 7", while the height of the back or saddle of the horse is 8' 6" from the ground, so that the relation between the two can be stated with exactness by the fraction  $\frac{9\frac{1}{2}}{10\frac{1}{2}}$  or approximately  $\frac{9}{10}$  (which latter fraction is only .0078 larger than  $\frac{9\frac{1}{2}}{10\frac{1}{2}}$ ). This relation can be perhaps more easily seen by means of the accompanying diagram drawn to the scale of  $\frac{1}{7\frac{1}{2}}$ . (Fig. 1.) The exceedingly large size of the wheel in proportion to the height of the horses is immediately apparent. Now large sized chariot wheels do not appear to have been in vogue on the mainland of Hellas in early times nor yet very much in later times, if we may judge from the representations found on vases and elsewhere. If we turn for instance to Gerhard's *Griechische Vasenbilder*, we find several examples<sup>21</sup> of chariots in which the wheel is in fact abnormally small, being below the level of the knee of the horse: this of course may be due to isocephalism, though generally it is the charioteer and not the wheel that is affected by this convention. Usually, however, in the black-figure period, from which the above examples are taken, the wheel comes slightly above the horse's knee and reaches to about the middle of the man's thigh, the bottom of the chariot being seldom more than 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' from the ground.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Professor Gardner seems to have inaccurately transcribed this.

<sup>17</sup> The one with forehead remaining—measured to top of head.

<sup>18</sup> This difference of one inch may be accounted for by the absence of mane on the extreme top of the horse's head: I may not have allowed enough, though I have made an

allowance of  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". This may possibly be insufficient.

<sup>19</sup> Presumably this is the posterior half.

<sup>20</sup> This is, of course, the usual way to measure the height of a horse.

<sup>21</sup> *E.g.* Pl. CXCIV.

<sup>22</sup> Cp. also Furtwangler-Reichhold, Taf. 11-13.

In the early part of the red-figure period there does not seem to be very much change from the proportions observed in the preceding period. On a hydria<sup>23</sup> by Hypsis the wheel of the chariot is represented as being about 4"-6" above the knee of the horse; which indicates that there was little difference. In the later red-figure vases, the wheels appear to be drawn slightly larger. For instance on the vase by Meidias,<sup>24</sup> which has for its subject the rape of the daughters of Leukippos, the top of the wheel comes nearly into line with the lower part of the horse's body, an increase in size which is seen yet more clearly in another vase<sup>25</sup> of similar style representing Pelops and Hippodameia, in which a comparison with early vases will show that the wheel was *drawn* at any rate much larger in this period. How far of course this may be due to convention I should not like to say, but the fact remains and it certainly appears to form a link in the successive in-

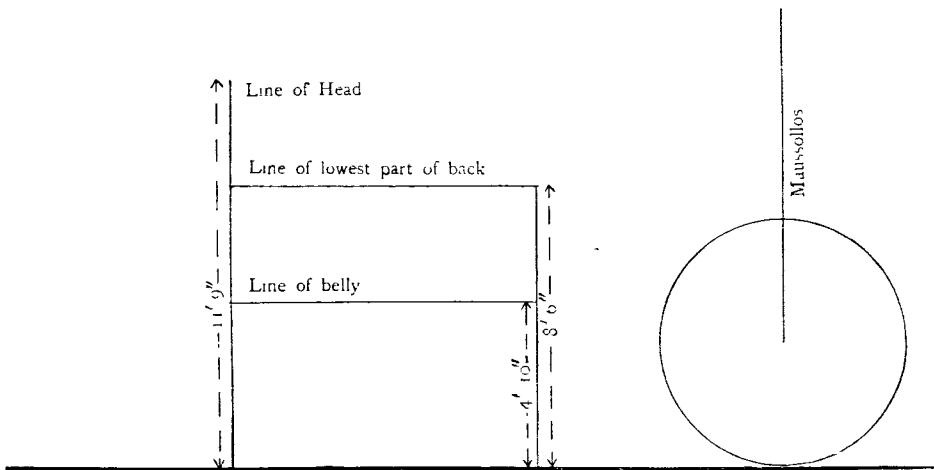


FIG. 1.

creases in size which terminate in wheels of the proportion of that of the Maussolleum wheel, if not in even larger.

There was, however, a class of vases manufactured at Athens especially for exportation to Kertsch, where great numbers have been discovered, and on one of these<sup>26</sup> we find a representation of Nike in a biga, of which the wheel appears to be much larger than usual, in fact approximating to the Maussolleum proportions. The top of the wheel, though it is slightly difficult to judge owing to its being off the ground, appears as though it would come considerably above the lower part of the horse's body. Now Kertsch, the old Panticapaeum, was a considerable distance from the confines of Greece proper; it was situated on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and although its kings were of Greek nationality it was sufficiently far removed from

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Taf. 82<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* Taf. 8.<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Taf. 67.<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* Taf. 100.

Greece itself to be open to the varying influences, Oriental and otherwise, with which it came in contact from its important position as a port. We shall see later that chariot wheels are as a rule much greater outside Greece proper, so that this instance of a Kertsch vase will be of considerable importance.

On turning to coins we find that large sized wheels appear most frequently in the coinage of Sicilian towns. It will be remembered that Hiero (B.C. 478-467) of Syracuse was victorious at Olympia in the chariot races, and we have representations of quadrigas on the contemporaneous money of Syracuse and other places in Sicily. On several coins<sup>27</sup> from Syracuse of this period we find wheels represented as extending to within a few inches of the top of the horse's back, practically of the same size as the Maussolleum wheel. This large wheel is not confined to Syracuse, however: for example on a coin from Messana<sup>28</sup> we find a similar wheel. This coin dates from about 420-396 B.C., within about fifty years of the erection of the Maussolleum. Again, on a coin of Catana, dated about 400 B.C., we find a wheel which appears to be even taller than the horse's body. This is probably due to the fact that the horses are prancing and therefore their hind quarters come rather lower than the top of the wheel. If, however, they were standing still, the wheel would probably be quite level with their backs.

We see then from the evidence of coins that the large wheel *was* made use of in Greek-speaking countries, inhabited mostly by Greeks, but it would appear difficult to find an example of one in Greece itself either on a coin, vase, or bronze. There is an early bronze<sup>29</sup> from the Acropolis at Athens, which represents the well known type of the front view of a quadriga (which we see translated into stone in the metope from Selinus), in which the wheel comes up to the lower part of the horse's body, but I have not been able to find any example of a large wheel in Greece itself. This may be due to the fact that the towns in Greece had seldom any occasion to commemorate a victory in a four-horse chariot race. The sport of chariot racing was a costly one, confined for the most part to the wealthy classes, such as the Sicilian tyrants; and after the abolition of tyrants in Greece no member of a state would be considered sufficiently important to have his victory commemorated on the coinage.

I think then we may take it that the large chariot wheel was confined to Sicily on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, as far as we can judge from coins, in the century preceding the erection of the Maussolleum, and we will now turn to examine the countries which were under Oriental dominion as being likely to exert an influence on the sculpture of the Maussolleum in this respect.

In Egypt, if we may judge from the chariot found<sup>30</sup> in a grave at Thebes and now preserved in Florence, the wheel was of the usual propor-

<sup>27</sup> Macdonald, *Hunter Catalogue*, Pl. XVI.  
Nos. 14, 15, 18, 19.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XIV. No. 17.

<sup>29</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. xiii. Pl. VIII.

<sup>30</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1907, p. 147.

tions, coming a few inches below the horse's body. In Assyria, however, we come immediately upon wheels of abnormal size. The series of reliefs excavated at Kouyounjik (Nineveh) by Layard show some excellent examples of large wheels. The reliefs themselves are of considerable width so that the principle of isocephalism need not be taken into account, if indeed the Assyrian sculptors ever practised it. In a series of representations showing Sennacherib<sup>31</sup> besieging the town of Lachish we get a wheel which<sup>32</sup> is practically of the same proportion as the Maussoleum wheel. I here reproduce the proportions (Fig. 2).

By comparing this with the diagram I have shown above (Fig. 1) of the Maussoleum wheel and horse we find that the line of the horse's back is of equal height in both cases, but that the wheel in the Assyrian chariot is slightly the larger of the two and that the head of the Maussoleum horse is much

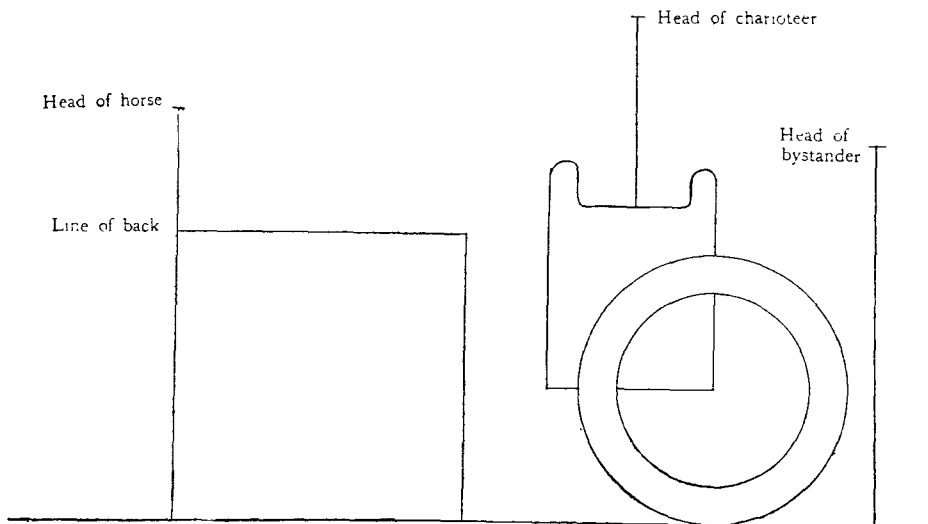


FIG. 2.

lower than that of the Assyrian horse. That it was the custom among the Assyrians of this time to have large chariot wheels is evident from several<sup>33</sup> other representations on the reliefs from Kouyounjik. Among them we may note the chariot of Assurbanipal in the British Museum,<sup>34</sup> in which the wheel is even higher than the back of the horse (Fig. 3).

The examples we have just shown are of course far too early in date to be taken as evidence for the existence of large wheels in the Maussoleum period, but they are extremely useful in showing that the use of large wheels was not a comparatively late invention but rather that it had

<sup>31</sup> Circa 700 B.C.

<sup>32</sup> Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, vol. ii. Pl. XXIV.

<sup>33</sup> Layard's *Nineveh*, vol. i. Pls. LXXII.-

LXXX.

<sup>34</sup> Published by Studniczka in *Jahrbuch*, 1907.



been known as early as the 7th century B.C. It is in fact quite probable that the Assyrians continued to use these large wheels as long as they remained a nation, that is until they were conquered in 606 B.C. by Cyaxares, king of Media, and that then at any rate, if not before, the use spread to the conquering peoples.

Of the development of the large sized wheel there is not much evidence, and in what way its use spread to the other kingdoms of Mesopotamia we can only conjecture, but in times contemporary with the Mausoleum we find several examples in representations of the period. The most important is the evidence of Persia. On a seal cylinder of Darius<sup>35</sup> now in the British Museum showing the king hunting in his chariot, although the horse and chariot are drawn on a much smaller scale than either the occupants or the lion which they are attacking, the relation between the wheel and the horse seems to be fairly trustworthy. The wheel of the chariot comes above the

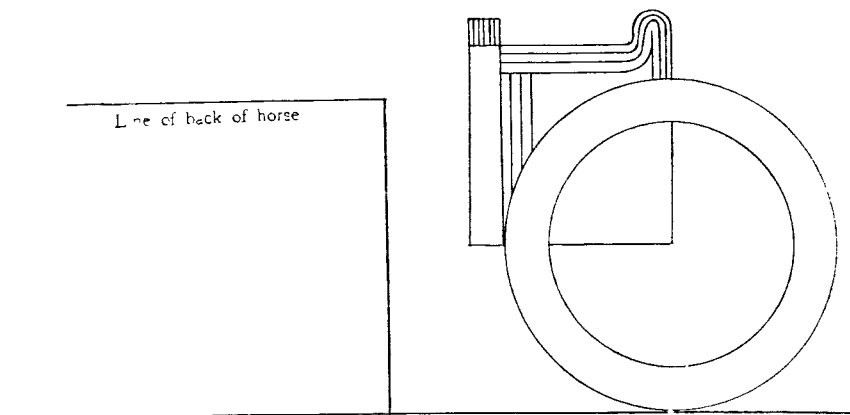


FIG. 3.

shoulder of the horse, but as the latter is at full gallop its height is probably less than it would be if standing, so that we may imagine the wheel to come about level with the shoulder of the horse. In the Grand Mosaic of Pompeii, recording Alexander attacking Darius at the battle of Issus, and mentioned by Mr. Oldfield as a proof that chariot wheels more than three quarters the size of a man were known, the wheel, as far as we can judge, is higher than the body of the horse, and is in fact equal to the height of a man standing near. That this mosaic is good evidence for large sized wheels is quite clear, but how much further we may make use of it is not certain. The further wheel of the chariot is either badly drawn or else did not actually reach the shoulder of a man near by. The perspective of the picture does not appear to be quite correct, for the near wheel takes up a much more important position in the centre of the picture than it ought to, even though it was of abnormally large size.

<sup>35</sup> Furtwangler, *Antike Gemmen*, Plate I. Fig. 2.

Further evidence, and evidence which more exactly agrees with the position of Halicarnassus, namely that of a dependency of Persia (Maussollos was a satrap of Persia), is supplied by certain Phoenician coins<sup>36</sup> showing Persian influence. In all these the wheel is on a level with the back of the horse and in two<sup>37</sup> it is even taller than that. The subject of these coins is the King of Persia. They are dated by Head 405-338 B.C.

The last example I wish to bring forward is a chariot wheel from the sarcophagus of the 'Mourning Women' from Sidon.<sup>38</sup> Although this does not show so large a wheel as we have seen elsewhere, it yet falls but little below the proportion of the Maussoleum wheel.

We have now passed in review the various chariots of some of the principal races lying around the Mediterranean basin. We have found that the large sized wheel was unknown on the mainland of Greece itself, that it appears in connexion with Greek peoples only on the coins of the various Sicilian colonies, notably of Syracuse and Catana. We have seen too in this case that the representation was that of the chariot of the tyrant. We have found a representation of a wheel rather above the usual size on a white Athenian vase in the Kertsch style, of about contemporary dating, which we considered would be additional evidence for the establishing of large wheels in the countries of Mesopotamia. We have noted the large wheels of Assyria in the 7th century, in all cases belonging to the chariot of a king. We have reviewed the best evidence available in contemporary Persian cylinders, coins of Phoenicia under Persian rule, and the Pompeian mosaic, in each case showing the representation of the chariot of a king, and it now remains to consider whether all this evidence for large sized chariot wheels in Mesopotamia may be considered as proving the existence of a large wheel in Caria. Before doing so there is one point which has not been mentioned and which may have some bearing on the case. The Maussoleum chariot wheel has six spokes instead of the usual four. This is probably necessitated by the large size of the wheel. Now, as far as I know, the representations of chariot wheels from the mainland of Greece never show more than four spokes. This may be seen in the best period of Greek Art, *e.g.* on the Parthenon frieze. But immediately we turn to the Oriental nations (with the exception of the early Egyptian chariot found at Thebes), in Assyria and in Persia, we always find a great number of spokes. On the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum are wheels containing as many as sixteen<sup>39</sup> spokes, though this is quite exceptional, but in no case on the Assyrian sculptures from Nineveh do we find less than six spokes. In fact eight seem to be more customary than six. We find eight in a wheel on the frieze from Xanthus in Lycia, while in the Persian representations I have mentioned the number is usually eight also. Mr. Hogarth in his recent lectures at King's College has pointed

<sup>36</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, Pl. XV. *bis*, 1, 5, 9; Pl. XVI. 1, 3, 5, 8.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XV. *bis* 5, and Pl. XVI. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, Pl. VII.

<sup>39</sup> Assyrian Gallery, No. 46.

out that in all probability the six-spoked wheel had its origin in Mesopotamia.

We see then that our chariot wheel agrees with most of the facts brought forward. It is of large size, it has six spokes, it belongs to the chariot of a satrap, all of which points we have seen to be characteristics of the Oriental chariot wheels already mentioned. I think then that the Maussolleum chariot wheel, far from being of abnormal size or as pointing to a wrong proportional size on the part of the statue of Maussollos, as Prof. Gardner suggests, is merely indicative of the fact that Oriental despots were accustomed at this period and in preceding periods to have exceedingly large wheels fitted to their chariots. Above all I do not think that a point can be made of this to prove that the statue of Maussollos is on too small a scale, for on the Assyrian reliefs and on the grand mosaic of Pompeii we see wheels which are almost if not quite as tall as the man standing by. This

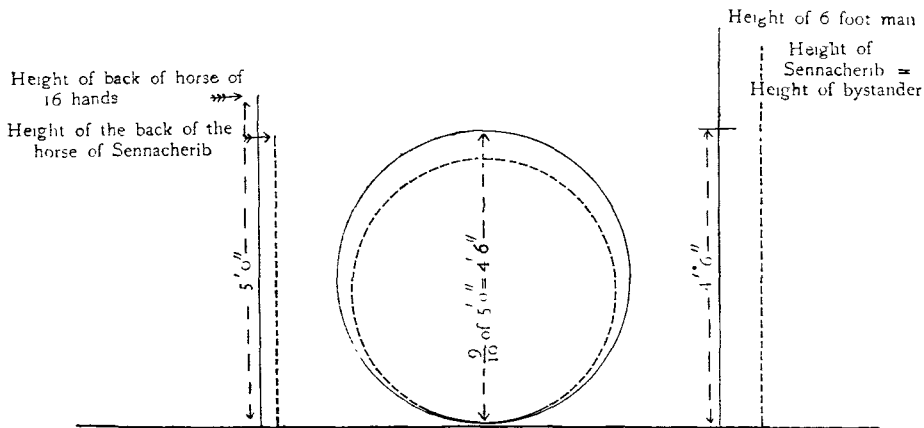


FIG. 4.

will become perfectly clear upon consideration. Suppose we have a horse of sixteen hands or  $5' 4''$  to the shoulder, a wheel  $\frac{9}{10}$  (the proportion of the Maussolleum wheel) of the height of the top of the horse's back, and a man six feet tall. A scale of  $\frac{1}{3/8}$  will produce the following diagram (a horse of sixteen hands will probably measure  $5'$  to the saddle). (Fig. 4.)

A comparison with the proportions observed in the relief of Sennacherib will be interesting. I have added them in the diagram in dotted lines. We see that a wheel of  $\frac{9}{10}$  the height of the horse's back, supposing the horse to measure sixteen hands, is exactly  $\frac{3}{4}$  the height of a six foot man. Now this of course cannot be taken to prove the height of Maussollos, as we do not know the size of the horse, as a basis. But it will serve to show that Prof. Gardner's theory that Maussollos ought to be taller (i) because his height is only  $\frac{1}{3}$  greater than the wheel, (ii) because wheels in Greece are usually  $\frac{1}{2}$  the height of a man, will not stand a test, as a comparison with the details of Sennacherib's chariot conclusively proves. For here we have a wheel which is

practically <sup>40</sup> of the same proportions as the wheel of the Maussoleum with regard to the horse, but the wheel is not quite  $\frac{3}{4}$  the height of the man. This does not matter, however, as, granted the obvious correctness of the proportion between wheel and horse, it follows that the man was about four inches above 6 feet, or whatever height the chariot wheel  $\times \frac{4}{3}$  equalled.

The second objection (*b*) of Prof. Gardner, which I repeat here for convenience, runs as follows.

‘That as a rule in the best Greek Art the standing horse and the standing man are about of equal height, but that the head of Maussollos is about two feet lower than that of the chariot horse.’

It is perhaps somewhat more difficult to decide upon the merits of this objection, for the decision depends considerably upon the view that is taken as to the relation in Greek art between convention and fact. Prof. Gardner’s observations have been taken from friezes, stelae, and sculpture in the round. Of these he practically discards the first, owing to the isocephalic law. Judging from stelae and sculpture in the round he maintains that man and horse were usually represented in Greek art as being of equal height. Now this may have been either a convention or the translation into art of a natural fact. If on the one hand it was a generally used convention, why do not Maussollos and Artemisia conform to it, especially as they are the work of Greek sculptors? If on the other hand the second suggestion is right, the answer to this question will be given by proving the horses of Asia Minor to be rather larger than those in Greece. The difficulty, however, will be found to lie in obtaining direct evidence that the breed of horse on the Greek mainland was a small one.

If it be granted that Prof. Gardner’s observations are correct, the question immediately arises as to why the conventional proportions of man and horse in Greece were adopted, and secondly, what deductions can be drawn from the established proportions supposing that they are not actually conventional but a translation of a natural fact. I do not know whether one is justified in seeing in these proportions the influence of frieze work. In our museums friezes, or the representations of horsemen in friezes, seem to be numerically in excess of detached mounted groups. This may be due to the fact that we have been more fortunate in securing specimens of frieze work than of isolated sculptures, but on the other hand it is certain that a great number of friezes were executed in Greece owing to their use in the decoration of the Ionic order. It is not difficult then to imagine that the prevalent conception of the proportions of man and horse was due in part to the isocephalic law. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the elevation of a group to the height of 140’ would justify the sculptor in disregarding for once the traditional proportions. It may, I think, be considered not only possible but also probable that the sculptor should break away from tradition under such circumstances. But this disregard of the established canon would be more likely to take

<sup>40</sup> There is in fact not more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of difference between the two wheels in natural size.

effect by way of enlarging the statues so that they could be more easily seen, whereas Prof. Gardner states that they are smaller than they ought to be.

To take the second part of the question. Let us suppose that 'convention' is so related to fact as to be an actual representation of the proportions existing in life between man and horse. In the case of a 6' man, the height of the horse to the head would be 6' also. Now a horse that measures 6' to the head has a measurement to the shoulders of about 4' 9", that is to say, it is a horse of about 14 hands, a comparatively small size.

If we allow then for the time being that convention is equated with the actual fact, we may deduce that the horses of the Greek mainland were small and also that if the average Greek was under 6' in height, the horses as a rule fell beneath 14 hands. This deduction is to some extent borne out by the facts of the case. There are not, so far as I am aware, any references to the size or prevailing breeds of horses on the Greek mainland, but there are several interesting remarks about the large size of the horses of Asia Minor.

Herodotus<sup>41</sup> in speaking of India says:—

*ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα . . . πολλῶ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοις ἐστὶ, παρέξ τῶν ἵππων, οὗτοι δὲ ἐσσούνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Νησαίων δὲ καλευμένων ἵππων.*

This would tend to show that the horses of Media were exceptionally large. They were bred on the Nisaeen plain about 100 miles N.E. of Ecbatana and were noted in the ancient world for their size and appearance.

Strabo<sup>42</sup> makes a special reference to them:—

*τοὺς δὲ Νησαίους ἵππους, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀρίστοις οὔσι καὶ μεγίστοις, οἱ μὲν ἐνθένδε λέγουσι τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας. ἰδιόμορφοι δὲ εἰσιν ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Παρθικοὶ λεγόμενοι νῦν κ.τ.λ.*

Here then this Nisaeen breed is said to be the best and the largest in size, used by kings, and similar in shape to the horses which in Strabo's time<sup>43</sup> were called Parthian. In another passage<sup>44</sup> he again mentions the fact that the Persian kings in particular used these Nisaeen horses, and that they were so valuable that the satrap of Armenia, in which country the Nisaeen plain is situated, had to send to Persia every year 20,000 colts for the festival of Mithras. In fact as far back as 600 B.C. Armenia was noted as a horse-rearing country, for the prophet Ezekiel<sup>45</sup> mentions that people of Togarmah, usually supposed to be Armenia, traded in the fairs of Tyre with horses and mules. Athenaeus<sup>46</sup> says too that the Persian horses in the time of Cyrus were highly prized and that

<sup>41</sup> iii. 106.

<sup>42</sup> 525.

<sup>43</sup> B.C. 54–A.D. 24.

<sup>44</sup> Strabo, 529: οὕτω δὲ ἐστὶν ἱππόβοτος πφόδρα ἢ χώρα καὶ οὐχ ἥττον τῆς Μηδίας ὥστε οἱ Μηδαῖοι ἵπποι καὶ ἐνταῦθα γίνονται οἷσπερ οἱ

Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ὁ σατράπης τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῷ Πέρσῃ κατ' ἔτος διςμυρίου πάλους τοῖς Μιθρακίνοις ἐπέμπευ.

<sup>45</sup> xxvii. 14.

<sup>46</sup> xii. 4.

Alexander considered them one of the noblest gifts he could bestow, while Vegetius<sup>47</sup> mentions the beautiful arching of their necks so that their chins leaned on their breasts. Youatt<sup>48</sup> says that the Cappadocian horses stood highest for stately appearance and, though often ridden, were better adapted for the chariot; also that the Parthian were lighter than the Median and Cappadocian. Where Youatt obtains his authority from I have not been able to determine and his last remark seems at variance with Strabo, who says that the Armenian or Median were of the same shape as the Parthian of his time. His authority for the Cappadocian horses may, however, have been taken from Vegetius,<sup>49</sup> who says '*Curribus Cappadocum gloriosa nobilitas, Hispanorum par vel proxima in circo creditur palma,*' etc.

From these passages it will be seen that the Nisaeen horses were most famous in antiquity for their size and general appearance but that other districts in Asia Minor were equally noted for special kinds of horse, such as the Cappadocian for chariots. Now it is a long way from the Nisaeen plain to Caria and the coast of Asia Minor, but it is not improbable that the horses bred in this region were sent long distances. We have quoted the reference to Togarmah in Ezekiel and there is another equally interesting remark by Herodotus,<sup>50</sup> who quotes the reply given by the Telmessian interpreters to Croesus when he asked their advice concerning the strange portent which had occurred when the environs of Sardis had been filled with serpents which the horses of the Persians (presumably) had devoured. The reply said that Croesus must expect his subjects to be conquered by a foreign army because 'the serpent is a son of the land but the horse is an enemy and a stranger.' From this we may infer that in Lydia certainly, and probably in other districts on the coast of Asia Minor, the horse was an imported animal, and what is more likely than that they would arrive from the East, from the horse-rearing plains of Armenia? We have noted too that Strabo refers to the use of the Nisaeen horses by the Persian kings and it is quite probable that Maussollos, who, to judge from the splendid monument he proposed to erect to himself, was only satisfied by having the best of everything, possessed a stable of chariot horses either of this famous breed or else of a cross strain from them.

There is yet one more piece of evidence which will serve to show that the Asia Minor horses were of considerably larger size than those on the mainland of Greece, and this is the frieze from the Acropolis of Xanthus in Lycia. This frieze is also interesting for another reason, that it is one of the rare instances in Greek friezes which show a disregard for or rather a failure to understand the principle of isocephalism. The difficulty of representing the man on horseback, the standing horse, and the standing man, and yet keeping the several figures within the relief has undoubtedly struck the artist. He has overcome it by allowing the heads of the rider and the charioteer both

<sup>47</sup> iii. 5. 8.

<sup>48</sup> *The Horse*, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> iii. 5. 6.

<sup>50</sup> i. 78.

to project beyond the border of the frieze, though in the case of the rider this was not sufficient and his back has had to be considerably curved before it was possible to include him. I have mentioned this because here is an excellent example of horses from Asia Minor, on a frieze, in which one has not to take into consideration the principle of isocephalism to any great extent, before pronouncing on the proportions existing between men and horses. The section of the frieze, however, to which I wish to draw particular attention is the one placed immediately towards the right in the British Museum (Fig. 5). The subject is that of a horse with the figure of a man standing on the far side. The man has his arm thrown across the back of the horse grasping the bridle. The chin of the man is just visible over the

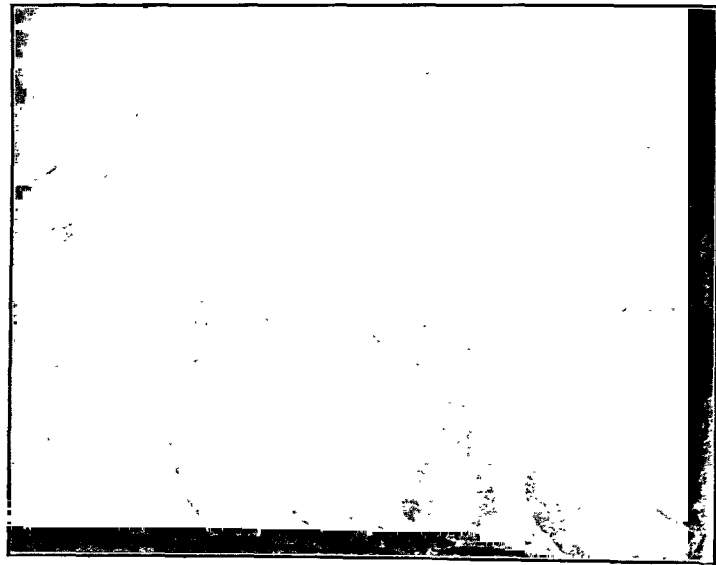


FIG. 5.—FRIEZE FROM XANTHUS.

shoulder of the horse. This shows, supposing the man were six feet tall, that the horse is about 15·3 hands, while his head comes considerably below that of the horse.

It is certainly very tempting to infer from this that the convention of man=horse was occasionally disregarded in Asia Minor and that the large horse was a representation of the actual fact. I think, however, that the foregoing references tend rather to show that a fairly small-sized horse was bred in Greece proper, and if this is once granted it is not a long step to suppose that the smallness of the horse was responsible for what has been considered to be merely an artistic convention. In any case I do think that the isocephalic law, together with the smallness of horse in actual fact, may have had considerable influence on artistic representation. And conversely the large horse of Asia Minor, and the possibility of breaking with tradition

as in the case of the Xanthus frieze may account for the difference in the relative height of horse and man in the Maussoleum group.

Assuming then that the difference is due to an actual and not to a conventional representation, let us consider whether the difference is such as to conform to the conditions of nature.

The height of Mausollos is roughly 10 ft., which gives a ratio of 5:3 when compared with a six-foot man. If we apply this ratio to the chariot horse we get a measurement of  $8' 11'' \times \frac{3}{5} = 5' 4\frac{1}{5}'' = 16$  hands.

Now generally speaking the top of the head of a 16-hand horse is about 1' 4" above the line of the shoulder, so that a 16-hand horse is taller than a 6-ft. man by about 8 inches. If we apply this ratio of 5:3 to the difference between the height of the chariot horse and the height of Mausollos, which is about 22 inches, we get a possible difference in actual life of about 13 inches. At first this would seem to show that there is a discrepancy of about 5 inches. It must not, however, be forgotten that the chariot horse is holding his head in an exceedingly erect position, and also that if the ratio of 5:3 is correct Mausollos represents a man of not quite 6 ft. If we take into account the vertical position of the neck of the chariot horse we shall find that, whereas actually the head is 33-34 inches above the shoulder, it ought, if the head were held at a natural angle, to be only 26-27 inches. If we subtract the biggest difference between these two sets of figures and reduce it to  $\frac{3}{5}$  we get  $8'' \times \frac{3}{5} = 4\frac{1}{5}''$ , or in the case of the smallest difference  $6'' \times \frac{3}{5} = 3\frac{3}{5}''$ . If we take these results away from the difference we obtained above between the height of Mausollos and the horse in actual life, we get a difference which lies between  $8\frac{1}{5}''$  and  $9\frac{2}{5}''$ . This I think is sufficiently close to prove that the relation between Mausollos and the chariot horse represents the actual difference in height between a man of about 6 ft. and a 16-hand horse. The same ratio gives the height of Artemisia in life as 5' 3".

There remains only one point to be treated in connexion with this argument, and that is the mounted rider (Fig. 6). Prof. Gardner contends that the height of this horse equalled that of his rider and makes use of the fact as an additional argument for proving the inequality which exists between Mausollos and the horses of the quadriga.

Any measurements of this mutilated piece of sculpture are likely to involve one in difficulties. Prof. Gardner has calculated the height of the rider from the length of the thigh (32") as being from 9' to 9' 6". This, I think, considerably underestimates the height of the rider, for I have not been able to discover any system of anthropometry or any canon of sculpture which will bring it as low as this. Moreover I think that the length of the thigh will be found to be nearer 34" than 32". However the whole question of measurements in this case is very problematical; but there are two points which are quite clear. The horse of the mounted rider is much smaller than the chariot horse and it is also much smaller than the riding horse from the Xanthus frieze (Fig. 5). Also, the amount that the leg of the rider projects beneath the belly of the horse may be compared with similar instances on the Parthenon frieze.



I do not deduce the same inferences from this as Prof. Gardner. Rather I would consider either that the inhabitants of Asia Minor preferred a comparatively small horse for riding, in common with the Greeks of the mainland, or else that the sculptors of this group intended it for some position on the building where their composition was restricted by conditions of space. In any case I do not think we are justified in considering that Maussollos is on a smaller scale than the chariot horse because the horse of the mounted rider is smaller than the horses of the quadriga.

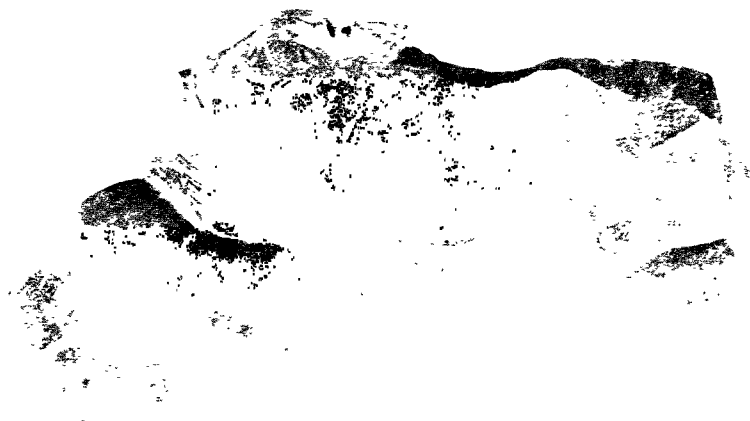


FIG. 6.—MOUNTED RIDER FROM THE MAUSOLLEUM.

The whole value, however, of this argument of proportions depends entirely, as I have said before, on the view that is taken of the relations between convention and fact: but the facility with which the various measurements of the statues and horses can be reduced to give what are perfectly natural relations between a man and a horse in actual life, together with the exceptional circumstances of their position, will incline one, I imagine, to think that in the case of the Mausolleum chariot group we have an exception to the usual Greek practice, and that the statues are a translation into art of a natural fact and reproduce the general proportions that existed between the horses and the men of Asia Minor, proportions which are practically the same as those of the present day.

(c) The third and last part of Prof. Gardner's argument of proportion is that the head of the Maussollos could not be seen by anyone standing on the west front of the Mausolleum, that is facing the horses, till he was about one-third of a mile away, provided of course that the building was of the Plinian height of 140'. The calculation is quite correct provided that the two statues

stood somewhat higher than the *centre* of the nave of the wheel. If, however, they were placed on a line with the centre of the nave, the distance at which the *whole* of the head of Maussollos could be seen, would have been considerably greater, probably over a mile. It is rather more likely though that the statues were raised to within about a foot of the top of the wheel, but even then the head of the statue could not have been seen at a closer distance than one-third of a mile.

We will now summarise the arguments that have been considered, arranging them for and against those who, with Mr. Oldfield, think that the two statues stood in the chariot.

<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
(i) Maussollos and Artemisia are of the same proportion as horses.	(i) Technique of statues is far more detailed than in the horses and approximates more to the work shown in the mounted rider
(ii) The fragments of horses, statues and chariot were found together	(ii) Entire absence of relation between the statues and the horses, in dress, position of hands, or general attitude
(iii) Idea of an empty chariot is inappropriate and foreign to Greek views and practice.	(iii) Impossibility of seeing the heads of the statues from the front except from a great distance.

The questions concerning

- (i) The break in the drapery of Maussollos,
- (ii) The weathering of the statues and horses,
- (iii) The unlikelihood of placing important iconic statues so high,
- (iv) The wheel of the chariot,
- (v) The necessity of a substantial base,
- (vi) The Plinian evidence

have been considered and dismissed, some as affording equal evidence on either side, some as being fallacious 'in toto.'

At first sight the evidence seems equally balanced, but a consideration of the value of the points shows clearly that Prof. Gardner's is the stronger side. Of the three arguments that can legitimately be assigned to the opposite side, the first has but little value, and that of rather a negative character. It is of primary importance to Mr. Oldfield that the two parts of the group should be of the same size, but the fact that they are so proves nothing. It is indeed but the basis on which his proof must be built up. And his proof consists of nothing but the two remaining points. The first of these probably originated the idea that the statues and horses were part of one group. I shall deal with it in the last portion of this paper, when I come to discuss the probable position of the statues in the building. The second argument I entirely agree with. The chariot certainly

was not empty, and almost as certainly was not occupied by the two statues of Maussollos and Artemisia that we possess. There must have been some figure in the chariot, probably a charioteer, possibly even another figure of Maussollos, on a larger scale than the British Museum figure, which would enable it to be more easily seen behind the enormous horses.

C.—*The Question of Technique.*

With the exception then of the question of provenance, which I intend to deal with later on, there remains not one argument which can be justly assigned to uphold Mr. Oldfield's case, while the opposite side has no lack of support. It would seem then almost unnecessary to pursue further the whole question, were it not that every additional piece of evidence increases the cumulative effect of the whole. The strongest arguments against the two statues occupying the chariot are undoubtedly the complete absence of interrelation between them and the horses and the fact that, while the latter have the impressionistic appearance which is inseparable from colossal work viewed from close at hand, the statues in their evident elaboration of detail are undoubtedly meant to be seen at closer quarters than the horses of the quadriga. It is in connexion with this last argument that I wish to make one or two further remarks. I have hitherto been engaged mainly in refuting or checking the evidence of both sides in order to discover what arguments are most trustworthy: it will therefore be a pleasure to bring forward a point which has every appearance of being a valuable piece of constructive evidence to support Prof. Gardner's theory, which I have unfortunately, but necessarily, had to denude of what might have been the most convincing argument of all, had the ratio between the colossal and the life varied amongst the sculptors of the Maussoleum. The point is by no means a new one, for Stark and Overbeck both mentioned it and both held opposite opinions. Briefly it is the question of the difference in technique between the front and the back of the two statues. To present the matter in a clearer light, I will briefly repeat the views of each. Stark,<sup>51</sup> who was the earlier writer (1865), remarked that the back of the Maussollos, which was the most freely visible, was the most carelessly executed, while the front of the statue, which could not have been seen from any direction, was most carefully executed. Overbeck<sup>52</sup> on the other hand, writing some sixteen years later, takes the opposite view. He maintains that the front and the back of Maussollos correspond in style and technique. This opinion would seem to be a curious error of judgment on the part of so able an archaeologist, as will be readily seen from the accompanying photographs (Figs. 7 and 8). The dreamy, somewhat negligent but not altogether ungraceful attitude which Maussollos assumes (Fig. 7), disappears entirely in the back view (Fig. 8). The stiffness of the upright (?) standing

<sup>51</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> *Loc. cit.*

position, which is so relieved by the bend of his left knee and the consequent smoothing of the folds of the drapery, becomes apparent; while the slight deviation from the vertical, which lends a decided charm to, and enhances, the far-away look of the whole figure in front, becomes a very obvious slant at the back and offends one's sense of artistic fitness.

It is of course impossible that the statue should lean more at the back than it does at the front, but nevertheless it certainly appears to do so, and this illusion is probably caused by the arrangement of the folds of the drapery. Owing to the nature of the himation and the manner in which it was adjusted to the body, the folds must inevitably travel from left to right across the back, but in the case of Maussollos this direction is also that in which the body is leaning, so that the eye is carried downwards and outwards by the oblique parallelism of the lines of the drapery and is then arrested by a line which is slanting in the opposite direction, thus producing an exceedingly unpleasant effect. One imagines that it would not take much more to exceed the centre of gravity and cause the figure to fall. But this unpleasant effect caused by the unbroken lines of the drapery is not in the least perceptible to a spectator standing in front of the statue. Here the drapery, which by the bye is somewhat complex, is broken up. The upper edge of the himation is brought across the body and is tucked beneath the left arm in the orthodox manner. The inner portion is, however, pulled up while the 'flap' is allowed to hang down as far as possible, thus producing a broad band which extends from the middle of the chest to the middle of the thighs. It is this artificial broadening of the 'flap' which produces such a happy result in the front drapery of the figure. The lines of the chiton and the himation all tend in the same direction and they are naturally broken at the waist by this artistic arrangement of the himation. One can almost imagine that if this horizontal cross-piece of drapery were omitted there would be a certain monotony of line which would tend to emphasize the leaning position of the statue, though the bend of the left knee would prevent it having the same effect as at the back.

On turning to the female figure we are at once struck by the difference in position, by the absolute verticalness, which contrasts very strongly with the slanting position, of Maussollos. The drapery appears to be much more gracefully arranged. It gives one the impression of falling before it starts to swing outward, an effect which apparently is produced by the position of the right leg, of which the knee is bent, while the heel is naturally raised and the foot points outward. The result is that although the himation slants in the same direction as that of the male figure, it is not pulled tight as in his case, with the effect of exposing the contour of the body in a painful degree, but is allowed to hang naturally and gracefully. This artistic appearance seems to be brought about entirely by the pose of the body and the flexion of the knee. In the case of Artemisia the bending of the right knee causes the folds of the himation to approximate more to the vertical line of the side of the body, while in the case of Maussollos the bending of the opposite knee produces an opposite effect, the folds of the

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himation tending to meet the line of the side at right angles rather than obliquely.

I have treated the arrangement of the drapery and the appearance of the two statues from the back at so great a length in order to emphasize the



FIG. 7.—MAUSSOLLOS AND ARTEMISIA.

inartistic qualities of the statue of Mausollos as viewed from that position. I now propose to consider the actual technique of the drapery, contrasting the workmanship of the front and back respectively. In the case of Mausollos the difference is immediately obvious, and again we are concerned with the folds of the himation. In front, as we have observed above, the drapery is

broken up, not only in the direction of its lines but also in variety of line. The folds about the right leg are deeply grooved and undercut, those which traverse the waist are deeply chiselled in the same way, producing an effect of light and shade, which gives a magnificent appearance of depth. With

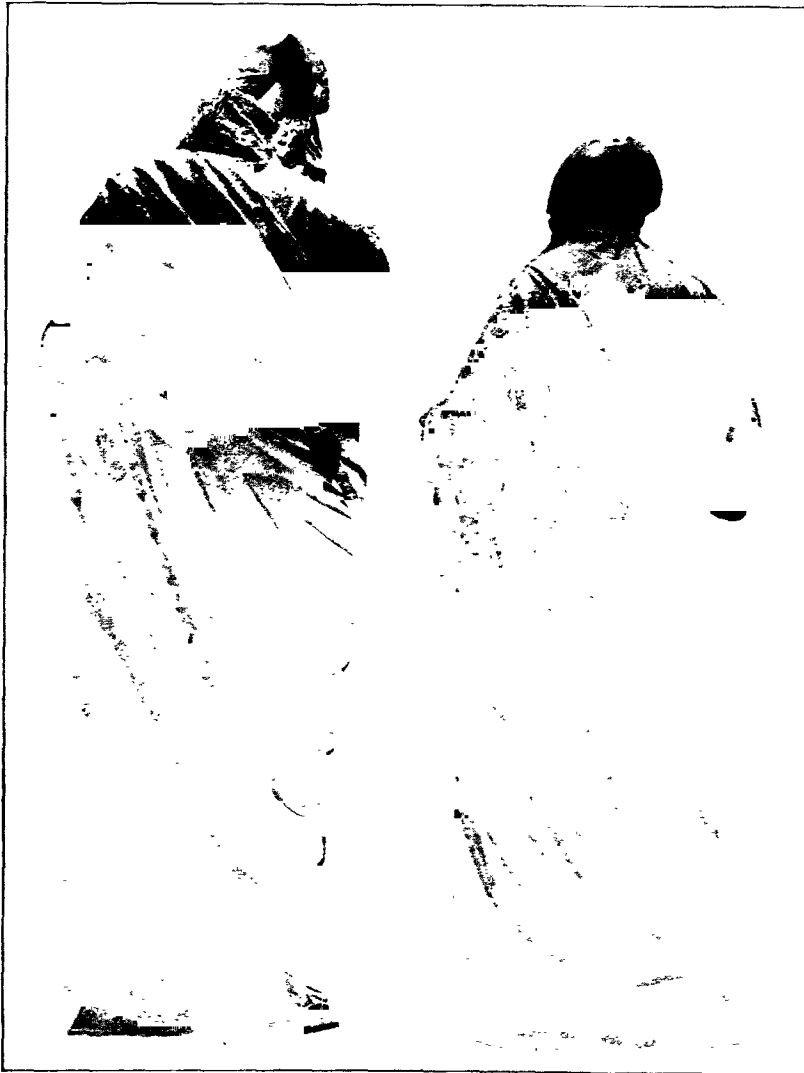


FIG. 8.—MAUSSOLLOS AND ARTEMISIA.  
(Back view.)

the exception perhaps of the chiton where it covers the chest and where it may be slightly weather-worn, the surface is beautifully worked, reproducing the texture of the garment with the utmost care. On turning

to the back the difference is amazing. There is no undercutting, there is no modelling of surface, no depth, and but little light and shade. The folds of the drapery are uniformly flat with obviously shallow grooves. One can see to the bottom of the groove at a glance. One can tell immediately how deep it is; while in some parts of the himation, notably that above the left heel, there is no attempt to sculpture the marble or even to work over the surface. All these observations apply, only in greater degree, to the statue of Artemisia. The drapery on the front of the figure is more delicately worked and treated in greater detail than that of Maussollos. The back of the statue is more graceful, though the technique of the folds shows no improvement, while the remarks made above with regard to the surface working of the marble in the male statue apply equally to the female figure. So great, however, is the contrast



FIG. 9.—LOWER FRONT DRAPERY OF ARTEMISIA.

between the bottom folds of the chiton at the back and those in the front, that I have thought it worth while to take two more photographs (Figs. 9 and 10) on a considerably larger scale than the others, in order to give special prominence to this point. A study of these two illustrations will fully bear out the remarks I have made with regard to the difference in working on the two sides. In the former the actual texture of the material seems to have been brought out in the marble, so delicate is the workmanship. In the latter the marks of the claw-chisel are plainly visible in the lowest fold, showing that the surface not only lacked the final polishing, but was even left at the stage subsequent to the hammer dressing. Again, if we compare the nature of the folds in the lower part of the chiton with the same part of the back, the contrast becomes almost greater. In the front there is an infinite variety, one fold running into another, or curving about over the instep with splendid realism; at the back there are four deeply

cut grooves, with the intervening masses slightly carved to indicate that it really is part of a garment that the sculptor wishes to represent, though, were it not for the surroundings, one might be almost doubtful, for the lower edge of the material appears fixed to the ground. So great indeed is the difference that it does not seem possible that we are looking at different parts of the same garment.

And now to draw conclusions from this great contrast in technique and arrangement of drapery on opposite sides of the two statues, a contrast in which, in spite of Overbeck, everybody, I think, will acquiesce. Let us imagine, for a moment, these two colossal statues standing on the chariot of Pythis, behind four equally colossal horses, at an altitude of 140 feet from the ground, taking into consideration also the marvellous clearness of the atmosphere.

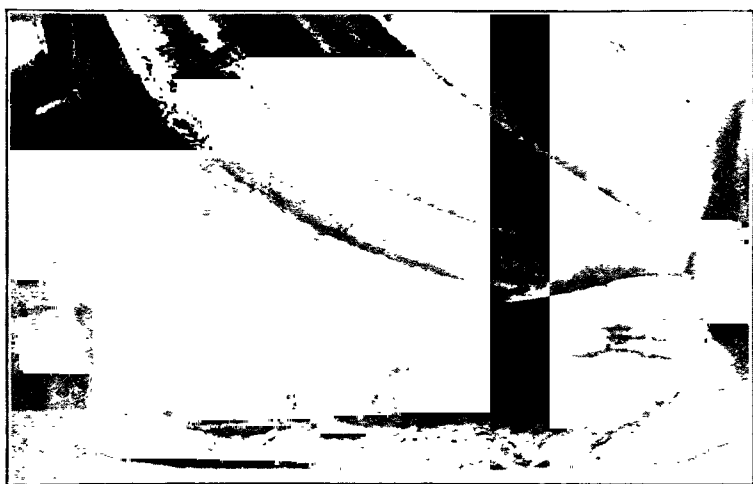


FIG. 10.—LOWER BACK DRAPERY OF ARTEMISIA.

The elaborate detail in the front, the delicate surface modelling, the realistic arrangement of the himation and chiton, could not be seen from the ground, for Prof. Gardner has shown that only the head of Maussollos could be seen, and that at the distance of about 600 yards. The back view was unobstructed; but what was there to see? Nothing but folds of drapery, certainly roughly carved, as befits a colossal work to be seen from a distance, but badly arranged in the case of Maussollos, giving an exceedingly clumsy appearance, combined with the slant of his body, to the whole group. But even if this were admitted as possible, what are we to conclude from the detailed appearance of the front of the statues? We can only come to one conclusion and that is that in the case of these two figures the sculptor intended his work to be seen from the front and not from the back, which we repeat is the only position from which the spectator could view the entire statue, if it were in the chariot. It would seem absurd to us in these



modern days and doubtless it would have appeared equally ludicrous to the quick-witted Greek to discover when he visited this monument, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, that the only full-length view of the man to whom the monument was erected that could be obtained was to be found on the east side of the building towards which both statues had their backs turned, producing in conjunction a very clumsy and badly worked group, while if he wanted to catch a very distant glimpse of the features of the founder of the tomb he would have to go to the west side, where he must take up a position about a third of a mile away, and considerably further if he was sufficiently curious to wonder what Artemisia was like.

It would appear, then, that the evidence afforded by this question of technique, taken together with those arguments of Prof. Gardner that we have admitted as sound, produces on the whole a strong proof that the two statues of Maussollos and Artemisia were not the occupants of the chariot of Pythis.

*D.—The Probable Position of the Two Statues in the Building.*

If once it is agreed that these two statues never adorned the quadriga, the question of their probable position in the building immediately suggests itself. This question has occurred to many restorers since the time when Newton excavated the remains, especially to those who have seen the difficulty of placing them in the chariot. But there has been little originality in their suggestions; in fact they all confine themselves to one alternative—‘in or about the cella.’ The earliest opinion on the matter was expressed before the publication of Newton’s ‘Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae.’ In 1858 W. Tite stated without giving any grounds that ‘It is probable that these colossal statues were placed in or about the cella.’

Six years later, in 1864, Stark, who, as we have seen, was the first German writer to devote a long article to the consideration of the Maussolleum, pronounces against the chariot theory and suggests the alternative position of the cella, in which view he is followed by Wolters. Overbeck considers that the suggestion made by Stark has much to recommend it but does not commit himself strongly to either side. One year, however, before the publication of Stark’s article in the *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Fergusson proposed that they should be placed in the peristyle, presumably in the inter-columniations, where he says they would have shown up admirably against the dark background of the cella. The suggestion has the merit of originality, for, as far as I can discover, Fergusson is the only restorer to make this proposal, and it is a proposal which will be worth considering. In 1892 Prof. Gardner published his article in the *J.H.S.* but stated that although he firmly believed that the statues did not stand in the chariot he was not prepared to suggest another position. The great stumbling-block to suggestions of alternative positions is of course the find-spot, and the cella theory can, as I shall presently show, by

no means be reconciled with the provenance of the two statues. Prof. Percy Gardner has stated in his article that the evidence of find-spots is by no means conclusive, and if we accept the evidence of the find-spot as quite trustworthy we must be prepared to allot to the same position as Maussollos and Artemisia, or else closely contiguous, the remainder of the fragments which were found outside the peribolos wall. These comprise, according to Newton, a colossal female head, a beardless male head, probably Apollo, head and shoulders of a lion, part of a bearded male head, and the body of a colossal ram. Now the most ardent advocate of the chariot theory would scarcely wish to suggest that all these stood in the chariot, so that the argument of the find-spot loses a great deal of its force. How then did these sculptures all get projected beyond the peribolos wall, and is it possible that they arrived there from positions 'in or about the cella'?

Let us deal with the last question first. The allocation of Maussollos and Artemisia to a position inside the cella is clearly impossible, for when the earthquake which demolished the building took place it does not seem possible to imagine that these two statues, to say nothing of the other sculptures, could have been projected from the cella in a horizontal direction, cleaving a passage through all the falling débris and describing a parabolic curve which landed them just outside the peribolos. The question of 'about,' that is, I imagine, 'outside' the cella is somewhat more difficult. In it is involved the configuration of the whole building, the questions of the height and existence of basement as in Pullan's restoration, etc. I have not gone into the question of the architectural restorations at all thoroughly, but I am somewhat inclined, from the evidence that exists, to imagine four lofty flights of steps in the form of a pyramid truncated at half its height, upon which rested the pteron, surmounted by the pyramid. Supposing that this was in reality the shape of this much discussed building, it would still be impossible for our two figures to be projected laterally beyond the peribolos wall and I doubt if, in the case of a high basement like Pullan's, intercolumniated statues would be propelled in this direction by an earthquake. Certainly, if they had been, there would have been found outside this wall pieces of the columns between which they stood but which were not discovered in connexion with these pieces of sculpture. Another solution must be found. I am convinced, needless to say, that the statues did not stand in the chariot. How did they come together in the earthquake? My theory is this. It will be remembered that I have accounted for the comparatively unweathered state of both horses and statues by suggesting an early earthquake shock which dislodged perhaps only the statuary as being not so firmly fixed as the main part of the building. I imagine therefore that this earlier earthquake shock caused the chariot horses to fall and they in their descent caught up the statues of Maussollos and Artemisia and carried them out in their fall over the peribolos wall. Where then did the statues stand so that they could possibly be involved in the fall of the horses? Before answering this question let us consider for a moment the form of the pyramid. In some restorations, in order to arrive at

the total of 140 feet for the height of the building, the pyramid does not rest immediately on the roof of the pteron but springs from a podium of considerable height which acts as a base to the pyramid and gives an appearance of greater stability. This podium is adopted in the restorations of Petersen, Bernier, Oldfield, and Adler, and to a smaller extent in that of Fergusson. It is possible, too, that the adoption of a podium is an architectural convenience which tends to minimize lateral thrust. Granted, then, that a podium is necessary, the next question is whether to ornament it or to leave it plain. It would be too great a work to decorate it all over with a frieze, so the next expedient would be to adorn it with single statues to break the monotony. This has been done by some restorers, and it is in this position, exactly in the centre of the podium on the north side either on pedestals or without, according to the height adopted for the podium, that I propose to place the statues. The podium would then on the north and south be relieved by single statues, while on the east and west, if we agree with Prof. Six, the ornamentation will consist of pediments much in the style of the Sidon sarcophagi.

It will be readily seen that by this arrangement the technique of the backs with which so much fault has been found will be entirely hidden, which would not be the case if they were placed in the peristyle according to Fergusson, for in all probability the peristyle was accessible, more especially if it was approached by broad flights of steps. The other fragments of statues and the lions could also be assigned to this position. The lions would either alternate with the statues or else would be grouped in heraldic composition. The only piece of sculpture amongst the somewhat heterogeneous assortment found on the north of the peribolos wall that will not readily find a place is the ram. It must, equally with the other fragments, have come down from a considerable height, unless it were part of some scheme of decoration near the north wall. By locating the statues in this position on the building I think we can at once explain the evidence of the find-spot and remove the difficulty which would otherwise arise in connexion with the technique of the backs. But it is a suggestion which leads to a very disturbing conclusion, though one which has many grounds for its acceptance.

I have for some time thought it strange that so great a unanimity should have existed, after the first attempt by Newton, in the identification of the female figure as Artemisia. It is true that in naming the figure as Artemisia the British Museum authorities have shown their doubt by placing a question mark after the name. But in addition to this I cannot help very strongly doubting whether the male statue also is rightly identified as Maussollos. I have two considerable reasons for this statement and a third in the case of Artemisia.

- (i) Granted that the placing of the statues in such a position as to be involved in the fall of the quadriga is correct, would *the* statue of Maussollos have been placed in such a comparatively unimportant position as the north side of the building?

- (ii) Does it not appear to be a piece of inconceivable good fortune that we should become possessed of the statues of the two most important personages connected with the Maussoleum, when, with the sole exception of the portrait statue with half the head missing, *every* other statue had been destroyed and only a few heads and feet remain? (I except of course the mounted rider and seated statue.)
- (iii) And of these few remaining heads, the female all show the triple row of curls which adorns the head of the so-called Artemisia. Why should they not equally be called 'Heads belonging to Statues of Artemisia'?

Let us consider these arguments in the order laid down

In the temples of Zeus at Olympia and in the Parthenon at Athens the cult statues of the deity were placed within the cella, as being not only the most convenient and suitable place, but also the only one where colossal statues of such magnitude as the chryselephantine creations of Phidias could have stood. Now I do not wish to suggest that Artemisia caused a gold and ivory statue to be erected, or even a statue of inferior metal, of the size accorded to the gods at Olympia or Athens, but I think it is quite possible that inside the cella there existed the most important statue of Maussollos. There is no precedent, so far as I am aware, for placing the statue of a man in the cella, but we may compare the erection of the Philippeion at Olympia, some fifteen years later, where the statues of the family of Philip II of Macedon were placed in the interior of the building. What I wish to emphasize is the improbability that the cella should have remained empty, and that the principal statue of Maussollos should have been placed at the base of the pyramid on the north side of the building, which was in this case the least important side of the monument. To a spectator approaching the building from the harbour of Halicarnassus, that is from the south, or even supposing the entrance in the peribolos wall was situated on the east or west, it would have seemed extremely strange that he should have had to go to the north side to catch a glimpse of the statue of the occupant of the tomb, and a glimpse, moreover, of a very slight nature considering the exalted position of Maussollos.

It seems to me that in such a case as this it is best to follow Mr. Oldfield, who in his restoration of the building places a colossal bronze statue in the centre of the pteron, where it can be easily seen at the first glance by any visitor to the building.

How many statues of Maussollos Artemisia caused to be erected we are unable to determine, or whether there was only one, but it would seem more probable that, in accordance with the usual Greek custom, there were in the building representations of most of the family of Maussollos, and probably of some of his ancestors. In that case our statue may quite conceivably be that of Hecatomnus, and there were also not improbably

statues of Idrieus and Pixodaros, brothers of Maussollos, placed in various parts of the building. And in the same way there was doubtless a statue, or perhaps more than one, of Ada, the sister and successor of Artemisia. Moreover, as I stated in my second objection, it would have been too great a good fortune to have obtained portrait-statues of both Maussollos and Artemisia.

And in the case of Artemisia it should be noticed that the appearance of the three archaic rows of curls in the dressing of the hair proves that it was either a convention adopted in the Carian court or else that the various heads that possess this kind of hair are all representations of the same person, who would then have to be Artemisia. It is more probable that it represents a conventional method of dressing the hair and in that case there does not appear to me to be any valid reason for assigning the statue to Artemisia. Neither side can be proved. The only reason for supposing the male statue to represent Maussollos is the undeniably regal aspect of his face and his noble mien, but there is no reason why Hecatomnus should not have possessed the same kingly appearance.

The utmost I feel inclined to concede is that the male statue is a comparatively unimportant statue of Maussollos, supposing of course that he had more than one representation made of himself, while the identification of the female statue is yet more doubtful, as the face is entirely lacking.

J. B. KNOWLTON PREEDY.

## A CELTIC CULT AND TWO SITES IN ROMAN GALATIA.

ELEVEN years ago I contributed to the *Journal* an account of exploration in Galatia, and in summarizing the evidence which it supplied as to the civilization of Galatia, I pointed out that the Celtic conquerors assimilated the culture of the conquered Phrygians without seriously modifying its character. And more particularly in the religious sphere I observed that the evidence indicated that the religion prevailing in the Imperial period was 'purely Phrygian: there is no trace of any Celtic cult . . . The new settlers perforce adopted the native cultus: for it was always necessary to "know the manner of the god of the land" (2 Kings, xvii. 26). Doubtless they identified their gods with the Phrygian, and did not keep up any separate cult: otherwise it would be incredible that no trace of it should have remained.'<sup>1</sup>

A similar view was expressed in the following year by Sir W. M. Ramsay. 'Few traces,' he says, 'of the old Gaulish religion can be detected in Galatia. It would be difficult to mention any except the sacrifice of captives, which was practised as late as B.C. 160, and presumably the rites at Drynemeton. It is hardly probable that the Gaulish religion was wholly disused or forgotten in the last century B.C. But certainly almost all the references—unfortunately very few—to Galatic religion point to the rapid adoption of the ancient and impressive cult of Cybele . . . The Galatians may perhaps have modified to some degree the character of the Phrygian ritual by their own nature and customs, as both the Phryges and the Greeks did. But we have no evidence on this point.' His survey ends with the observation that in the inscriptions of the Roman period no allusion is made to any religion except that of the old Phrygian gods and that of the Emperors.<sup>2</sup>

While the general correctness of this view is beyond dispute, both discussions overlooked a clear survival of a Celtic cult, or at any rate of the name of a Celtic god, in the third century after Christ. In a corner of rural Galatia, at the village of Aktehe Tash near the Paphlagonian border, Hamilton copied an epitaph<sup>3</sup> of a νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς ΒΟΥΥΚΟΥΡΙ ΓΤΟΥ, which Franz corrected Βουσσουρι[τί]ου, an 'unknown epithet of Zeus.' During my wanderings in north-eastern Galatia in the spring of 1899 I recopied this inscription, and found two others bearing on the same cult. The three

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xix. 1899, pp. 313, 316.

*The Epistle to the Galatians*, Sect. 9, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to *Historical Commentary on*

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.G.* 4102.

form an interesting little group. Aktche Tash lies in an undulating plain amongst the hills immediately east of the watershed between the Sangarius and the Halys, at a distance of 9 miles or 14½ kilometres W.N.W. of Kalejik, and some 3 miles north of the line of the Roman road from Ancyra which crossed the Halys just beyond Kalejik and ran due east by Sungurlu to Alaja, where it met the northward road from Tavium to Amasia.<sup>4</sup> The village is marked on my map of Asia Minor. My copy of Hamilton's inscription reads as follows:—

1. On a block rectangular in section. The first eight lines are engraved on a panel, and the last two on the plinth.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΣ	Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίου
ΔΟΜΝΟΥ	Δόμου
ΚΩΜΗΣ ΚΛΩΣ-	κώμης Κλωσ-
ΣΑΜΗΝΩΝ	σαμηνῶν
ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ	νεωκόρος
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΣ-	τοῦ Διὸς Βουσ-
ΣΟΥΡΙΓΙΟΥ	σουριγ(ί)ου
ΖΩΝΕΑΥΤΩ	ζῶν ἑαυτῷ
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΤΟ	κατεσκεύασεν τὸ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ	μνημεῖον.

In the epithet of Zeus the letter after Γ seemed to be certainly Τ: the cross-bar appeared to be engraved. But it is a mistake of the lapidary, as the next inscription shows.

2. Karayuk (Kara-eyuk), half an hour E.S.E. of Aktche Tash, and 10 miles or 16 kilometres by road from Kalejik. *Stèle* built into the wall of the mosque: above there is a fragment of a wreath.

ΒΑΥΡ ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ	Αὐρ. Φιλότας
ΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙΟΥ	Στατειλίου
ΚΩΜΗΣ ΊΚΟ-	κώμης Ἰκο-
ΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΕΤΗΣ	ταρίου κέτης
ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΩΝ	καὶ ὑπηρετῶν
ΔΙΙ ΒΟΥΣΣΟΥ	Διὶ Βουσσου-
ΡΙΓΙΩ ΖΩΝ	ριγίῳ ζῶν
ΦΡΟΝΩΝ ΕΑΥ-	φρονῶν ἑαυ-
ΤΩ ΤΟ ΜΝΗ-	τῷ τὸ μνη-
ΜΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΣ-	μεῖον κατεσ-
ΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ	κεύασεν.

<sup>4</sup> The Roman road Angora-Kalejik is proved by milestones published from my copies in *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14184<sup>53</sup> ff. (cf. iii. 309, 310). For the section Kalejik-Sungurlu no evidence was known till M. Cagnat communicated to the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France a

copy sent to M. Perrot of a milestone found at Sungurlu (falsely attributed to Bithynia): it was set up in A.D. 97-98 by Pomponius Bassus, governor of the province Galatia-Cappadocia, A.D. 95-100 (*Bulletin*, 1903, p. 193; repeated in *Rev. Arch.* 1903, ii. p. 445, No. 261).

3. *Ibidem.* *Stele* in the mosque wall; above the inscription is the remnant of a bust, beneath which is a garland of various fruits.

ΧΑΙ  
ΡΟΙ  
C

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ  
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ  
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ  
ΙΚΕΤΗΣ  
ΚΩΜΗΣ ΜΑΛΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ ΚΑΛΜΙΖΗΝΗΣ  
ΕΤΟΥΣ

ΠΑ  
ΡΟ  
ΔΕΙ  
ΤΑ

Χαίροις, παροδείτα.  
Αὐρήλιος  
'Ασκληπιιάδης  
'Ασκληπιού  
ίκέτης  
κώμης Μαλού  
τῆς Καλμιζηνῆς  
ἔτους 500.'

All three inscriptions belong to the same period, and that period is fixed as the third century after Christ by the character of the lettering taken in conjunction with the use of the *mnemomen* Aurelius. There can be no doubt that the era employed in No. 3 is B.C. 25, the year of the establishment of the province Galatia, and that the actual date is A.D. 251.

The epithet Bussurigios is undoubtedly Celtic,<sup>5</sup> as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarius, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum<sup>6</sup> and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior.<sup>7</sup> The termination *-mārus*, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names,<sup>8</sup> and both Bussumarus and the simple Busu occur on Gallic coins, partly found in Pannonia.<sup>9</sup> As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigios is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rí*, gen. *rígy*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names (of the type of Boiorix, Zmertorix,<sup>9a</sup> etc.), and it forms the final syllable of some tribal names, *e.g.* Bituriges.<sup>10</sup>

We should like to learn something about the character of this cult, but unfortunately the inscriptions leave us in the dark. It is noticeable that the votaries of the god bear pure Graeco-Roman names. The god is identified with the Anatolian deity Hellenized as Zeus: was the identification so complete that he had shed all his Celtic characteristics? It seems scarcely probable. When we consider the tenacity with which the Gauls of the country districts maintained their language and many of their primitive ideas and customs—especially those relating to the family and the organization of society<sup>11</sup>—far into the Roman period, we may not unreason-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cumont, *s.c.* 'Bussurios,' in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. col. 1077.

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.* iii. 1033; Suppl. 14215<sup>15</sup> (= Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 4621).

<sup>7</sup> *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 12403, where [*et al*]is *Samarie*! is read. The true restoration is due to Dessau.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Zeuss-Ebel, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, *s.c.*; Dessau on No. 4621.

<sup>9a</sup> This particular name is interesting as occurring on coins of the Phrygian Eumeneia (Head, *B.M. Catal. of Phrygia*, pp. 215 f.): Zmerton in Galatia, *J.H.S.* xix. p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> Zeuss-Ebel, *op. cit.* p. 20. In German names the termination appears as *-ricus*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *Rom. Prov.*, E. T., i. p. 341; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, pp. 23 f.; Ramsay, *op. cit.* pp. 130 ff.



ably presume that with the Celtic name there survived, in this remote corner of the country, some elements of Gallic ritual and religious feeling.

There remain one or two questions of topography raised by our inscriptions. It is obvious that our site can hardly be identified with any of the village names mentioned by them. The votaries of the god belonged rather to the villages around. *Κώμη Κλωσσαμνηῶν* is unknown, but it seems probable that Ikotarion is to be equated with Acitoriziacum, an almost certainly corrupt name, placed by the Peutinger Table thirty-six miles from Ancyra on the road to Tavium. Now this road ran not by Kalejik, but by Assi Yuzgat and Yakshi Khan,<sup>12</sup> and as the Table's numbers give a total mileage which is much too great, Sir William Ramsay supposed that Acitoriziacum has (by a not uncommon error) been transferred from another road, and he placed it at Kalejik.<sup>13</sup> But Kalejik is too far away from Ancyra, and reasons will presently appear for giving it a different name. If, however, Acitoriziacum is a corruption of Ikotarion, it would naturally be assigned to the Ancyra-Kalejik road, and thirty-six miles from Ancyra bring us into the plain of Aktehe Tash and Kara-eyuk. A site near the village of Elejik<sup>14</sup> (about 1½ mile or 2½ kilometres W.S.W. of Aktehe Tash) would satisfy the conditions.

More interest attaches to the village Malos, which figures in the life of St. Theodotos of Ancyra, published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, May 18, vol. iv. Its situation is thus described: *Μαλός ἐστὶν χωρίον τῆς πόλεως ἀπωκισμένον σημείων μικροῦ πρὸς τεσσαράκοντα*, i.e. a little over forty Roman miles from Ancyra, on the western bank of the Halys (p. 153). Sir William Ramsay rightly perceived that the road here meant is that which went to Kalejik.<sup>15</sup> It is the only eastward road that suits the conditions described in the story. Theodotos arrived in the neighbourhood 'at the time of the persecution,' when the body of the martyr Valens was thrown into the eddying waters of the Halys. He rescued it and carried it to an *ἐπισκοπιά* (*specula*) on the bank, about two miles from the village.<sup>16</sup> It was a beautiful spot with abundance of grass, fruit trees, and juniper, and filled with the scent of flowers; at dawn it resounded with a concert of grasshoppers, nightingales, and all sorts of birds; and 'in a word, the hillside was full of all the charms with which nature decks the solitude.' No one who has seen the

<sup>12</sup> To this road belongs the milestone at Orta Keui; see *J.H.S.* xix. pp. 98 ff., and the Map, Plate IV. The road is quite wrongly drawn in the map attached to *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. Pars. II. Cf. my map of Asia Minor.

<sup>13</sup> *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 258 f. He assigned it to the Ancyra-Gangra road, but a milestone which I found during this same journey (*C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14184<sup>58</sup>) proves that this road did not go by Kalejik, but diverged from the Ancyra-Kalejik road about two miles south of Balik-

Assar (perhaps ancient Bolegasgus).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14184<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> *Hist. Geogr.* p. 251.

<sup>16</sup> *παρεγένετο οὖν οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἀλλ' ὀλίγον τι κατωτέρω ἐπισκοπιάν τινα πρὸς τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος ἀποβλέπων* (corr. ἀποβλέπουσαν), ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ῥέμα τοῦ Ἄλως καταπτύεται. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ διάστημα τοῦ τε χωρίου καὶ τοῦ τόπου Ἰσως εἰσὶ δύο πον στάδιοι (p. 154). Stadia in the sense of miles is not infrequent in later Greek: cf. *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 190, 251, 258.

Halys valley at the points where it is crossed by the three roads from Ancyra will doubt that the spot here described lies beside the stone bridge which spans the river gorge below Kalejik. It was from an ἐπισκοπιά such as that in the story that the guardian of the luxuriant vineyards by the bridge shouted to us a warning which knew nothing of the generosity of Plato's law in favour of the passing traveller who should desire to eat of such luscious grapes. The bridge is just two miles from Kalejik. And Kalejik is 'a little over forty miles from Ancyra': the actual distance by road, as nearly as I can calculate it from trocheameter measurements, is about forty-four Roman miles (41 English miles, 66 kilometres). The conclusion is clear: Kalejik represents Malos, and Kalmizene, of which I know no other mention, is the name of the district around it.

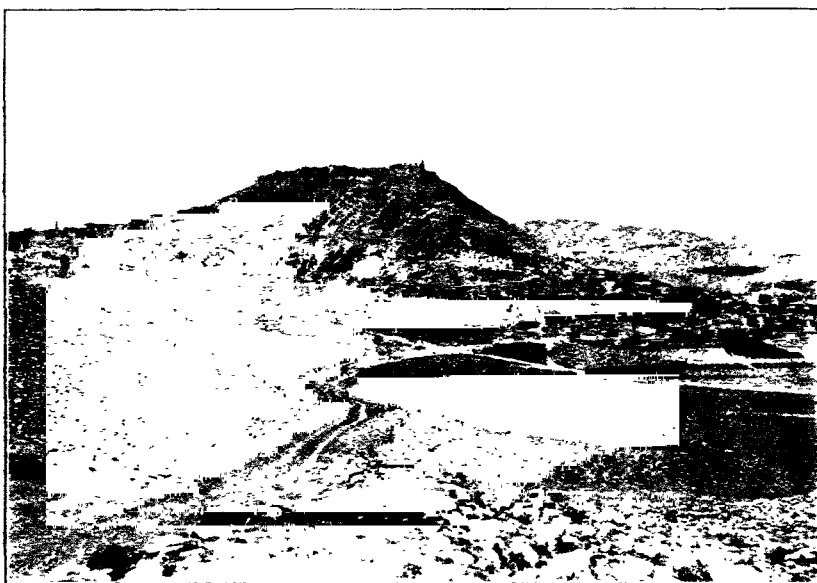


FIG. 1.—KALEJIK, FROM THE EAST.

Kalejik (Fig. 1) is a small town picturesquely situated, in the late Sir Charles Wilson's words,<sup>17</sup> 'at the base of an isolated and nearly conical hill of red trachyte, which is crowned with the ruins of a fine castle' (much and often restored). I found no new inscriptions here, nor did I succeed in discovering the fragmentary inscriptions which Wilson saw on some of the old stones used in the construction of the castle walls. We were shown a souvenir of the later fortunes of the town in the shape of cannon balls of stone, which presumably belong to the time of the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

<sup>17</sup> *Handbook to Asia Minor*, p. 10.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Scripta Minoa: the written Documents of Minoan Crete.** By ARTHUR J. EVANS. Vol. I. Pp. xiv + 302, with 13 plates and 132 cuts. Oxford, 1909.

The first volume of *Scripta Minoa*, which has been eagerly expected for some little while past, has now appeared, produced in sumptuous form by the Clarendon Press. The initial volume does not, of course, contain the discoverer's final views on the subject of the Minoan writing: for these we must probably wait awhile, and meanwhile criticism must hold itself in abeyance. Much of the contents of the book is recapitulatory, containing both matter and illustrations well known to us from Dr. Evans's previous publications on the subject: his aim has been 'to give in the first place a *Corpus* as complete as possible of the existing records of the script' so that here we have everything that has previously appeared with the latest additions up to date. Dr. Evans's second aim, he says, was to 'supply a preliminary *apparatus criticus* in the form of tables,' an analysis of the signs, *etc.* The lists and analyses are extremely interesting, and from them a comparison of the Cretan hieroglyphic script with those of Egypt and Anatolia may easily be made.

The subject of actual decipherment does not yet enter the scene. One may guess at the meanings of certain signs, and to determine the numerical system is easy. But 'in the absence of bilingual inscriptions,' as Dr. Evans himself says, 'the material as a whole has not reached the stage when any comprehensive attempt at interpretation or transmutation is likely to be attended with fruitful results.' Dr. Evans has not yet found his Rosetta Stone, though when the alabaster vase-lid of Khyan and the inscribed statuette of Sebek-user son of Abnub were turned up at Knossos we hoped that he would soon find it. We can only trust that he will be successful in this quest, and be the Champollion of Crete.

As preliminary work this volume gives all the material available, so that others may exercise their ingenuity on the solution of the problem as they list. Meanwhile Dr. Evans publishes also some very interesting theories and speculations on the relations of the Cretan scripts with those of Anatolia and Egypt, and, most interesting of all, the possibility, nay the probability, that the origin of the alphabet is to be sought in the Cretan hieroglyphs. Dr. Evans's argument in favour of this view is now put forward in detail, and is worthy of most careful attention. It is calculated to shake seriously the confidence of those who have hitherto, following De Rougé, held that the origin of the Phœnician alphabetic signs is to be sought in the Egyptian hieratic script. The whole question of the relations between the Minoan Keftians and the Phœnicians is now beginning to assume a definite form, and we may soon expect surprises, probably much to the detriment of Phœnician prestige, already much shaken by modern archaeological discoveries. Speculations as to the meaning of individual signs of the Cretan script are not avoided by Dr. Evans though he admits that they have little value at present. If we may be allowed a word of criticism, we would note that Dr. Evans seems hardly to have allowed at all for the possibility of derived or transferred meanings, which are so common in the analogous Egyptian writing. In Egyptian, for instance, an eye means not only 'to see,' but also 'to do' or 'make,' a fact which could never have been guessed or in any

way learnt before the language was properly read. It is therefore possible that many of Dr. Evans's tentative interpretations of his seal-signs may be actually very wide of the mark. They are too obvious; the writing probably contained complications like those in Egyptian.

Dr. Evans's interpretation of the signs on the extraordinary pottery disk found at Phaistos is curious, and is surely open to any kind of objection; but it may as well be a 'chaunt' in honour of the Anatolian Great Mother as anything else. It seems impossible to guess what it is: we do not know how far many of these signs may have a transferred meaning and have even lost their original and retained only the transferred meaning, as often in Egyptian. But the purely archaeological question of the origin of this unique object is treated by Dr. Evans with his accustomed acumen. There can be no doubt whatever that it is not Minoan, and, as he says, there is every probability that it came from Asia Minor, and is an example of the writing of the Lycians or Carians contemporary with the Cretans of the Third Middle Minoan period (about 1700 B.C.). The remarkable style of the object, on which the signs were impressed, evidently by movable types, is well shown in the photographs.

The book ends somewhat abruptly with the consideration of the Phaistos disk, and we have no hint as to the form which Dr. Evans's second volume will take. We may hope, however, that before it appears, the longed-for bilingual Egyptian-Cretan inscription will be found, which will give us the key to the *Scripta Minoa*, and enable us to read what the Greeks of the Heroic Age have left us of their writings. Only it is to be feared that when we do read them, we shall find ourselves immersed in mere household accounts and letters from one official to another, when we want to read the true history of Troy and learn how Minos warred in Sicily; for so far as we can see the Cretans never placarded the walls of their palaces or temples with historical inscriptions as did the Assyrians and Egyptians, and we have no Minoan tablet that looks as if it contained any poem or story.

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**Crete the Forerunner of Greece.** By C. H. and H. BOYD HAWES: with a Preface by ARTHUR J. EVANS, D.Litt., F.R.S. London and New York: Harper Bros., 1909. 2s. 6d.

In the small compass of a volume of Messrs. Harper's 'Library of Living Thought' Mr. and Mrs. Hawes have given us a very succinct and useful account of early Cretan civilization. The book is intended for a less instructed public than that for which Prof. Burrows wrote, but it may be profitably read by archaeologists who are well acquainted with Cretan antiquities. Mrs. Hawes devotes considerable space to a description of the excavations which, as Miss Harriet Boyd, she carried out at Gournià and elsewhere in the isthmus of Hierapetra, and so gives those who have not an opportunity of seeing her monumental, but prohibitively expensive, publication *Gournià* an idea of the relation between Gournià and the other Minoan sites. Prof. Burrows has also done this, it is true, in his 'Discoveries in Crete,' but naturally the actual digger describes her own work and sums up its significance better than an 'outsider,' well-informed though he may be, and himself a digger (in other fields). Mere scribes who know no more than the rest of us, but are desirous of instructing mankind, have focussed our attention too much on Knossos and Phaistos, to the exclusion of such interesting and important work as that at Gournià. The discoverer and excavator of Knossos himself rectifies this mistake by introducing to us this little work of the discoverer of Gournià and her husband, who is, it may be recalled, distinguished by important craniographical researches in Crete.

The small size of the book of course precludes all references to authorities and all foot-notes. But the authors have sprinkled enough names of their fellow-workers through their text to show the uninstructed reader that it is not all 'out of their own heads.'

The final chapter 'Crete and Greece' gives the keynote of the book, which asserts the idea (not first put forward by our authors) that in classical Greece we see the results of the mingling of two unusually gifted races—one autochthonous, the other immigrant—the former contributing the tradition and technical skill of a highly advanced native civilization, especially rich in art; the latter its heritage of Aryan institutions, power of co-ordination, and an all-conquering language.' This view is now perhaps a commonplace of archaeology, and most of us agree with it, like Mr. and Mrs. Hawes.

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**The Cults of the Greek States.** By L. R. FARNELL. Vol. V. Pp. i-xii + 1-485. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 18s. 6d. net.

With the present volume Dr. Farnell completes a work which, as he reminds the reader, has occupied his intervals of leisure for twenty years. The author here deals with Hermes, Dionysus, Hestia, Hephaestus, Ares, and concludes with certain 'minor cults.' He acknowledges that some important features of Greek religion have been omitted, but promises to supply the chief omission—the cults of the dead and hero-worship—in a different setting. It is perhaps more unfortunate that no room could be found for a survey of the whole field that has been covered in detail. The book thus lacks completion, though Dr. Farnell's general views on Greek religion are known from other sources, and will be summarised in the forthcoming edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The method of the work has been criticised, sometimes with a petulance and acrimony suggesting that the *odium mythologicum* of a past generation is not wholly extinct. It must be acknowledged that the treatment, if old-fashioned, has its advantages. Our ideas on Greek cults are intimately connected with the names and personality of the Olympian gods. Dionysus stands for us as the expression of enthusiastic rites, Demeter and Kore, of the mysteries. The Olympian names are at least convenient labels. Dr. Farnell goes further in defence of his method: the divine name is a magnet attracting to itself a definite set of cults and myths. In spite of local varieties of ritual, names like those of Apollo and Dionysus have an individual religious character. Most scholars however will probably feel that the advantages of the method are more than counter-balanced by its inherent defects. It does not admit any historical presentment of the subject in proper sequence. This fault is strikingly shown in the present volume. Pure nature-worship and nature-magic are the very roots of Greek religion, and should be the starting-point of discussion. But, by Dr. Farnell's system, they are relegated to the very last chapter, where they seem strangely out of place as a pendant to the Olympian creed. Again, the origin and development of each god are treated separately, and this method entails at least two serious drawbacks. In the first place, the general significance of Greek cults is obscured by treatment in parts which are not welded together into a whole. Secondly, there is inevitable repetition; in the case of many gods the ideas underlying their 'origins' are similar and a discussion of these ideas is spread over various chapters that deal with kindred divinities.

But it is ungracious to carp at a work which, as will generally be allowed, is a monument of industry, sound scholarship, and sobriety of judgment. It is pleasanter to congratulate Dr. Farnell on the completion of his 'self-imposed task,' and to note with satisfaction that he proposes to use his knowledge of Greek cults as a starting-point for the study of Comparative Religion.

With regard to the last volume, it is difficult to criticise or even to mention its contents within the limits of a brief review. The first chapters are devoted to Hermes—in many respects the most complex and elusive figure of the Greek Pantheon. Dr. Farnell of course rejects Roscher's view that all the functions of Hermes can be deduced from the physical concept of the wind. For his own part, he thinks that some of these mani-

fold characteristics go back to a pre-Hellenic divinity, whether Pelasgian or Anatolian. The pastoral and phallic element is part of wider original functions belonging to a god of vegetation and the under-world. His historic Chthonian character is a survival of larger powers. From a different conception—that of a way-god—the author derives other phases of Hermes: he becomes a god of boundaries, a herald, a dispenser of luck, a patron of thieves. Some such development may very possibly have been the case; but probably no two scholars would exactly coincide in their attempts to systematise the functions of Hermes. It seems doubtful for instance, whether Dr. Farnell is right in accounting for the connexion between Hermes and Apollo by their character as way-gods. They have much more in common; they are both pastoral gods—Dr. Farnell allows this as another factor—they are both musical, and, in different degrees, prophetic: and both became types of the Greek ephebe in grace of body and versatility of mind. The human element is here more important than any remote 'origin.'

In discussing Dionysus, Dr. Farnell accepts the view that the god was a Thracian-Phrygian. His remarks on the Thracian cult are clear and interesting, and he lays stress on Mr. Dawkins' description of modern Dionysiac ritual in Thrace. His whole treatment of the various problems associated with the name of Dionysus is a model of compression in handling a vast subject.

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**Das Pelargikon; Untersuchungen zur ältesten Befestigung der Akropolis von Athen.** Von AUGUST KÖSTER. Pp. 42, and six plates. Strassburg: Heitz, 1909. 3 M. 50.

It has hitherto been generally assumed that the massive fortification walls that surround the Acropolis and the walled enclosure of the Nine Gates or Pelargikon at its west end form two parts of a single and contemporary system. In this monograph it is maintained that the old fortress on the Acropolis, corresponding to those at Mycenae, Tiryns, and elsewhere, had its main entrance on the north side, at the spot to the N.E. of the Erechtheum, where the staircase now visible is a later modification of this entrance; and that the Pelargikon was not originally an outwork to protect the main entrance, but an extension of the fortified area, made at some later time with the object of gaining more space within the walls. Dr. Köster traces the remains of the wall at the N.E. corner of the Pelargikon, where it joins the Acropolis rock between the cave of Pan and the Sanctuary of Aglauros; at the S. he points out that it must have followed the natural ridge of rock below the Nike bastion, but denies its extension along the S. side of the Acropolis. He also points out that in Kimon's time and later the Acropolis and its outworks were no longer fortified. An appendix gives his views as to the much disputed passage, Thucydides ii. 15. Here he accepts the old current identification of the Olympieion and Pythion near the Ilissus, but follows Dorpfeld's identification of the Dionysion *ἐν Μύραις* and the Enneakrounos, taking the whole passage as giving the extent of the early city from S.E. to N.W. The question does not, however, as he admits, affect the Pelargikon.

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**Le Sanctuaire des Dieux Orientaux au Janicule.** Par GEORGES NICOLE et GASTON DARIER. Pp. 90. 15 plates and 42 cuts. Rome: Cuggiani, 1909.

In this little book, which is a reprint from the *Mélanges* of the French School at Rome, the authors give a clear account, illustrated with a good plan and numerous photographs, of their fruitful excavation on the Janiculum. The discovery of the *lucus Furinae* in the Villa Sciarra and the many dedications to Syrian deities found there suggested the desirability of a search for their sanctuary close by. The new excavations have laid this sanctuary bare.

Two buildings have been found, the earlier dating from the latter half of the second century A.D., the later from the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth. This later chapel consists of a large central courtyard, an oblong chamber ending in an apse at one end, and an octagon at the other. In the octagon is a triangular base within which was found the mysterious bronze idol, wrapped in the coils of a serpent and with seven eggs laid by it. The riddle of this figure has still to be solved, but it does not seem likely that the romantic descent from the votive images of Cnossos which the authors suggest will carry conviction. In the apse at the opposite end was found a statue of Dionysus, a poor copy of a Hellenistic original, which is interesting for the remains of gilding on face and hands. The authors quote several examples of this treatment. Among them the Attic head in the Palazzo dei Conservatori is noted in *Bull. Com.* 1872-3, p. 295, no. 22, as a recent acquisition of the Commission. Its provenance is not stated. The two heads in the Antiquarium, of which surely one only represents Odysseus, the other being youthful and beardless, were found in a well of the former Villa Palombara on the Esquiline and are noted in *Bull. Com.* 1878, p. 279, nos. 1 and 2. The view of M. Gauckler that the human skull found in the apse (p. 9, 84) is a trace of human sacrifice is not accepted. It seems, however, to present less difficulty than the authors' explanation of the relic as an instance of the *os resectum*. The fine statue in basalt, probably an Egyptian king of a late dynasty, is the most important work of art brought to light. It may be mentioned that the relief from Tripoli mentioned on p. 52, note 1, has been lent by its possessor, Mr. H. S. Cowper, to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. It is to be hoped that the excavation may be continued.

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**The Roman Fort at Manchester.** Edited by F. A. BRUTON, M.A. Pp. xvi+194, and pp. ii+160. With 104 plates, 3 plans, and 5 illustrations in the text. Manchester: University Press, 1909. 5s. net.

**Excavations at Toothill and Melandra.** By the same Editor. Pp. vi+51. With 9 plates. Manchester: University Press, 1909.

The latter of these volumes is supplementary to the former, and the two may therefore be conveniently noticed together. They constitute the Second Annual Report of the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association. Admirably printed and lavishly illustrated, they embody the fruits of a very considerable amount of archaeological enthusiasm. The Association deserves great credit for its zeal in the cause of excavation, and for the promptitude with which it seized the passing opportunity of ascertaining something definite about the scanty remains of the Roman fort at Manchester. It is a pity that more self-restraint and a stricter sense of proportion have not been observed in the publication of the results. A higher standard of scholarship, too, might reasonably have been looked for in some of the contributions. Reading between the lines of the Preface, one can see that the editor has had his difficulties. But, apart from this, the plan of the book is not good. It lacks unity and cohesion. Different aspects of the subject have been assigned to different people, some of whom write with unnecessary diffusiveness, regardless of whether they are trespassing on their neighbour's property or not. The essay on the Roman name of the fort is inconclusive and pointless. That on the inscriptions is based on insufficient knowledge. Nor is Canon Hicks's paper on Mithras-Worship in Roman Manchester quite worthy of his reputation as a serious student. The actual account of the digging operations is, in the main, from the editor's own pen. It is scrupulously conscientious and informing, although it might with advantage have been briefer and more business-like. The descriptions of the pottery and of the various objects in the Ellesmere Collection are likely to prove helpful for comparison with similar remains elsewhere. The last 160 pages are devoted to a very detailed catalogue of all the Roman coins that can claim any kind of association with Manchester. Perhaps numismatists will not grumble at this generous allowance of

space. The mere layman, however, may be forgiven for wondering whether it is always wise to give a specialist his head. The supplementary volume is much more unpretending than its sumptuous companion. But it is a useful record of good work done, both negative and positive. On the one hand, the supposed Roman origin of the earthwork at Toothill seems to have been conclusively disproved. On the other, some advance has been made towards a satisfactory knowledge of Melandra.

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**The Thousand and One Churches.** By Sir W. M. RAMSAY and Miss GERTRUDE L. BELL. Pp. xii+580, with 60 plates and 382 cuts. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909. 20 s. net.

Bin-Bir-Kilisse is a well-known site, which has been partially described by various travellers. In the closing year of last century a member of the Hellenic Society, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, with another member as his companion, spent a few days at Bin-Bir-Kilisse measuring and photographing; and the materials collected stimulated Prof. Josef Strzygowski to gather and digest the scattered accounts in an inspiring book *Kleinasiens ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (1903), which aimed chiefly at calling attention, 'by the contrast between its incompleteness and the high importance of the monuments it discusses' to the urgent need of energetic exploration of Christian remains in the East, while there is yet time. His appeal roused the dauntless Miss Bell, an architect of unquestioned competence, and she secured the necessary epigraphic skill by persuading the veteran explorer of Asia Minor to join in the task. Their untiring energy has at last brought order out of confusion and produced a scientific work of first-rate importance for the history of Christian architecture and of no small value for the glimpses which, under Sir William Ramsay's masterly treatment, it gives of the chequered fortunes of a Byzantine city through the middle ages.

The lion's share has naturally fallen to the architect. Sir W. Ramsay has written Parts I. and IV. (pp. 1-40 and 501-570). The latter collects and discusses the inscriptions, Hittite and Greek, and describes the other monuments of the mountain (apart from the buildings), ending with an inquiry into the ancient name of the city. The former gives a description of the site and of the mountain region around and a sketch of the history of the city, so far as it can be reconstructed from the written and unwritten remains, for in literature it is barely mentioned. He shows that the site has a unique interest in that its churches belong to all ages from the fifth to the eleventh century and so exhibit the continuous development of Christian architecture through seven centuries. This is a point of capital importance: apart from this fact its interest would be comparatively slight. For the rest of the book (pp. 41-500) Miss Bell is responsible. In Part II. she describes the buildings, and in Part III. she discusses at length the ecclesiastical architecture of the plateau. But the former represents the results of joint study and expresses the opinion of both authors, except where any divergence of view is noted.

The account of the buildings leaves little to be desired. The plans, sketches, and photographs are all excellent. This account together with the similar description of unpublished churches from the adjoining Lycaonian and Cappadocian districts incorporated in Part III. would alone suffice to give the book a permanent value. The profusion of photographs has doubtless increased the expense of the volume, but it has greatly increased its value, since they often form a record of facts which have already disappeared: the process of decay is now going on at such a rapid pace that even two years have produced a 'melancholy difference.' Excavation has practically been limited to clearing the lines of buildings so far as to determine the exact plan: on a site of this kind a more ambitious scheme would have been unprofitable without a vast expenditure, and there is little probability that the results would justify the outlay.



In the third part Miss Bell discourses, with great learning and insight, on the ecclesiastical architecture of the plateau as a whole. Her conclusions will not surprise any one who has caught the spirit, and appreciates the genius, of the country. So far as the East is concerned, she answers with no uncertain voice Strzygowski's question *Orient oder Rom*. From an examination of the ruins there emerge two general propositions of far-reaching importance: (1) that the builders, even in a small mountain district remote from any great centre of civilization, are familiar with an astonishing variety of architectural types and show great resource in developing them; (2) that the architecture of districts which geographically are very closely related shows differences in regard to ground-plan, details of masonry, and style of ornament so marked as to imply the existence in each artistic centre of a local school working with extreme freedom within the limits of tradition. The general conclusion follows inevitably: the art of central Asia Minor is indigenous, not imported: an imported art would have resulted in much greater uniformity. The common source from which the local builders draw their inspiration is to be found in the architectural traditions of Asia, but they impress on their work the stamp of their own individuality. This conclusion is proved in detail for each of the dominant architectural forms, into which space forbids us to enter. Miss Bell proves herself a powerful supporter of what we believe to be the true position, and we admire equally her energy, her learning, and her thorough sympathy with the spirit of the land.

Prof. Ramsay's contributions are veritable *tours de force*. His sketch of the fortunes of Barata (the ancient name of the city) is a fine example both of the sharpness of his observation and of his wonderful power of synthesis, based on a lifelong study of the country. We think that perhaps he exaggerates the specifically sacred character of the mountain: the appearance of excess in the number of churches and monasteries is surely due in part to the disappearance of everything else, and the abundance of both is in keeping with the Christian ideals of the time. It seems probable that 1172 is too early a date for the disappearance of the Christian population: Ibn Batuta found many Christians in this part of Anatolia in the early fourteenth century, which is on other grounds to be taken as the date of the *final* disappearance of Christianity in Lycaonia generally. His treatment of the inscriptions is a masterpiece. They are extraordinarily illiterate and hence difficult both to decipher and to explain; sometimes they resist explanation. The epigraphic copies are inadequate: the chronological order of the inscriptions is a matter of much uncertainty and is largely based on progressive degeneracy and on 'a certain feeling acquired by long study on the site for the sequence of history there,' but over this the reader can have little control without facsimiles as exact as can be made. Moreover, the arrangement of the copies is extremely inconvenient; if we could not have them in their proper place, why should they not have been given in regular order at the beginning or end of the discussion? We must add that the maps also are inadequate and inconveniently placed. Prof. Ramsay explains that many notes for them as well as the 'careful facsimiles of inscriptions' were accidentally left with the camp equipment at Konia. We should have preferred a little delay in publication pending their recovery.

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**Accidents of an Antiquary's Life.** By D. G. HOGARTH. Pp. x. + 176 with 40 illustrations. London: Macmillan, 1910. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Hogarth's book is oddly named; for he is first of all a traveller, and then always an archaeologist rather than an antiquary, a word which has a very distinct connotation in English at the present time. And whereas the title gives the impression that the things described were subordinate in interest and importance to the work on which the author was engaged, the effect of the text is exactly the reverse. Not the reconstitution of the past, so much as the impressionist record of the present state of the lands of ancient civilization, seems to be Mr. Hogarth's aim. But, title apart, the book is one of the most amusing, and sometimes, in an indirect way, one of the most

instructive of its kind. It is equally readable, whether the author is describing a cataclysm of nature, or the no less destructive paralysis which may grip a people under Turkish rule, the unpleasant ways of a raki-imbibing host in the Nile Delta, or the Solomonian decisions of a British subaltern set over Cretan peasants. He writes as a rule with care; but occasionally one feels that, had he sought less after the picturesque, he might have escaped certain pitfalls, as where he writes that 'rotting frames stood gaunt against the sky, adding *surcease* of sadness to the desolation of nature' (our italics). The crispness with which he expresses his opinions may sometimes detract from their weight, but it never impairs the entertainment provided by one of the most delightful books ever written by an archaeologist.

**Archaische Marmor-skulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen.** By H. SCHRADER. Pp. 87; 76 blocks. 4to. Vienna: Holder, 1909.

This work describes some of the principal finds and additions which have been made by the author, in the course of long and arduous study among the archaic marble sculptures of the Acropolis Museum. His labour was rewarded by some most fortunate finds among the previously unplaced fragments, and his results, embodied as they now are in the originals, cannot be overlooked by any student interested in the Acropolis sculptures. No fewer than eight of the well-known figures of ladies are here shown to have received important additions, and material additions and changes are recorded in most of the other groups. These, however, are only a small selection of the total results obtained, which are to be published shortly by the Austrian Institute in sumptuous form.

**Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums.** By WALTHER AMELUNG. Band II. Text (8vo). Pp. 768. With 83 plates (4to). Published under the auspices of the Roman Section of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. Berlin: Reimer, 1908.

The first volume of this great sculpture-catalogue was noticed in this *Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 170. The second volume has all the characteristics of its predecessor. It deals with the sculptures of the Belvedere, the Sala degli Animali, the Galleria delle Statue, the Sala dei Busti, the Gabinetto delle Maschere, and the Loggia Scoperta. It will be seen that it includes some of the most famous statues of the Vatican, which are also the most difficult to deal with from the cataloguer's point of view. The author has solved the problem by stepping outside the limits of space which the majority of cataloguers have, rightly or wrongly, thought it necessary to impose on themselves. The Laocoon, for example, is the subject of an article of 25 pages. Working on this broad canvas, the author has been able to make his work the most elaborate catalogue of a great collection of sculpture that has yet been published. The plates are to a great extent views of portions of the galleries, and to turn them over seems to bring back the very atmosphere of the Vatican and its courts.

**Six Greek Sculptors.** By E. A. GARDNER. Pp. xvi. + 260, with 81 plates. London: Duckworth & Co., 1910. 7s. 6d.

This work contains a series of chapters on the six most representative sculptors of Greece, viz. Myron, Phidias, Polyclitus, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippus. These are preceded by introductory chapters on the characteristic qualities of Greek sculpture in general, and on 'early masterpieces,' and followed by a chapter on Hellenistic sculpture. The book is thus, in effect, a series of essays on the whole course of Greek sculpture, as

represented by its most famous names, and is well illustrated by half-tone plates of the works associated with them. Stress is laid, throughout, on the general considerations that are involved, and the author is careful not to allow the main thread of his argument to be concealed by matters of controversy and doubt. The volume is therefore excellently planned to form a readable introduction to the study of Greek sculpture.

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**Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains.** Tome I, Les Ensembles. Par SALOMON REINACH. Pp. 493. Paris : Leroux, 1909. 10 fr.

M. Salomon Reinach continues indefatigably his task of supplying at a low price a graphic index of the chief works of antiquity. Having done Vases and Statues, he now begins Reliefs. The present volume is called 'Les Ensembles,' in which as a matter rather of convenience than of strict logic he includes groups of reliefs found together like the Boscoreale treasure, as well as objects having a more organic connexion ; such as the sculptures of a temple. The arrangement is alphabetical, making it easy to find any group, and easy to make sure of its absence.

The present volume contains a very large number of outline drawings, both from the greater series such as the Parthenon and the column of Trajan, and from small and inaccessible subjects, such as a slab from Alabanda. It also includes the treasures of Berthouville (Bernay), Boscoreale, Hildesheim, and Nagy. For many purposes the drawings will serve by themselves. If they are insufficient, they facilitate further reference to the standard publication.

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**One Hundred Masterpieces of Sculpture, from the sixth century B.C. to the time of Michelangelo.** With an introduction by G. F. HILL. Pp. xiv. +212, 101 plates. London : Methuen and Co., 1909. 10s. 6d. net.

This is described by the author as 'in the first and last place a picture-book' ; but it is a picture book with a page of comment and explanation opposite each picture, and with a continuous introduction to join them together. Greek sculpture occupies rather more than half the plates : the rest are divided between Roman, Mediaeval and Renaissance art. The selection is good and representative, and the reproductions are on the whole satisfactory. The book should do much to popularise the best sculpture of all ages.

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**Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde.** Von ADOLF WILHELM. Sonder-schriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Band VII. Pp. vii. +379. Vienna : Alfred Holder, 1909. 35 M.

Professor Wilhelm has for many years been recognized as standing in the front rank of Greek epigraphists. His prolonged residence in Athens as Secretary of the Austrian Archaeological Institute afforded him the opportunity of gaining an unrivalled familiarity with the treasures of the Epigraphical Museum as well as of visiting most parts of the Hellenic world, and for some time past various archaeological periodicals, notably the *Jahreshefte*, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, and *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, have given constant proofs of his profound knowledge of the whole epigraphical field and his brilliant powers of criticism and restoration. His transference from Athens to Vienna in 1905 awakened the fear that this activity might be curtailed by his professorial duties, but happily such forebodings have been falsified. In 1906 Wilhelm's *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen* marked a new era in the study of the inscriptions dealing with the Attic drama, and last year gave us the present work, which shows on every page those qualities which we have learned

to expect from its author, fertility in suggestion, felicity in restoration, a wonderful mastery not only of the ancient texts but also of the modern literature dealing with them, above all a sensitiveness to the niceties of Greek diction as appearing in inscriptions, which enables him to detect errors unnoticed by other scholars and to restore convincingly fragments which others have regarded as hopelessly mutilated.

The book falls into two parts. The first (pp. 1-225) is avowedly a farrago, a collection of miscellaneous notes and jottings made in the Athenian Museum, on journeys further afield, or during the study of various epigraphical works. A number of inscriptions appear here for the first time and a great many published texts are corrected, restored or supplemented. Attic inscriptions come first, arranged in chronological sequence; then follow those from other states in geographical order. The second and shorter portion (pp. 229-239) contains a valuable and interesting essay on the archives of the Greek cities and on the custom of publishing documents of general interest by writing them, temporarily or permanently, on the walls of public buildings, especially *βουλευτήρια*, or upon white boards (*λευκώματα*, *σανίδες*) displayed in prominent positions. The remarks on the modifications made in the original texts of decrees before their inscription on marble or bronze are very suggestive. The various questions involved are carefully worked out, and although Wilhelm expressly disclaims any finality for the discussion, yet his main results may be taken as proved by the evidence he adduces from many Greek states.

The indexes, on which the value of a work of this kind so largely depends, seem, so far as we have tested them, quite adequate, and the illustrations of inscribed stones and of squeezes are such as to satisfy even the most exacting. We are pleased to note that the paper employed in printing the *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, with its highly glazed surface and its peculiar smell, has been replaced by one which, while sacrificing nothing of the excellence of the illustrations, renders the task of the reader an easier and more pleasant one.

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**Mélanges d'Histoire Ancienne.** (Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, xxv.) Pp. 391. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1909. 12 fr. 50 c.

This volume comprises three essays, all of considerable interest though only the second and third concern Greek history. M. G. Bloch discusses in detail the evidence for the career and character of M. Aemilius Scaurus, and the light which it throws upon Roman party politics in the seventh century of its history. The result is on the whole to confirm the favourable verdict passed by Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus and other writers, and to reject the adverse judgment of Sallust, which most modern historians have accepted. The second essay, by M. J. Carcopino, deals at great length (pp. 83-267) with the history of ostracism at Athens, criticising many of the conclusions upheld by M. A. Martin in his *Notes sur l'Ostracisme dans Athènes*, published in 1907. After examining the origin, character and procedure of the institution, the author devotes a chapter to the cases of ostracism mentioned in our ancient sources and concludes that there were but nine victims in the whole course of Attic history—Hipparchus son of Charmus, Megacles son of Hippocrates, Alcibiades the elder, Xanthippus, Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, Thucydides son of Melesias, and Hyperbolus. The remaining chapters contain a short sketch of the evolution of ostracism and a full discussion of the situation which resulted in the ostracism of Hyperbolus in 417 and the reasons why the institution thereafter fell into disuse. On the whole the arguments are strong, not to say decisive, as, for example, the defence of Philochorus' statement that no man could be ostracised unless 6000 votes were given against him and the criticism of Plutarch's view that the 6000 voters were the requisite quorum and that a bare majority sufficed for ostracising. But the author himself makes several unguarded statements, as when he says that the potsherds still extant bearing the names of Megacles, Xanthippus and Themistocles attest the fact of their

ostracism (pp. 186, 190, 196). The vote against Themistocles, for example, may have been given in 482, when Aristides and not Themistocles was banished; or, again, it may have been given on some occasion when an *ostrakophoria* took place but was rendered null and void because 6000 votes were not recorded against any one citizen.

The volume closes with an interesting study of the Athenian corn-supply in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. by M. L. Gernet (pp. 269-391). The author starts by trying to estimate the population of Attica at this period and hence to calculate the approximate consumption of cereals and the quantity annually imported. After passing in review the various corn-growing countries of the eastern Mediterranean basin and their probable contribution to Attic needs, he deals with the importers (*ἐμποροὶ*) and corn-dealers (*σιτοπῶλαι*) and their relation to the city. Finally the attitude of the city to the question of corn-supply and the legislation dealing with this subject are discussed and the conclusion is reached that much more attention was paid to the replenishment of the state coffers than to the task of securing a regular and cheap supply of corn. The essay contains a great deal of interesting and valuable material, but it is not everywhere convincing. The argument, for example, in favour of retaining 400,000 as the number of the Attic slave population towards the close of the fourth century is not unanswerable, and the question is a crucial one. Nor can we feel that the author has done justice to the importance of Athenian relations with the Pontus in the fifth century.

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**Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens.** By MAURICE CROISSET.

Translated by James Loeb. Pp. xx+192. London: Macmillan and Co., 1909.  
7s. 6d

M. Croiset's name is familiar in this country and any work from his pen will be welcomed as that of an author who combines sound scholarship with an uncommon literary power. We are grateful, therefore, to Mr. Loeb for having given us an English version of his 'Aristophane et les partis à Athènes,' published in 1906, a version which, while adhering closely to the original, succeeds in reflecting something of the charm of its style. The only blot on the work is the considerable number of minor errors and inconsistencies which have remained uncorrected: but these, though they may annoy, will not mislead the reader. The interest of the book is enhanced by a brief but valuable introduction to the English version, contributed by Professor John Williams White, of Harvard.

After an introduction dealing with the relation of Attic comedy to the 'rural democracy,' the life and political standpoint of Aristophanes and the character of Cleon, M. Croiset goes on to examine in chronological order 'The Banqueters,' 'The Babylonians' and the eleven extant comedies of Aristophanes. This examination is not exhaustive, but it is fresh and stimulating and shows not only careful study but deep insight. The writer recognizes that the comedian's attitude cannot be demonstrated by rigid logical methods and contents himself with offering a solution of the problem which will appeal to our sense of the probable. Briefly expressed, his conclusion is this. Aristophanes was never the mouthpiece of the aristocratic faction at Athens. 'The fundamental tendency of his political views differed essentially from theirs. They sought to destroy the democracy; he appears merely to have sought to forewarn and, if possible, to reform it.' His ideal was always that of a democratic city, but one in which the greatest influence would lie in the hands of a moderate element, the rural democracy.

One advantage the English translation enjoys over the original: Mr. Loeb has added a useful index, thus increasing not a little the serviceableness of the book.

**Agathocles.** By H. J. W. TILLYARD. The Prince Consort Prize, 1908. Pp. xii + 236. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. 6s.

This essay, No. 15 of the well-known series of 'Cambridge Historical Essays,' gives a critical account of Agathocles' career and character, based upon a careful study of the original authorities, especially Diodorus and Justin, supplemented by an examination of the theories of modern historians. The writer has himself visited most of the scenes of Agathocles' exploits and illustrates his narrative with seven views, mostly reproductions of his own photographs. He brings to his task a judgment free from bias and a considerable critical power, and though on many points the unsatisfactory character of our ancient sources does not allow us to reach certain results, yet the historical narrative is well worked out. Sometimes, however, it is hard to see the wood for the trees: we lay down the book feeling that we have learnt much of Agathocles' campaigns, but that we do not understand the man himself or realize any one policy running through the bewildering series of victories and defeats, treaties made and broken, cities won and lost, brilliant adventures and perfidious massacres that make up his career. The secret of Agathocles' greatness is a secret still.

The style of the essay is clear and unpretentious for the most part, but it is marred by such peculiarities as the constant use of 'foemen' for enemies, 'outroad' for expedition, 'indwellers' for inhabitants. These mannerisms may be forgiven, but what is to be said of phrases like 'the king dined the envoys' or 'Agathocles let shut the gates,' of words like 'deathworthy' and 'unlaw' or a Latin concord like 'incommodum stationem'?

**Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens.** Von FRANZ POLAND. Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der Fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig, xxxviii. Pp. 655. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909. 24 Mark.

In 1896 E. Ziebarth's 'Das griechische Vereinswesen' was published by the Fürstlich Jablonowski'sche Gesellschaft, and at once took its place as the fullest and most complete account of the nature and organization of the Greek clubs, trade-guilds, religious associations and other voluntary societies. The present work, published last year under the same auspices, is carried out on a considerably larger scale and discusses in much greater detail the questions involved: the author has, moreover, made a far more complete collection of the evidence at our disposal and has been able to use a good deal of fresh material discovered since the appearance of Ziebarth's book. Not that the latter will now become superfluous. Though Dr. Poland criticizes it in numerous points, not always of detail, and continually corrects or supplements it, yet he fully admits its great merits and on many questions is content to refer his readers to the treatise of his predecessor.

That the present work will remain for a long time to come the authoritative account of the Greek associations is beyond doubt. Not merely is the collection of materials astonishingly complete, but the care and minuteness with which they are handled leave nothing to be desired. In three points especially this work marks an advance on its predecessors. It subjects to a much closer and more searching examination the words used to describe the associations of the Greek world, distinguishing carefully in several cases terms hitherto regarded as synonymous, it traces the historical origin and development of the various classes of societies which figure in our records, and it emphasizes the different characteristics of this side of Greek life as found in various parts of the Hellenic world.

The book is well arranged and clearly written. The opening chapter is devoted to a discussion of the terminology of the subject, the names of the several societies known to us, their character and classification. The succeeding chapters deal with their religious aspect, their membership, organization and finances, and their attitude towards the individual members as shown especially in their care for the dead. A brief concluding

chapter gives an admirable historical survey of the subject, summing up the main results of the foregoing discussions. The work closes with adequate indexes and a list, occupying no less than 82 pages, of the inscriptions and papyri cited : each of these is provided with a key-number, by which it is referred to throughout the book, a system whereby an immense economy of space is effected. The work is not, indeed, perfect : that a number of minor errors and inconsistencies should escape the author's notice was perhaps inevitable in a book of this kind and does not seriously detract from its value. Nor is it absolutely complete : the interesting thiasos-law, for example, published in the British School Annual xiii. 328 ff., could not be taken into account. But Dr. Poland may be heartily congratulated on the result of his labours and Hellenists on the possession of a work which throws so much light on what was so important and characteristic a side of Greek life.

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**Die Verfügungsbeschränkungen des Verpfänders besonders in den Papyri.** Mit einem Anhang : Eine unveröffentlichte Basler Papyrusurkunde. Von ERNST RABEL. (Festgabe zur Fünfhundertjahrfeier der Universität Leipzig, dargebracht von der Universität Basel.) Pp. 116. Leipzig : Veit & Co., 1909. 4 M.

This monograph is somewhat of a novelty among books dealing with ancient law in that it utilizes also the law of the Teutonic peoples. It is an investigation of the noteworthy clause in papyri relating to pledges in security (*ὑποθήκαι*) by which the pledger is forbidden in any way to dispose of the property pledged before repayment of the debt. Beginning with an examination of ancient Greek law with a view to discovering whether it affords analogies, the author collects the papyrus material, and then briefly discusses certain theories in regard to the similar provision in German law. After this he proceeds to a consideration of the origin and justification of the clause, suggesting certain explanations. It cannot be said that any definite conclusion is reached. Most of the evidence is extremely precarious and incomplete, and certainty is at present hardly attainable ; but the book is useful as a statement of the problem. At the end is published a *ὑποθήκη* contained in the Basle Public Library. It is pleasant to hear that an edition of all the papyri in this collection may be expected. The volume contains an index of sources.

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**Études sur l'ancienne Alexandrie.** Par ALEXANDRE MAX DE ZOGHEB. Pp. 242. 2 Plates and 1 Map. Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1909. 4 fr.

M. de Zogheb's book contains a few summary sketches of the history of Alexandria under the Ptolemies and the Roman Emperors and also in Christian and Mohamedan times, and a few lectures and essays on Alexandrian topography, in which subject his chief guides are Neroutsos Bey and Mahmoud Bey el Falaki. The author, who is more confident than critical in his statements and judgments, is convinced that the present mosque of the prophet Daniel, below which are some ancient vaults now inaccessible, occupies the site of the *Sema* or tomb of Alexander the Great, his only doubt being whether the body of the king is still there ; and he maintains with equal insistence that Antony and Cleopatra were buried not in the tomb which Cleopatra had constructed near the temple of Isis, but in the *Sema* alongside all the Ptolemies.

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**The Roman Assemblies.** By G. W. BOTSFORD. Pp. x+521. New York : Macmillan Co. 1909. 17s. net.

It is clear that this book is the result of much patient care. The author tells us that he has consulted practically all the modern authorities ; and this means not only the standard works on Roman constitutional history but numberless articles in the various

periodicals of all countries. The book is therefore of great value as a work of reference, a value which is much increased by the full bibliography appended to each chapter and by the copious references given in the notes. But it is more than a work of reference. The author warns us that we shall find views not previously expressed, and begs us not to reject an interpretation because it seems new but to examine carefully the grounds on which it is given. The most prominent of the new views is the treatment of the tribal assemblies. Prof. Botsford begins with the definition of Laelius Felix: 'he who orders not the whole people but some part of it to be present ought to proclaim not *comitia* but a *concilium*.' He shows that this distinction is not recognised by Cicero, Livy, and the other ancient writers, and so refuses to allow *concilium plebis* as a technical title in opposition to *comitia tributa populi*: the plebeian assembly could equally be *comitia*, and both tribal assemblies were *comitia tributa*. But in his desire to emphasize this identification of title, he is led into an arrangement which is very confusing. He recognizes only three kinds of *comitia*, the *curiata*, the *centuriata*, and the *tributa*. Under the last heading come both tribal assemblies, not separated as two distinct bodies, but treated as the same assembly in slightly different forms. This is unwise from the author's own standpoint: he professes to deal fully and individually with the Roman assemblies, and the identification of title does not alter the fact that there is an essential difference between the two assemblies of the tribes, and the *comitia tributa populi* requires separate treatment. This confusion lessens the value of the work for purposes of reference: information about the popular assembly can only be extracted from the full account of the plebeian by constant use of the index, and here too the index, which is otherwise excellent, is correspondingly unsatisfactory. Thus in the chapters dealing with the legislative activity of the *comitia*, *leges* and *plebiscita* are given side by side with little emphasis laid on the distinction, although one main object of the account is to trace the development of the struggle between the orders. Again in the discussion of the judicial powers of the *comitia tributa* no mention is made of the jurisdiction of the *comitia populi*. Apart from this subject Prof. Botsford shows a judicial spirit in discussing the conflicting views of earlier scholars. The references throughout are very full and accurate.

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**The Client Princes of the Roman Empire under the Republic.** (The Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1906.) By P. C. SANDS. Pp. xi+242. Cambridge, 1908. 4s. 6d.

Mr. Sands has spent much energy on the collection of evidence bearing on his subject, and the material he has gathered gives a value to his Essay. But his results are very disappointing. Some of his main conclusions seem to us to be erroneous and to show a defective appreciation of Roman principles and methods, while the absence of any serious attempt to estimate the part played, for good and for evil, by the system of protectorates in Roman policy and politics indicates a limited historical outlook. The bulk of the essay deals with 'the acts and functions of the Clientship' (Part II.), to which is prefixed a discussion of the technical position which the princes occupied by treaty with Rome (Part I.). The introductory survey opens with a definition of clientship, which is irrelevant: for, though 'Client Princes' is a convenient title, the relation of these princes to Rome was not based on the conception of *clientela* and was not so designated. A similar faulty method, pregnant with consequences, marks the opening of Part I. Finding that the kings are styled *reges socii* or *socii et amici*, he bases his discussion on a definition of 'alliance' applicable no doubt to the Triple Alliance but not to any *societas* entered into by Rome from the time that she became a paramount power in Italy. An exhaustive examination of ancient authorities brings out clearly the fact that the title (*rex*) *amicus* applied in the earlier period to kings in treaty relationship with Rome is replaced in and after the second century B.C. by the title *amicus et socius* or *socius atque amicus*, sometimes shortened to *socius* simply or even *amicus*. Now,



having defined *socius* as implying 'in its correct and technical sense' a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance, and having discovered (naturally enough) no trace of such treaties of alliance, he concludes that 'when the kings came into permanent relationship with Rome, they entered it as "friends" and by a treaty of "friendship," not by a treaty of alliance binding the parties to render mutual aid; and that if, on the other hand, the terms "ally" and "alliance" crept in, they arose from the assistance given by the kings to Rome, at first in expectation of reward, later under compulsion as clients. For this assistance they were rewarded in the second century [and] onwards by the appellation "friend and ally"' (pp. 37 f.). That is one of the main conclusions of the essay. Such a theory would cut away all legal foundation from Rome's dealings with her vassal princes, and it cannot derive support from the more or less inexact terminology of writers like Sallust, Diodorus, Plutarch, Appian, Cassius Dio, *et hoc genus omne*. *Amicitia* and *societas* were quite distinct forms of treaty relationship, and from Mr. Sands' evidence we should draw the very different conclusion that from the time that Rome established herself as the paramount power in the Mediterranean, treaties of *amicitia*, implying strictly the independent sovereignty of the *rex amicus*, were superseded by treaties of *societas*, implying the limited and dependent sovereignty of the *rex socius*. Thenceforward the real relationship is *societas*, the conditions of which were naturally dictated by Rome. If the harsh reality was half veiled by diplomatic phrases like *amicitia et societas* or *amicitia* simply, we should not be misled by them any more than by Cicero's polite phrase about the Sicilians' having been received by the Roman people 'in amicitiam fidemque' (*Verr.* iii. 6. 12). The *reges socii* were likewise *in fide P.R.*, and that implies *deditio*, though Mr. Sands does not appear to realize it (cf. pp. 5, 88).

The position taken up in Part I. affects to some extent the conclusions of Part II. Thus Mr. Sands has to prove that the princes were not liable to tribute, but he does not succeed in doing it, and he seems to confuse the payment of such tribute with the provincial payment of *stipendium* (pp. 128 f.). When tribute was not imposed, its equivalent was. Nor does he succeed in proving that the status of the kings under the Empire was different from what it had been under the Republic: the difference was the substitution of an energetic for a lethargic master.

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**Historical Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Augustus.** By G. F. HILL. Pp. xviii + 191. With 15 Plates illustrating 109 Coins. London: Constable, 1909. 10s. 6d. net.

This book should prove very useful to all who interest themselves in Roman history. Since Mommsen first systematically attacked the subject forty or fifty years ago, much fresh light has been thrown upon the coinage of Republican Rome. Numismatists at home and abroad have contributed in greater or less degree to the growth of knowledge. But two main causes of progress may be noted. Quite recently Dr. Haeberlin of Frankfurt, by dint of close and prolonged observation of the actual material, has succeeded in penetrating the mystery that shrouded the *aes grave* of Central Italy, and in so doing has discovered a clue that is calculated to solve problems of first-rate importance with which even Mommsen had wrestled in vain. Again, the extensive Roman series in the British Museum has been most carefully examined and classified, first by the late Count de Salis and subsequently by Mr. H. A. Grueber. The combined result of these investigations represents a substantial advance. Hitherto, however, the new facts have been accessible only to specialists. Mr Hill has now come forward to make them available for the ordinary student, in so far at least as they bear directly on the general development of Roman influence, commercial and political, or help to illustrate significant moments in the career of prominent public men. His method is to select certain typical pieces, or groups of pieces, and to make each of these the text for a disquisition in which all the relevant evidence is carefully collated. The plan is a sound one, and it has been

excellently carried out. This is not the place to enter into details. We must content ourselves with saying that those who choose to follow Mr. Hill—and we trust they will be many—will find him a competent and illuminating guide. The volume is not too bulky. It is very clearly printed, and the illustrations are usually successful. There is a good index and also a glossary of technical terms.

**The Acharnians of Aristophanes.** Edited by W. J. M. STARKIE. Pp. lxxxviii + 274. London: Macmillan, 1909. 10s. net.

All scholars are familiar with Dr. Starkie's *Wasps* and have eagerly looked forward to his *Acharnians*. The introduction contains, besides the usual account of the metres, the manuscripts of the play, and the history of the time, a most novel and valuable essay on the Laughter of Comedy, based on Aristotle's tractate. It is to be hoped that Dr. Starkie will write more essays like this: it would be interesting if he went on to discuss Aristophanes' Laughter with, say, Bergson's 'Le Rire' for text. Dr. Starkie emphasizes the resemblance between Aristophanes' comedy and the comedy of Shakespeare, and the translation which faces the Greek is founded on an intimate knowledge and a joyous appreciation of Shakespeare's works. This translation is indeed one of the most successful experiments we have seen in the kind. Aristophanes more than most poets has suffered from Translator's English, both in prose and in verse; and nothing better reproduces the Aristophanic joy of speech than—not diluted Shakespeare—but the strong and exuberant extract which Dr. Starkie offers us, its opulent vocabulary, its smack of parody, and its delight in prodigious new formations. There are nine excursuses. One of them treats the *πέντε τάλαντα* question; another reconstitutes Euripides' *Telephus* (on p. 76, it is curious that the author does not refer to Pollak's treatment of the Telephos-story in *Zwei Vasen aus d. Werkstatt Hierons*). A third excursus deals with the supposed change of scene in the *Acharnians*; the author, it is gratifying to find, sides with Dörpfeld in rejecting a raised stage for this period; the evidence of the *Acharnians* is against it (v. pp. 47, 59, 245). The commentary itself is not so full as the author's commentary on the *Wasps* (that volume was intended to serve as an introduction to Dr. Starkie's contemplated complete edition). It is agreeably written, sober and useful, though a little disappointing at the old cruces: l. 119 *τοιόνδε δ' ὃ Πίληκε κ.τ.λ.*, l. 345 *ἀνασείειν*, l. 748 *θερίδδεν*, l. 1093 *τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδιόν*. A few complaints may be made: l. 565 *ἀρθήσῃ* is surely the old palaestra-use, cf. l. 274; l. 380 *καταγλωττίζειν* has only one meaning in Greek: l. 5 why quote Datis? l. 75 the supposed pun in *Κρανία* ('city of thin potations,' 'unsacked,' *κρήνη*) is uncommonly far-fetched; l. 110 the same may be said of the supposed reference to the *Telephus* in such an un-tragic line. On the other hand, l. 913 surely alludes to the battle of Cranes and Pygmies; *Nikostratos* (*μικρός γε μάκος οὔτος*) is the Pygmy who attacks the *ὀρνυπέτις*. In l. 1926 (. . . *ἐν πᾶσι βολίτοις*.—*εἶτα νυνὶ τοῦ δέη*;) is not this the point: If you like *βολίτοις*, they are cheap enough: what more do you want? (cf. ll. 595, *Pax* 48). The book is furnished with complete indices. It can be recommended on all grounds.

**The Symposium of Plato.** Edited by R. G. BURY. Pp. lxxi + 179. Cambridge: Heffer, 1909. 7s. net.

Mr. Bury's, as he reminds us, is the first English commentary on the Symposium, and as such it is welcome. But if it had been more English, it would have been more welcome still. The continual quotation of German commentators in the original tongue gives the notes an extremely forbidding appearance. Surely it is a false notion of completeness

which dictates this polyglossy. What the reader wants is a commentary, not a commentary in the making. It would be both pleasanter and more useful to trace the identity of Mr. Bury than it is to contemplate the disjecta membra of Rettig and Hug. The diffuseness of the notes is possibly intended to save the student the trouble of verifying his references; but he will have to verify them in any case to see what their context is. The object, it may be urged, is to preserve the subtle flavour of the German original; but 'sehr prosaisch' (p. 103) may surely be translated 'very prosaic' without outrage to the author of the phrase; and 'quite round' would be a sufficient rendering for 'ganz rund.' It is a pity that what is really a thorough and painstaking piece of work should be marred by these blemishes. The introduction is interesting; a reasoned analysis of the dialogue is given, and the characters of the participants accurately diagnosed, although the over-emphasis which is apt to attend such interpretations of what is implicit in a work of art is not lacking. Not all Mr. Bury's 'responsions' will be admitted; ἀχμηρός can hardly 'respond' to ἱγρός (p. 102); the 'reminiscences of poetry' on pp. 76 and 118 will not stand; and it is rash to suppose a reference to Agathon's *Anthens* because the word ἄνθος is repeatedly employed by Agathon. The grammatical notes are sufficient; but ἀρεχνῶς (p. 5) surely does not go with πάντες alone. Mr. Bury reads πύρρ for πόθρ in the disputed passage 197 D, but πότρ though possible seems to strike a false note. The 'intoxicated Noah' on p. xli is a slip for 'Lot.' We could spare the quotations from Spenser's Hymns. They are not good poetry, and as doctrine they are of course derivative and not parallel. In a future edition, Mr. Bury should omit and compress; and then the Greek text could have more room, and the words might be better spaced.

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**Aristophanes and Others.** By HERBERT RICHARDS. Pp. x+397. London: Grant Richards, 1909. 7s. net.

The book contains a large number of conjectures on the text of Aristophanes and other Greek Comic dramatists, the orators, the περὶ Ὑψους, the lyric poets, etc. Mr. Richards' minute and exacting scholarship is well known to readers of *Xenophon and Others* and of his occasional articles. Besides these conjectures there is an essay on the Diction of Aristophanes followed by a valuable list of the poetical words used by Aristophanes and the other comedians; a study of the language of Antiphon's tetralogies, which the author thinks possibly genuine; and an essay on the words τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός. We may be allowed to select a single author and mention a few places where the author's conjectures seem particularly apt: Aristophanes, *Ach.* 646 ὄντως for MSS. οὕτω, 683 ἐπ' αὐτῷ; *Knights* 1385 ὅς περιόισι; *Wasps* 318 εὐδεν; *Peace* 729 παραβάντες; see also his interpretation of *Frogs* 301 and the note on εἰκόνες (*Frogs* 905). In *O.T.* 772 he reads κἀμείνονι, a fine emendation. An interesting section is that on the Poetae Lyrici, where owing to the existence of oral tradition the author allows himself greater latitude than elsewhere. His remarks on Tyrtaeus 10. 7-10 are unlucky; the futures, which he would expunge, are necessary to the sense; the coward ἀλways αἰσχύνει γένος, and ἀτιμῇ and κακότης ἀλways keep him company; and when he leaves his country, then he will be εχθρὸς τοῖσι οὓς κεν ἴκηται; and so μέτεσσεται. This is a rare aberration. The readings λεία in *Theog.* 95, ἤκω in 475, 1007 αὐτοῦ κ, *Solon* 13. 12 πειθομένοις will be favourably received. Specialists will find a great deal of important matter in this book, but the general reader also will be diverted by the dexterity of the scholar's touch.

*Ἀντὶ μῦθς.* An Essay in Isometry. By R. J. WALKER. 2 vols. Pp. vi+507, 394.  
London: Macmillan, 1910. 21s.

Mr. Walker's thesis is as follows: most editors have supposed that the laws of the Dorian lyric allow a long syllable in the strophe to be answered by two shorts in the antistrophe, and vice versa, and a similar licence from strophe to strophe. This Mr. Walker denies; he examines all the instances where such substitution is believed to occur; rejects them all; and proposes in most passages his own emendations. He claims that such substitution mainly appears in lines where the reading may be doubted on other grounds, of difficulty, solecism, inconsistency. The author displays great ingenuity in his astonishing undertaking; and even if his main contention is not accepted, the work is full of learning, stimulating, and (an important feature in a book of this type) brightly written and easy to read. The evidence of the Oxyrhynchus papyri of Pindar is taken into account. The conjectures must be examined one by one, and even to select would be difficult in a short review. It is enough to say, that some of Mr. Walker's emendations command respect apart from the metrical dogma or (sometimes) the precise arguments adduced to account for corruption.

**Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Literary Composition**, being the Greek text of the *de Compositione Verborum*. Edited by W. RHYS ROBERTS. Pp. xiv+358.  
London: Macmillan, 1910. 10s.

This edition is on a somewhat larger scale than Prof. Rhys Roberts' previous editions of the critical writings of antiquity, for besides the introduction, translation, and glossary, the text is furnished with a commentary. The most interesting and suggestive part of the introduction is an essay on the Order of Words in Greek; although the English passages quoted as parallels are not very instructive. The translation is not over-agreeable reading, but it may be contended that Dionysius himself does not write the finest Greek. A protest, however, must be raised against the verse-translations. There is no call to translate Greek passages quoted by Dionysius as examples of beautiful style, and if they are to be translated, it should be into prose. Nothing can be less like Homer than (p. 79)

Dropped from his hands to the floor the bowls, wherein erst he began  
The flame-flushed wine to pour, and to meet his lord he ran, etc.

Is this *πραγμάτια λιτὰ καὶ βιωτικὰ ἡρμηνευμένα ὑπέρειν*? The renderings from Sappho and Simonides (pp. 239 and 279) are a disgrace to our language; it is fair to say that they are not from the author's own hand; but he commends them. The notes are disfigured by the author's passion for quotation relevant or irrelevant: he quotes 'Vaughan' for the statement that 'few things are more remarkable than the infinite range,' etc., which Shakespeare's plays put before us; and he makes a lengthy extract from 'B. R.'s' Elizabethan translation of Herodotus on the ground that it 'conveys the effect' of Herodotus's style (*μὴ φοβού μήτ' ἐμέ ὥς πειρώμενός σου λέγω λόγον τόνδε* is rendered 'fear not lest either myself do go about to examine and feel thy meaning by the coloured glose of feigned speech'). Such aesthetic faults, whether grave or not in other editors, are certainly grave in the editor of a work on style. Useful the book is; but it would have been better, if the author had exercised more self-control.

**Essays on Greek Literature.** By R. Y. TYRRELL. Pp. xi+202. London : Macmillan, 1909. 4s. net.

Four of the essays composing this volume are reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, the fifth (on Plutarch) from the *International Quarterly* of New York. As reviews in a magazine, they answered their purpose sufficiently well ; but as reprinted in permanent form it may be doubted whether they are worthy of the reputation of their author. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date. The paper on Sophocles remains a review of the first three volumes only of Jebb's edition ; those on 'The New Papyri' and Bacchylides take no note of the course of criticism since the appearance of the *éditiones principes* of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία and the Cean Iyrist. Even in the preface, where the statement (curiously contrary to fact) is made that 'on the Continent the belief in the authenticity of the "Constitution of Athens" is by no means so general as in England,' no evidence later than 1891 is adduced for this remarkable assertion. Misprints, such as 'Mr. Harris Warden' for 'Mr. Harris and Mr. Arden' (p. 86), 'Marrietti' for 'Marriette' (*ibid.*), 'in time' for 'in turn' (p. 102), remain uncorrected as they stood in the original article ; so do such obvious misstatements as that large additions have been made to the remains of Hyperides from the papyri of the Archduke Rainer (p. 86), or that Garrick put Ireland's 'Vortigern' on the stage (*ibid.*). The 'certain emendation,' quoted on pp. 118 and 132, has been superseded in all recent editions by a reading more in accordance with the remains in the papyrus ; the portion of the papyrus said (on p. 120) to be in a state which renders continuous decipherment hopeless has been almost wholly deciphered or restored. In short, if these articles were worth reprinting (and they contain much that is interesting and attractive), it would have been more respectful to the reading public if a little more trouble had been taken about them.

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Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνοαγγλικὸν μετὰ Κυπριακοῦ Λεξιλογίου ὑπὸ Ἀ. Κυριακίδου, Δικηγόρου. Ἐκδοσις δευτέρα (ἐντελῶς ἀναθεωρηθεῖσα). Ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τῶν καταστημάτων Ἀνίστη Κωνσταντινίδου. 1909. σσ. ιδ' + 908.

**Modern Greek-English Dictionary with a Cypriote Vocabulary.** By A. KYRIAKIDES, Advocate. Second Edition (revised throughout). Athens : Printed by Anesti Constantinides, 1909. Pp. ιδ' + 908.

This second edition of Kyriakides' dictionary appears at a time when the great scheme for a complete historical Greek dictionary to celebrate the centenary of the national independence is causing much discussion on the general subject of Greek lexicography. The peculiar position of the modern Greek language puts before the writer of a dictionary a number of very thorny problems. Not the least difficult is that of the admission of foreign loan-words. These are now being largely replaced by Greek words, and indeed many of them were never more than a natural consequence of diglossy and its inherent confusion of Turkish and Greek. Here Mr. Kyriakides is wisely tolerant, and admits freely such Turkish and Italian words as really form a part of the spoken language, not recoiling even before so dialectic a word as *σπάρα*, a road. With regard to the popular form of purely Greek words, however, he shows himself more of a purist than Vlachos, whose Modern Greek-French dictionary he has used as a base and model. Thus he gives only *κόμαρον*, *μάγειρος*, *γυμνός* whilst Vlachos and Jannaris in his English and Modern Greek dictionary give by their side the popular forms *κοίμαρον*, *μάγειρας*, *γδυμνός*. The indeclinable *πάντα* he omits as against Vlachos and Jannaris, but this with more reason, as the form is hardly used except in the most countrified language. Spellings such as *χτένι* for *κτένι*, he omits. The tendency of the book is thus to admit only the most classical form of Greek words, and to reject even commonly used popular forms. Dialectic words are naturally omitted. The book is thus well suited for the reading of most modern literature, but would often be found wanting if used to explain

the popular and often dialectic language of folk-tales and folk-song, or even the works of the writers of the popular school who follow Psichari (the so-called *Μαλλιαροί*) and freely enlarge their vocabulary by drawing upon the local dialects. These limitations, however, it shares to some extent with all the other dictionaries.

The reason why the Cypriote dialect has been distinguished by a special vocabulary in the form of an appendix is apparently that the author is a native of Cyprus. At once the reader will compare the some 1300 words of this list with the more than 9000 printed by Sakellarios,<sup>1</sup> who, it is true, brings up his total by including also medieval words. Both writers follow the principle of including words which shew some point of difference from the ordinary language, and of rejecting such words as are the same. This rejection precludes their lists from giving the Cypriote vocabulary in its entirety, and their principle of inclusion embraces numbers of words which only differ from the common language in consequence of the peculiar phonetic laws of the Cypriote dialect. The book thus makes no advance in principle upon the work of Sakellarios, whilst it is at the same time much less complete. These considerations, however, touch no more than the appendix, and the book remains as the best English-Modern Greek dictionary known to the present writer.

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**Physical Science in the Time of Nero.** Being a translation of the *Quaestiones Naturales* of Seneca. By JOHN CLARKE. With Notes on the Treatise by Sir ARCHIBALD GEIKIE. Pp. liv + 368. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910. 10s.

This book is one of the many indications that, with the rise of modern rivals to the old-fashioned classical education, a popular interest is reviving in the contents, as distinct from the form, of ancient literature. Seneca's book was of enormous importance throughout the Middle Ages, and for many centuries, the translator maintains (therein, perhaps, hardly doing justice to the influence, direct or indirect, of Aristotle), the chief authority in science in Western Europe. Its historical, apart from its scientific, interest is in any case considerable. As a record of the state of scientific knowledge or ignorance at the time it compares favourably with the entirely uncritical compilation of the elder Pliny. The translator has supplied a useful introduction, and Sir Archibald Geikie notes, which, however, would have been more valuable had the space which is given to a mere résumé of the work been spent on a still fuller discussion of its relation to modern discovery. The book will be used by scholars as well as by the 'English readers' for whom it is primarily intended; so that it might have been well to give something more thoroughgoing in the way of critical notes on passages where the text is doubtful.

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\* \* Owing to the closing of the Library during removal, the list of other works received is held over until the issue of Part II.

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<sup>1</sup> *Τὰ Κυπριακά ἐπὶ Ἀθανασίου Ἀ. Σακελλαρίου*, ii. pp. 422-875.

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED  
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BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

## EGYPT'S LOSS OF SEA POWER.

THAT Rome's victory at the *Aegates insulae* in 241 B.C. put a definite end to the sea power of Carthage has long since been recognized, for subsequently the Italian fleets sailed unmolested wherever they pleased in the Western Mediterranean. It has not, I think, been realized with equal clearness that thereafter Rome was the *only* first-rate naval state in the entire world of ancient politics, for the more complex relation of the eastern powers has obscured the fact that after 241 B.C. Egypt, hitherto the Carthage of the Orient, followed the example of her African neighbour and rival in the West, neglected her fleet, and left it to her garrisons and money to maintain the empire and protect the commercial interests which the navy and diplomacy of the first two Ptolemies had won. The fall of Egypt, moreover, as I shall try to show, was the result of a coalition of Rhodes and Macedon, which left the control of the eastern Mediterranean in the possession of a group of second-rate naval states. This condition Philip V. sought to end in the year 201 B.C., but Rome at once interfered and prevented him from carrying out his plans; nor did she allow Antiochus III. and Hannibal time to reopen the question of maritime supremacy. The sea-fights won at Side and Myonnesus in 190 B.C. with the aid of Rhodes and Pergamum over the extemporized and disunited fleets of Asia settled it once and for all that no new first-class naval power was to arise in the East. The events of 241 B.C. were thus decisive for the unification of the ancient world into a single state. I shall try in this paper to establish with some precision what they and what their antecedents were.<sup>1</sup>

The general period of the battle of Cos, by which Antigonus Gonatas first wrested the control of the Aegean from the superior fleets of Egypt, has, I think, been determined correctly by Beloch.<sup>1a</sup> This important engagement must be disconnected from the siege of Athens which began in 265 and ended in 261 B.C.; for, in the first place, our sources contain no intimation that the surrender of this city was due to a naval victory gained by Macedon; in the second place, the intrigue of Philochorus with Egypt after the fall of Athens presupposes the superiority of Philadelphus on the sea, and in the third place, the appearance of Antigonus at Delos for the first time in 256-5 B.C. is inexplicable if he had been lord of the Aegean for the preceding

<sup>1</sup> Mr. W. W. Tarn's treatment of this same general problem in *J.H.S.* xxix. 264 ff. came to hand after my own conclusions had been reached. The chief points of difference between us are

discussed at the end of this paper. For my use of Mr. Tarn's second article see below, p. 204, note 66.

<sup>1a</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, 428.



five years or more. The battle must fall in the course of a war like the Second Syrian, as its occurrence at the south-east corner of the Aegean implies; since only the simultaneous conduct by Egypt of a struggle with Syria explains adequately the withdrawal so far back into Ptolemaic waters of a superior Egyptian fleet.

It is not yet clear who the Ptolemy son of King Ptolemy was who revolted from Egypt in Ephesus at the time of the Second Syrian War.<sup>2</sup> An approximate date might be won for the loss of sea power by Egypt if he were the co-regent of Philadelphus who disappears from the Egyptian documents in 259-8 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> since such an act presupposes doubt as to the naval supremacy of Alexandria. But this is by no means the only possibility.<sup>4</sup> Hence another point of attack must be chosen. This is secured by the determination recently made that Antigoneia and Stratoniceia were established in Delos in 255 (256-5) B.C., which is also the year of the evacuation of the Museum by the Macedonian garrison. These events presuppose the sea-fight at Cos; more, they were the direct consequences of the victory,<sup>5</sup> so that this must be placed in 256-5 B.C., as, in fact, Beloch has already placed it.<sup>6</sup>

That the foundation of the Antigoneia and the Stratoniceia took place in 255 (256-5) B.C., and not in 252 B.C. as Homolle determined,<sup>7</sup> is a consequence of the rearrangement of the Delian archons made by Schulhof.<sup>8</sup> The whole block between 227 and *ca.* 240 B.C. has to be put back two years.<sup>9</sup> It

<sup>2</sup> Holleaux, *B.C.H.* 1904, 408 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Beloch, iii. 2, 131.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, 1905, 389, n.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Diog. Laert.* iv. 39; *μετά τε τὴν Ἀντιγόρου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσίωντων καὶ ἐπιστόλια παρακλητικὰ γραφόντων αὐτὸς* (Arcesilaus) *ἐσιώπησεν*.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 2, 523; cf. 428 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Archives*, 104; cf. 58 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *B.C.H.* 1908, 472 ff., and especially 478 f.

<sup>9</sup> Homolle (cf. also P.-W. iv. 2501 f.) puts the Delian archon Alcimachus, whose term began with the month Lenaion (Gamelion: January) and hence coincided with an entire year B.C., in 169 B.C. This is the last archon extant, but six *hieropoioi* remain, who belong either to three or, as the practice of mentioning four *hieropoioi* in each year regularly followed after 179 B.C. (*B.C.H.* 1890, 470; P.-W., iv. 2486 f. [Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1909, 276 f.]) permits, to two years. Assuming that four (two) of them belonged to 167 B.C., the other pair (two pair) may be assigned to the part of the Delian year 166 B.C. which elapsed prior to the arrival of the Athenian officials who took their place in the course or at the end of the Attic year 167-6 B.C. When this is done Alcimachus may be assigned to 168 B.C. [As Mr. Tarn points out (*loc. cit.*, 277), this change

is commended by the donation made to Delos by C. Livius in 191 B.C., and the crown awarded by Delos to L. Hortensius in 170 B.C.; cf. below p. 193, n. 23.] The consequence of the alteration is that Cosmiades is put in 197 instead of 198 B.C., and that three places instead of two are left free between Cosmiades and Anectus for the new archons whom Schulhof has discovered. Since five must be provided for at this point, we must, accordingly move Anectus back, not to 228 as Schulhof proposes, but to 227 B.C. where Homolle all but placed him in the first instance.

The Delian year 166 B.C. is of course identical with the second half of Ol. 153, 2, and with the part of the Attic archonship for 167-6 B.C. which began with Jan. and ended with July. This scheme of equations I have adhered to throughout; so that, for example, the death of Arsinoe, which took place in May-July 270 B.C., is put in the Delian archonship for 270, where it clearly belongs, in the Attic year 271-0 B.C., and in Ol. 127, 2. Of course the Delian year 166 B.C. also corresponds with the first half of Ol. 153, 3 and the part of the Attic year 166-5 B.C. which began with July and ended with Jan.; and, in fact, it is difficult to say whether an event, which, like the death of Arsinoe, occurred in May-

thus results that the Demetriaia was established in Delos in the same year as in Athens,<sup>10</sup> viz. 239 (240-39) B.C.—at the accession of Demetrius II. to the throne.<sup>11</sup> From *ca.* 240 to 304 B.C. the whole block has to be pushed back three years. Hence the Ptolemaea was first celebrated by Delos, as by the League of the Islanders, in 279 (280-279) B.C. (Ol. 125,1). Seven *phiale* were dedicated earlier, the donation with which their cost was defrayed being thus made in 286 (287-6) B.C., when Antigonos Gonatas made 'the secret treaty' with Pyrrhus and Ptolemy, Macedon being left to the former and the islands to the latter.<sup>12</sup> The Philadelphiea, founded by the *nesiarch* Hermias in the name of Arsinoe Philadelphus, was established in the year of her death, 270 (271-0) B.C.; and the second Ptolemaea in 251 (252-1) B.C. (Ol. 132, 1). Our first problem is to explain the reestablishment of the Ptolemaea in 251 B.C. The second is to explain the inauguration of the Paneia and the Soteria by Antigonos in 247 (248-7) B.C., it being, of course, obvious from the foundations of the year 247 and the establishment of the Demetriaia in 239 that in these years Macedon controlled Delos.

The dates thus far used (with the exception alluded to in note 9) are those determined by Schulhof. They are not fixed by him with absolute precision, however, and in particular it is not alleged that there is anything sacred about 'a little before 240 B.C.' as the time before which a displacement of three, after which a displacement of only two years has to take place in the Delian archon list of Homolle. That five archons alone, for whom three places already exist between 227 and 197 B.C., have to be provided for *after*

July, belongs to 271-0 (Ol. 127, 2) or to 270-69 (Ol. 127, 3) B.C. (cf. however Kaerst, ii. 1, 416). What has determined me to equate 166 B.C. Delian with 167-6 B.C. Attic (Ol. 153, 2) and so throughout, is that 166-5 B.C. Attic lies beyond the period of Delian independence altogether; and that the Ptolemaea, with which I have to deal so frequently, occurred before March 24—in the winter seemingly—(Klio, 1909. 339), hence in the first half of the Delian year and the first year of each Olympiad.

<sup>10</sup> This we learn from *I.G.* ii. 5, 614 b (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 192). Cimon was archon in 237-6 B.C. (*Priests of Asklepios*, 158; cf. *Burl. Phil. Woch.* 1908, 880). In this year as well as in the year that followed Aristophanes was general ἐπὶ ἑλευσίνος; in 238-7 B.C., the year in which the war began, he was the holder of some unknown *epimeleia*; in 239-8 B.C. he was phylarch, and in 240-39 B.C., the year in which the Demetriaia—the space, together with the intentional excision, makes the restoration absolutely certain—was first celebrated, he was gymnasiarch.

<sup>11</sup> Demetrius reigned ten years, and died in the winter of 230-29 B.C., not, as Beloch puts it, in the winter of 229-8 B.C.; for the

juncture of Argos to the Achaean League, which was a direct consequence of his death (Polybius, ii. 44), took place while Lydiades was general (June 230-June 229 B.C.), and the revolt of Athens, another consequence, took place in the archonship for 230-29 B.C. Polybius (ii. 42, 2) dates his death 'at about the time of the first crossing over of the Romans into Illyricum,' which occurred in the consulship of L. Postumius and Cn. Fulvius (229 B.C.). Besides, Porphyrius (Beloch, iii. 2, 76), whose assignment of Olympiad years for the reigns of the Macedonian kings is, as I think it can now be shown, flawless, dates the death of Antigonos and the accession of Demetrius in Ol. 135, 1 (240-39 B.C.).

<sup>12</sup> The fleet of Ptolemy which entered the Aegean in 288 B.C. had, of course, more important things to do in this year and the next than to take possession of Delos. It had, apparently, withdrawn when Poliorcetes sailed to Asia in the summer of 287 B.C. It was only when the fleet of the sea-king had been dispersed, and the Cyclades had been ceded to Egypt by the 'Secret treaty' made on his father's abdication by Antigonos Gonatas in 286 B.C. that Ptolemy could begin a series of annual dedications on Delos.

'a little before 240 B.C.' is, I think, clear, since apart from Schulhof's reasons, the inauguration of the Demetrieia cannot be put out of connexion with the accession of Demetrius II. and the first celebration of the Demetrieia in Athens in 240-39 B.C.—as would be the case if room had to be made for all six after that date. On the other hand, the coincidence of the second Ptolemaea in 251 (252-1) B.C. with the first year of an Olympiad<sup>13</sup> shows us that the sixth archon (Lysimachides) must find a place between that year and, at the latest, 239 (240-39) B.C. Can he be inserted between 251 and 247 (248-7) B.C.? Nothing, so far as I can discover, prevents it, and the results then obtained show us that he must in fact be entered in the list after Badrus (251 B.C.) or before Mantitheus.<sup>14</sup> For, thereupon, the third Ptolemaea, which was established in Mantitheus's archonship (247 B.C.) coincides with the first year of an Olympiad (133,1), as is right, while the institution of the Paneia and Soteria in 246 (247-6) B.C. offers no further difficulties.

The correctness of the dates thus assigned to the Delian archons between 305 and 227 B.C. is confirmed by another test. The last of the vases annually dedicated by Athens in Delos belongs, as Homolle has shown, to 315-4 B.C.<sup>15</sup> We may surmise that it was presented at the time of the Delia, in February 314 B.C. We thereupon date the recovery of Delian independence in the autumn of that year. This we do not so much because Diodorus<sup>16</sup> dates the series of incidents, to which the revolt of Delos apparently belongs, in 314-3 B.C., as because the Athenian admiral who failed to recover the islands which then seceded was not Thymochares of Sphectus, who was *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν* in 315-4 B.C.,<sup>17</sup> but Aristotle, who obviously succeeded him in this charge; for after the battle of Amorgos Athens never had more than one small fleet. So too we must infer from the victory gained by Demetrius of Phalerum at the Delia, of which we have record in Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 165, that in February 314 B.C.<sup>18</sup> Delos was still Athenian; for in the only other years which come into question, 318 and 322 B.C., it is clear that Athens was in no position to celebrate the Delia or Demetrius to participate in it. And the fact, noted by Homolle,<sup>19</sup> that only three of the wreaths given by Athens to Delos every four years were presented after the twentieth had been delivered in 334-3 B.C., shows conclusively that the Delia of February 322 and 318 B.C. was actually omitted.<sup>20</sup> Further it is hardly possible to associate the victory of Demetrius at the Great Panathenaea, which is mentioned in the same inscription, with the years

<sup>13</sup> *Klio*, 1909, 339 f.

<sup>14</sup> The documents by which alone this conclusion can be tested properly were found over twenty-five years ago by M. Homolle, and have not yet been published. But it appears from the scrap vouchsafed to us in the *Archives*, p. 130, that Parmenion and Eidocritus form an inseparable pair.

<sup>15</sup> *B.C.H.* 1891, 149 ff.

<sup>16</sup> xix. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 313, 10 ff.

<sup>18</sup> That the Delia was celebrated in the fourth century B.C. in the month Hieros (February) of the second year of each Olympiad is shown by von Schoeffer, *Dr Deli insular rebus*, 59 f.

<sup>19</sup> *B.C.H.* 1891, 149 ff.

<sup>20</sup> von Schoeffer (*op. cit.* 87) has already concluded that the Delia was omitted in 322 B.C.

318 or 322 B.C., which also come alone into question in this case, both because of their remoteness from the time when the record was inscribed,<sup>21</sup> and because of the situation of Athens and of Demetrius in July of both these years. Hence the Panathenaea of July 314 B.C. is probably meant. Since there would have been some unhappiness in glorifying Demetrius for his victory at the Delia, if Delos had been lost by him in the preceding twelve months, we are warranted, I think, in inferring from this *datum* also that the secession of the island occurred after mid-summer 314 B.C. (See p. 208.)

Accordingly the regular native administration of the Delian temples began, doubtless, at the first of the first Delian month (Lenaeum = January) in the year 313 B.C., and it was in this year unquestionably that the *hieropoioi* first let the temple lands for the decade prescribed by law.<sup>22</sup> This fixes the first year of the seventh decade in 253 B.C., the very year in which on our chronology the archonship was held by Sosisthenes, during whose term a renewal of leases actually occurred.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, to mention only a couple of historical confirmations of our dates, when Lysixenus is transferred from 301 to 304 B.C., the following item<sup>24</sup> in the Delian accounts of that year becomes clear: *ὅτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέπλευσεν, τὴν κόπρον ἐξενέγκασιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μισθωτοῖς ΔΔΤΤΙ*. While *en route* to Athens in the summer of 304 B.C. Demetrius, *ὁ βασιλεὺς par excellence*, stopped at Delos and left a sorry mess behind him in the shrine where he and his party were doubtless lodged as they were in the Parthenon in Athens during the following winter. So too when Hypsocles is transferred from 279 to 282 B.C., the occasion for the dedication of a crown on Delos by Xenophantus, the great Theban flute-player, is at once apparent;<sup>25</sup> for it was in this year that he accompanied Gonatas and the funeral cortège of Poliorcetes (†283 B.C.) through the islands from Asia to Corinth.<sup>26</sup> Conceivably, he may have attended the Great Apollonia<sup>27</sup> at Delos in

<sup>21</sup> He had been hipparch once and general three times prior thereto. He was, doubtless, hipparch before 317-6 B.C. He had then been general in 317-6, 316-5, and 315-4, and was probably again general in 314-3, at the beginning of which year the inscription was apparently set up.

<sup>22</sup> Homolle, *Archives*, 115; Durrbach, *B.C.H.* 1905, 439. The accounts for what is probably the first year of this decade are published in *B.C.H.* 1905, 434 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *B.C.H.* 1903, 79, 136 ff. The decades were evidently disturbed in the early part of the second century B.C. Thus in the archonship of Menecrates (190 B.C.), Homolle (*Archives*, 141) notes a *renouveau des baux à ferme*, and two years earlier, in the archonship of Polyxenus (192 B.C.), the same thing occurred, if I have interpreted correctly Holleaux's remark (*C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1908, 184) that a new document *modifia les opinions admises*

*sur la durée des baux de location au commencement du II<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Are we to connect the leases of 192 B.C. with the occupation of Delos by Antiochus III. and those of 190 B.C. with his expulsion? Or have we to recognize for this time a two-year period? Or are we to leave Polyxenus in 193 B.C., where Homolle placed him, and confine the irregularity to what in that event would be 191 B.C.? In this case space for the five new archons who belong after Anectus must be found between 227 and 198 B.C. in some way not yet clear—possibly by regarding one of the archons assigned to this period as a doublet.

<sup>24</sup> Homolle, *Archives*, 115.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 68.

<sup>26</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 53; cf. Beloch, iii. 1, 245.

<sup>27</sup> The Delia ceased altogether in 314 B.C. and did not reappear till the time of the second Athenian administration. It seems to me probable that every fourth Apollonia was of

February of 282 B.C. and joined the ships of Gonatas for the voyage back to Greece.

After the battle of Cos in 256–5 B.C. Antiochus continued the struggle against Egypt with all the forces of Babylon and the Orient, and Philadelphus was pressed hard on land<sup>28</sup> and sea. It thus became clear that he was unable to carry on a successful war against the combined strength of Syria and Macedon. To Egypt, moreover, with its commercial interests and its transmarine possessions, the control of the eastern seas, now lost, was the traditional aim of all sound policy; hence the craft of Philadelphus was directed toward winning the friendship of Antiochus in order to obtain a free hand for settling scores with Antigonus. He employed two agencies—matrimony and money—and in the winter of 252–1 B.C.<sup>29</sup> he gave to the Seleucid his daughter Berenice, and with her, as Hieronymus says, *infinita auri et argenti millia dotis nomine dedit; unde φερνοφόρος, id est dotalis, appellata est*. This effected,<sup>30</sup> he employed two other agencies—diplomacy

more than parochial importance. That it was called Delia is an altogether improbable hypothesis, since in that case we hear of the annual *agon* repeatedly, but have no single instance in our records of the international fête.

<sup>28</sup> Hieronymus on *Daniel*, xi. 8. In 254–3 B.C. Ephesus, Miletus, Sardis, Ilium, Cyzicus, and Samothrace, were Seleucid (Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 225). Eumenes of Pergamum must have had trouble in preserving the independence he had gained by his victory at Sardis in 263–1 B.C.

<sup>29</sup> This date, which is inferred from the ability of Philadelphus to devote his energies to Greek affairs in 251 B.C., suits the other conditions admirably. Hieronymus on *Daniel*, xi. 6 says: Antiochus autem Berenicem consortem regni habere se dicens et Laodicen in concubinae locum, *post multum temporis amore superatus Laodicen cum liberis suis reducit in regiam*. An interval of four years is doubtless sufficient. On the other hand, we have word of only one child of Berenice; but her husband seems to have abandoned her before his death. Berenice, it may be remarked, need not have been more than 23 or 24 in 252–1 B.C. In 253 B.C. prior to October (Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 225), Antiochus sold certain crown-lands situated near Cyzicus in Hellespontine Phrygia to Laodice for thirty talents. Laodice, who is not named 'sister' or 'queen,' has her own *oeconomus* and her personal property. It is seemingly taken for granted that she is to obtain the purchase-money from the lands bought, apparently by the sale of at least part of them; since otherwise the arrangement that the thirty talents be payable in three quarterly

instalments is unintelligible. In any case, Laodice was short of ready money. The payments are to be made *eis τὸ κατὰ στρατεῖαν γασφρολάκιον*. This stipulation shows, I think, that what we have to do with is the raising of extraordinary war funds, the sale to Laodice—who is regarded as a private person (Haus-soullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, 86 ff.)—being only a way of alienating the private property of the king without confessing financial embarrassments. That Laodice obtained substantial advantages from the transaction is, of course, not denied; and it is hardly an accident that subsequently the divorced queen, together with her *oeconomus*, took up her residence at Ephesus in Asia Minor and thence regained the kingdom for her son. A similar sale of crown-lands to the city of Pitane by Antiochus Soter—probably for a similar reason—is attested by Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 335, 132.

We observe, accordingly, that in 253 B.C. the Second Syrian War was still in progress; that Laodice, despite the lack of the titles *ἀδελφὴ καὶ βασίλισσα*, is still queen of Syria: but that the king's need of money was even then so great that the bargain struck with Philadelphus about a year and a half later is intelligible.

<sup>30</sup> It cost him, in addition, his possessions in Pamphylia, Cilicia, Ionia, Thrace, and—providing he had any there—on the Hellespont, which Antiochus, having conquered, retained. The price paid for the peace, as well as the price paid for Aratus (150 talents), shows how seriously Egypt was injured by the navy of Antigonus.

and war; and on winning Aratus to his side in 252 B.C.,<sup>31</sup> he entered into negotiations with Alexander, the Macedonian governor of Corinth, Megara, and Euboea, with a view to his seceding from his suzerain and thus crippling the Macedonian fleet, of which Corinth and Chalcis were the two most important stations. Then on finding that the prospect of having a kingdom of his own appealed to Alexander, Philadelphus dispatched his navy to the Aegean in the early spring of 251 B.C. The circumstances being such as described, it is not surprising that Egypt became paramount in the Cyclades: it would be surprising if Antigonos ventured to bring the remnant of his fleet into action at all. How much farther Ptolemy's enterprise might have been carried, had not Antigonos's half-brother, Demetrius the Fair, succeeded in securing a lodgment in Cyrene—within the next year or two, as Beloch has conclusively shown<sup>32</sup>—we cannot say. How the son of Poliorcetes and Ptolemais misused his opportunity is well known. His death, unquestionably, preceded immediately the marriage of Berenice and Ptolemy. That this occurred not long before the accession of the latter to his father's throne in Alexandria is fairly obvious from the fact that Berenice, subsequently the mother of six children, had seemingly not yet produced an heir in 246 B.C.: it is clearly demonstrated by the well-known passage from Catullus's (Callimachus's) *Lock of Berenice*,<sup>33</sup> which could never have been written if the union stood to the invasion of Asia otherwise temporally than the year 247 does to the year 246 B.C.:

E Bereniceo uertice caesariem  
Fulgentem clare, quam multis illa dearum  
Leuia protendens brachia pollicita est,  
Qua rex tempestate nouo auctus hymenaeo  
Vastatum finis iuerat Assyrios,  
Dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae,  
Quam de uirgineis gesserat exuuiis.  
Estne nouis nuptis odio Venus?

How Antiochus used the four years for which he reigned after the peace with Philadelphus we do not know. That he renewed an alliance with Lyttus in Crete in 252-1 B.C.<sup>34</sup> suggests that he used his wife's money to acquire mercenaries. That he was at Ephesus at the time of his death

<sup>31</sup> See below, p. 197. I still think, despite Beloch (iii. 2, 426 ff.), that the expulsion of Alexander, king of Epirus, from his realm accompanied the siege of Athens and occurred between 263 and 261 B.C., but admit that definite proof is impossible. Of course, in this event the restoration may have taken place prior to 256-5 B.C.; but the discussion of this topic—as the combination of Justin with the *Prologue* to xxvi. shows—led Trogon to the war between Alexander and

Antigonos (251 ff. B.C.); hence it seems best, since it is clearly possible, on this view as well as on that of Beloch, to regard the restoration of the king of Epirus as another of Ptolemy's enterprises in 252-1 B.C. As is well known, the Aetolians, Antigonos's allies, continued the war against Epirus after Alexander's death (ca. 246 B.C.).

<sup>32</sup> iii. 2, 133 ff.; cf. iii. 1, 620, 640 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Catullus, lxvi. 8 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cardinali, *Riv. di Filol.* 1905, 519.

suggests that Asia Minor, where relations with the Galatians had to be straightened out—Pergamum was probably included in the peace as an Egyptian ally—and Thrace—now likewise Galatian—and Byzantium, over which he sought to extend his authority, lay in the centre of his interest. His marriage with Berenice proved fruitful; but the birth of an heir and the death of Antiochus (247 B.C.), followed closely by that of Philadelphus (247–6 B.C.), led Laodice, who had been divorced in favour of the Egyptian princess, to seize the crown for herself and her son, Seleucus Callinicus, and to murder her rival and her child. To tell how Ptolemy III., when unable to rescue his sister, overran all Hither Asia with his army and blockaded the entire coast of Syria with his fleet would be purposeless here. It is to the point simply to observe that the report of this campaign, written by Euergetes himself, which has reached us in the well-known *Petrie Papyrus*, shows that the king took personal charge of the operations by sea, at least until the seizure of Seleucia and Antioch in the year 246 B.C. We need to comment further only on what we have learned from the Delian festivals, viz. that Antigonus Gonatas, to whom the turn of events in Egypt and Syria brought relief from a dangerous position,<sup>35</sup> took advantage of the concentration of all the energies of Egypt on the war with Laodice, and, entering the Aegean with his navy, which he had, doubtless, strengthened in the interval, he mastered the Cyclades, seized Delos, and established there the Paneia—Pan seems to have been his patron deity<sup>36</sup>—and the Soteria, of

<sup>35</sup> Alexander of Corinth had forced Attica and Argos to buy peace from him prior to 248 B.C. That this gave him a free hand in 248 and 247 B.C. for a struggle by land and sea against Antigonus is obvious. That the Aetolians took sides actively with Macedon before 245 B.C. is doubtful; so that it was not till the death of Alexander of Epirus, with whom the Aetolians had co-operated for the spoliation of Acarnania ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1905, 55 ff.), that Antigonus was free from danger from that quarter. Hence in 247 B.C. Macedon must have been in hard straits. That Antigonus was cognisant of Laodice's plan from the start—her sister was the wife of Antigonus's son, her mother was Antigonus's sister—needs no demonstration, and in 243 B.C. there were 400 Syrians in the Macedonian garrison in Corinth (Plut. *Aratus*, xxiv.; cf. also xviii.). These he can hardly have secured after the success of Euergetes in the campaign of 246 B.C. He may have got them at the opening of the year in exchange for Macedonian troops in whom Laodice could trust—hence conceivably their disloyalty to Antigonus. Beloch's conjecture (iii. 1. 639, n. 1) that Antiochus had sent them to Alexander's aid, is doubly objectionable: Antigonus would hardly have left Nicaea's troops in the garrison at Corinth, and, so far as

we know, Antiochus did not fight Antigonus after his treaty with Egypt in 252–1 B.C.

<sup>36</sup> This is clear from the coinage of Antigonus as well as from the Hymn to Pan which Aratus of Soli wrote for the marriage festivities at Pella in 277–6 B.C. (*Vita Arati*, iv. 10, p. 60, Westermann; cf. iii. 19, p. 58, and i. 86). [For the allusion to the god in the well-known epigram from Cnidus, which Usener (*Rhein. Mus.* 1874, 23 ff., and especially 42 f.; cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 408 ff.) brought into connexion with Gonatas, see Mr. Tain's observations below, pp. 212 ff., 221.]

The silver coins issued by Gonatas (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 123 ff.) now admit of pretty definite chronological classification. His first series is that with a Pan in the boss of a Macedonian shield on the obverse, and an archaized Athena of the Panathenaic vase sort brandishing a thunderbolt on the reverse. The device is to be brought into connexion with the victory gained with Pan's aid over the Celts at Lysimachia in 277 B.C. and with the lordship over Athens acquired in 276 B.C. This type of coin was being issued in 261 B.C., when Macedon took over the Athenian mints (*Priests of Asklepios*, 147 f.), but on the coins struck thereafter in Athens a *kalathos*, which is found elsewhere only on Attic coins (Kohler, *Sitzb. d.*

which the name is self-explanatory. Accordingly, the *βασιλεία τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων*, which, as the Adulis inscription<sup>37</sup> puts it, Ptolemy III. *παρέλαβε παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*, lasted for only a few months at most after the change of rulers.

The situation in the Cyclades between 251 (252-1) B.C. and 246 (247-6) B.C. must now detain us for a moment. Delos was Ptolemaic in 251 (252-1) and 247 (248-7) B.C., that is clear. Andros, however, was held by a Macedonian garrison when Aratus, after seizing Sicyon, went to Alexandria for money. This he did immediately after the success of his *coup*, since it was simply to get the means to effect a peaceful restoration of the exiles that he went at all. Hence the trip was taken in the autumn of 252 B.C., when the sea was already rough, before the entry of the fleet of Ptolemy into the Aegean.<sup>38</sup> Nor had the success of Ptolemy been achieved when Antigonos tried to create the impression that Aratus on returning from Alexandria had come over to his side; for the representation of Philadelphus as sunk in

*Berl. Akad.* 1896, 1092), was inserted in the field of the reverse. We may therefore affirm the continuation of this series till some time after the fall of Athens. Then came the series with a head of Poseidon on the obverse, and a naked Apollo seated on the prow of a trireme on the reverse, the connexion of which with the victory at Cos is made as certain as anything of the sort can be by a passage of Athenaeus (v. 209 e) [and by the clever combinations of Mr. Tarn (below, pp. 212 ff.), which, with some reservations, however, in the case of § c, I find acceptable]. Hence the battle of Cos took place at some time after 261 B.C. The political position held by Macedon after 256-5 B.C. explains sufficiently why the coins of this series are the finest struck by Gonatas. The connexion of the device with that of the coins of his father Poliorcetes is obvious and intelligible. That fewer specimens of this series than of the first are extant—Imhoof-Blumer (129) suggests the ratio 6:12 or 13—accords closely with the periods for which each was coined, the first covering 21 and the second 16 years at the most. Had the battle of Andros occurred earlier in the reign of Gonatas than 242-1 B.C. we should have expected to find examples of a third series of silver coins. As it is, the only other pieces which can be connected with any safety with Gonatas are certain bronze coins (Imhoof-Blumer, 128 ff.; Macdonald, *Greek Coins of the Hunterian Collection*, i. 341 [Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1909, 273 f.]) with a Pan erecting a trophy on the reverse and with what seems to be a naval symbol of some kind or other in the field. These may be reminiscent of the establishment of the *Panēia* in 246 B.C. We can easily imagine the *panic* which ensued

on the appearance of the Macedonian fleet in the Aegean after the death of Philadelphus and the withdrawal of the Ptolemaic ships and troops for the war with Laodice.

<sup>37</sup> Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 54.

<sup>38</sup> Plutarch (*Aratus*, liii.) dates the surprise of Sicyon on the fifth of Daisios (Anthesterion, May); at least he says that in his time the Sicyonians still celebrated on that day a fête commemorative of the expulsion of the tyrant. Polybius (ii. 43) dates the entrance of Sicyon into the League eight years before 243-2 B.C., or in 251-0 B.C. Hence the decision to join the Achaeans was taken after June 252; so that it was only in June 251 that the old Sicyonian régime ceased to exist, and the Sicyonians voted for Achaean officials. The fifth of Daisios must accordingly have been in May 252 B.C. The year that followed was taken up with the establishment of a liberal government and orderly circumstances in Sicyon, which was a matter beset with difficulties, chiefly financial, and which the receipt of twenty-five talents from Gonatas by no means removed (*Aratus*, ix. and xi.). Accordingly, Aratus turned to Alexandria and sailed in the stormy autumn season for Egypt. It needs no proof that had he fallen into the hands of the Macedonian commandant at Andros while on this mission to Antigonos's enemy his career would have come to an abrupt end. That the Roman ship which rescued him changed its destination from Syria to Caria on his account shows that the peace between Antiochus and Philadelphus had not yet been negotiated. The adjudication of claims, which followed the return of Aratus, consumed the remainder of the year (xiv.).



sloth and luxury could not have been made by Antigonos, or attributed to him by Phylarchus, immediately after the seizure of the Aegean islands by Egypt.<sup>39</sup> We may surmise that Andros was the point in the Cyclades in which the chief Macedonian garrison lay, just as Samos was the normal base of operations for the Egyptians. Hence it was the natural objective of attack or defence when the two powers struggled for the control of this region.

The liberation of Sicyon was thus a local Peloponnesian movement, not necessarily hostile to Macedon, but made so by the action of Aratus in establishing a liberal government and bringing the city into the Achaean League. It gave Philadelphus, who, of course, had never heard of Aratus hitherto, an opportunity to stir up trouble for Macedon in Greece, and on convincing himself that Aratus was trustworthy, which was not an easy matter apparently, he paid him forty talents down and promised to give him one hundred and ten more in later instalments. The *quid pro quo* was for Aratus to worry Antigonos, and this he at once proceeded to do by trying to surprise Corinth, of which, as already said, Alexander the son of Antigonos's half-brother Craterus was the governor. The attempt failed, and was not repeated, seeing that Alexander, probably on the appearance of Ptolemy's fleet in the Aegean in the early spring of 251 B.C., revolted from his uncle, made an alliance with the Achaeans,<sup>40</sup> and tried to round out his kingdom by the acquisition of Argos and Attica.

The third century B.C. has a second wandering battle, that of Andros, in regard to which Trogus, *Prologue*, xxvii. says: *utique Galli Pergamo victi ab Attalo Ziaelan Bithynum occiderint. ut Ptolemaeus Adaeum denovo captum interfecerit et Antigonus Andro proelio navali Sophrona vicerit. ut a Callinico fusus in Mesopotamia Antiochus insidiantem sibi effugit Ariamenem, dein postea custodes Tryphonis. quo a Gallis occiso, etc.* The MSS. have *Antigonum* instead of *Antigonus*, and a corrupt word *prona* instead of *Sophrona*, but the corrections made in the text by C. Müller and Rühl have been accepted generally and also by Beloch.<sup>41</sup> De Sanctis,<sup>42</sup> on the other hand, changes only *prona* into *per Sophrona*. A victory of Antigonos off Andros in 251 B.C. leaves unexplained the reacquisition of Delos by Ptolemy; nor does the restoration *Sophrona*, which seems assured, admit of a date as early as that, since Sophron was in the employ of the Seleucids till 246 B.C. Hence the battle of Andros cannot be brought on either hypothesis into 251 B.C.; so that, however sorely tempted, we must refrain from making it the occasion of the expulsion of the garrison into whose hands Aratus all but fell in the

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xv. Antigonos Gonatas was thus in Corinth in the winter of 252-1 B.C. His neighbourhood was evidently so menacing that Aratus completed his arrangements with the Achaeans (*Aratus*, ix.-xi., out of its chronological order), and on the departure of Antigonos, with whom a definite breach had now been established, he made an attempt to

surprise Corinth, in which Alexander had been installed as Macedonian governor.

<sup>40</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xviii: 'Ο δὲ Ἀρατος ἔτι μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῶντος ἐπεχείρησε τῇ πράξει, γενομένης δὲ συμμαχίας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπαύσατο.

<sup>41</sup> iii. 2, 428 ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Klio*, 1909, 1 ff.

preceding year. The probability is that when Alexander refused to put the Macedonian ships under his command at the disposal of Antigonos, the latter was obliged to withdraw from the Aegean without offering resistance, his departure being perhaps accelerated by the preference of the Islanders, as of the Greeks on the mainland fourteen years earlier, for Ptolemaic rule. This was doubtless in the early spring of 251 B.C., since the Ptolemaea, which came at the latest at the end of winter and in the 251 half of the year 252-1 B.C., was reestablished in 251 B.C. We have no reason to believe that Macedon was a sea power of note during the following five years. The Aegean was seemingly safe in the hands of Egypt.

For the battle of Andros the alternatives are, it seems to me, several: the text of Beloch and the reign of Doson; or the text of de Sanctis and the year *ca.* 243 B.C.; or the text of Beloch and the year 241 B.C., the victory of Antigonos being made coincident with the victory of the Rhodians over Chremonides. This much seems certain: that when in 242-1 B.C. the Achaeans chose Ptolemy Euergetes *generalissimo* of their League on land and sea,<sup>43</sup> the naval power of Egypt in the Aegean had to be reckoned with seriously. Moreover, it results, I think, from the text of Teles *Περὶ Φυγῆς* (Hense) 15 f. that in *ca.* 242-1 B.C. Chremonides appeared in Greek waters with a high commission and an imposing fleet.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, we have no evidence that the fleet of Egypt was ever afterwards of account in the Aegean Sea, the *hegemony* there being subsequently shared by Macedon and Rhodes.<sup>45</sup> The importance of Rhodes is accounted for by a victory

<sup>43</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xxiv. A *theoria* from the Achaeans was in Alexandria in 242 B.C. (*Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1909, 407, No. 14). As is well known, they also obtained the assistance of Sparta, then under Agis, while Antigonos and the Aetolians agreed to divide Achaean territory between them (Polybius, ii. 43). The Aetolians attacked the Achaeans and their allies repeatedly in 242-1 and 241-0 B.C. (Niese, ii. 255 ff.; Beloch, iii. 1, 649 ff.). What was Antigonos doing at this time?

<sup>44</sup> \*Ἐνιοι (φυγάδες) δέ γε καὶ φρουροῦσι τὰς πόλεις παρὰ βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ἔθνη πιστεύονται, καὶ ὄρεα μεγάλα καὶ συντάξεις λαμβάνουσι. Λυκίνος ἐκεῖνος οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐφρούρει φυγὰς ὡν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, πιστευόμενος παρ' Ἀντιγόνου, καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐποιούμεν Λυκίῳ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ μένοντες; Ἰππομέδων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὁ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκης καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, Χρεμωνίδης καὶ Γλαύκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρέδρου καὶ σύμβουλοι; ἵνα μὴ τὰ παλαιὰ σοι λέγω, ἀλλὰ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἐπὶ στόλου τηλικούτου ἐξαπεστάλη καὶ χρημάτων τοσούτων πιστευόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ὡς βούλοιο χρῆσθαι; That this was spoken in Megara in 239 B.C. and that Teles, whom the peace of this year allowed to cross from Megara

to Attica, spoke the discourse *Περὶ Πενίας* in Athens during the war of 238-235 B.C., is to me so self-evident that to argue the case is sheer waste of time. From the text it is clear that Lycinus no longer governed Megara (ἐφρούρει: ἐποιούμεν), though his rule was still fresh in the minds of the *μεῖράκια* to whom Teles was speaking (ἵνα μὴ τὰ παλαιὰ σοι λέγω, ἀλλὰ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς): he was of course ejected by Aratus in 243 B.C. Hippomedon had just been put in charge of Thrace (ὁ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκης καθεσταμένος). He was exiled from Sparta at the end of 241 B.C. In 242 B.C. Ptolemy captured and executed Adaeus in Thrace (see below, p. 201). The expedition of Chremonides was already at an end (οὐκ ἐπὶ στόλου τηλικούτου ἐξαπεστάλη). A whole group of illustrations was thus chosen from the immediate past, just as Teles remarks, and just as an audience of boys demanded.

<sup>45</sup> *Revue de Philologie*, 1902, 324 f.: Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, 1905, 1 ff.: Holleaux, *B.C.H.* 1907, 104 ff. The view of M. Holleaux as to conditions in the Cyclades after 228 B.C. seems to me correct. I differ only in dating the elimination of Egypt fourteen years earlier, and in making Demetrius, not Antigonos

which its admiral Agathostratus gained over Chremonides at a time incapable of close definition, but which, because of the history of Ephesus, must have been before *ca.* 256 B.C., or after 246 B.C., but which, because of the career of Chremonides, can hardly have been later than 240 B.C.,<sup>46</sup> and which the words of Teles give us an *a priori* right to fix in 242-1 B.C. precisely. That Rhodes helped Antiochus to gain possession of Ephesus after the death of the rebel Ptolemy son of King Ptolemy is inferred by Beloch<sup>47</sup> from Frontinus *Strat.* iii. 9, 10; but this does not prove enmity between Rhodes and Egypt, since Ephesus was hostile to Egypt at the time. Hence we have no evidence of a rupture of friendly relations between Rhodes and Egypt during the third century B.C., except during the war waged by Euergetes against Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax between 246 and 242 B.C., when in return for assistance rendered the Seleucids they ceded to it Stratoniceia in Caria.<sup>48</sup> We need not suppose that Ptolemy made peace with the maritime republic when he came to terms with Seleucus in 242 B.C.; for to reestablish his position in the Aegean meant for him to humble it as well as Macedon. On the other hand, as is well known, in 239 B.C.,<sup>49</sup> a peace was arranged between Macedon and the Achaeans, and between the Aetolians and the Achaeans. In this the allies of each were probably included, the Rhodians on the one side and Egypt on the other being in that case involved. Hence we find the republic as well as the Aetolians entertaining friendly relations with Alexandria in 239-8 B.C.<sup>50</sup> Subsequently Rhodes was powerful on the sea and friendly to Egypt. The position of Rhodes being thus explained, what is there except the battle of Andros to account for the position of Macedon in the Cyclades in 240-39 B.C.,<sup>51</sup> as well as at the times of Doson and Philip?

Doson, responsible for the decline of the Macedonian navy. The Aetolian, Bucris of Naupactus (*I.G.* ii. 5, 385 c) seems to have been the pirate scourge of the Aegean in the thirties, though the Cretans were also active. Had Doson lived to enjoy the fruits of Sellasia the Macedonians would, doubtless, have rebuilt their navy and patrolled the Aegean. Since Philip did not get rid of land wars till 205 B.C., the Rhodians had to assume the task of establishing order on the sea; to them, accordingly, as is well known, Rome gave the hegemony of the Cyclades—with Tenos and not Delos as the centre—after the end of the Second Macedonian War.

<sup>46</sup> Kirchner, *P.A.* 3019, 15572.

<sup>47</sup> iii. 1, 619, n. 2. The position taken by the fleet of Ptolemy in 256-5 B.C. at Cos presupposes the friendliness of Rhodes to Egypt at the time.

<sup>48</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 7, 6; cf. Beloch, iii. 2, 456, n. 1

<sup>49</sup> After the death of Gonatas (Polybius, ii. 44, 1; cf. Plut. *Aratus*. xxxiii.). That Mace-

don was included is obvious from the fact that it was in a time of peace—with Macedon of course—that Aratus attacked Athens (Plut. *Aratus*, xxxiii.), as well as from the fact that 238-7 B.C. is designated in an Athenian inscription as the year in which the war was resumed (*I.G.* ii. 5, 614 b; cf. above, p. 191, n. 10).

<sup>50</sup> *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1909, 407 f., Nos. 21-23.

<sup>51</sup> After having learned that the Demetriaia was actually instituted on Delos in 239 (240-39) B.C., in addition to the Antigoneia established sixteen years earlier, the conclusion seems hardly avoidable that to parallel fêtes organized simultaneously by the League of the Islanders the decree published by Durrbach in *B.C.H.*, 1904, 93 ff. alludes, especially since there seems to be no reference to Demetriaia in the earlier Delian documents (Antigoneia appears there as early as 299 B.C.). The alternative is that for which Durrbach contends in his second article (*B.C.H.*, 1907, 208 ff.) on the subject—to connect the fêtes with Antigonus I. and Demetrius I. Against this, for which much

With this conclusion the only comprehensive record extant for this period is in perfect agreement. Trogus in his history, as is obvious from a glance at a dozen or so of his *Prologues*, did not narrate events synchronistically, but topically—the temporal sequence being, however, adhered to so far as possible within each topic. The topics are distinguished in the *Prologues* by the word *ut* ordinarily. It thus appears that book XXVI. carried the narrative of European affairs to 243 B.C., of Asiatic affairs to 247–6 B.C.; whereupon book XXVII. continued Asiatic and book XXVIII. European affairs at these points. The first topic in book XXVII. is, accordingly, the war of Euergetes and Seleucus out of which grew the struggle between Seleucus and Hierax, which was therefore included (*Seleuci bellum in Syria adversus Ptolemæum: item in Asia adversus fratrem suum Antiochum Hieracem, quo bello Ancyrae victus est a Gallis*). This brings him to the Gauls, whereupon he takes up another topic (*utque Galli, etc.*). He thus reverts to the accession of Attalus to the throne of Pergamum in 241 B.C.—and perhaps, as the confusion of Justin in his epitome suggests, even to the reign of Eumenes, though what the abbreviator says seems to be, rather, sheer stupidity—and takes up the struggle between Pergamum and the Gauls, which started when the new ruler refused to pay tribute to the barbarians.<sup>52</sup> This leads him to Bithynia, which the Tolistoagii also molested, and he told of its efforts to get rid of the pest, following events as far as the murder of Ziaelas, the date of which is unknown, though it certainly precedes 228 B.C. Of this all that is left in Justin is the confusion found in the phrase *rex Bithyniae Eumenes*. Trogus then took up still another topic, and a modern historian might easily follow his lead: *ut Ptolemæus Adæum denuo captum interfecerit, et Antigonus proelio navali Sophrona vicerit*. He returns to the enterprises which Euergetes began, when, in 242 B.C., he got free from the struggle with Callinicus and Antiochus—his expedition into the Aegean, and his occupation of parts of Thrace—whence his admiral, Sophron in all probability, removed Adæus,<sup>53</sup> a local potentate whom Egypt had earlier

that deserves serious consideration has been said, nothing clearly decisive can be urged; but I see no reason for the substitution of Demetria in, let us say, 306–5 B.C. for biennial Antigoneia established in, let us say, 314–3 B.C., since there were many ways of rendering honours to Demetrius without abrogating those of his father. On the other hand, since biennial Antigoneia established in 256–5 B.C. must collide in 240–39 B.C. with biennial Demetria, which the accession of Demetrius II. in this year necessitated, the substitution, in the initial year, of the new fête for the old one—with subsequent alternation—was the easiest way out of the difficulty.

<sup>52</sup> A. J. Reinach (*Revue Celtique*, 1909, 59 ff.) has shown that those scholars are wrong (for the literature see Cardinali, *Il Regno di*

*Pergamo*, 17 ff. 114 ff.) who in the face of an imposing tradition have tried to argue away the war waged by Attalus against the Celts at the opening of his reign.

<sup>53</sup> In the place of Adæus Euergetes installed the Spartan Hippomedon, who had fled to him in the autumn of 241 B.C. And at approximately the same time—not long before February, 240 B.C.—he put Ptolemy the son of Lysimachus in charge of Telmessus in Lycia. The new governor received the city *κακῶς* [δρακε]μένην διὰ τοὺς πολέμους—the one with Gonatas and the earlier war with Seleucus—and proceeded to conciliate the Telmessians by remissions of all kinds of taxes (Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 55). Hippomedon, too, was obliged to make commercial concessions to the cities put under his control (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 221), and to govern with mildness and consideration for the weal of his

captured but spared—perhaps in 251–47 B.C.; whereupon followed his defeat by Antigonos at Andros. At this point Trogus dropped the topic inasmuch as the further developments belonged to the European arena. The Celts were the enemies of Attalus; Antiochus Hierax, their ally, was the enemy of Callinicus; hence from about 231 B.C. onwards—in the interval Attalus had defeated the Tolistoagii in several engagements and Seleucus had conducted his eastern campaign and put down the rebellion of his aunt Stratonice—Antiochus and the Celts were attacked from both the Mysian and the Syrian side, and Asia Minor became the scene of a hideous struggle. This and its immediate sequel Trogus made the last topic of his XXVIIth book (*ut a Callinico fusus, etc.*). That the advance of Attalus was also dealt with is shown, despite the lack of a reference to it in the *Prologue*, by an allusion in Justin's epitome.

The most reasonable interpretation of Trogus is, accordingly, that he put the enterprise of Euergetes in Thrace and the battle fought at Andros after the end of the war between Egypt and Syria (242 B.C.), since otherwise, that is to say if they were assigned to 246 or to 243 B.C., they should have formed part of Trogus's first topic; where, in fact, the falling away to Egypt of the Asia Minor cities (245–4 B.C.) was evidently treated. That the battle of Andros was not fought by Doson is clear from the fact that this king's expedition to Caria, for which it is thought to have opened the way, was described by Trogus in another book altogether. Nor is this the only reason for dissenting from the view so plausibly presented in his *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>54</sup> by Beloch. I can find no evidence for believing that a state of war existed between Egypt and Macedon at any time between 239 and 203 B.C. The salary of six talents paid to Aratus was paid to him as a private citizen,<sup>55</sup> whereas earlier (251–240 ? B.C.) one hundred and ten talents had been paid by Egypt in instalments (of ten talents annually ?) to him for Sicyon.<sup>56</sup> This suggests that Euergetes was unable to help the League openly. No effort was made by him, apparently, to turn the embarrassments and death of Demetrius II. to his own advantage. It is a conjecture pure and simple, and probably a false one, that he gave money to Athens in 229 B.C. to help her in getting rid of the Macedonian garrison. Certainly, it was not with a great navy sufficiently strong to cope with the fleet of Euergetes, if this was unbroken as alleged, that Doson sailed to Asia in 228 B.C. On the contrary he had only a few ships with him, since otherwise he could not have been in grave peril when left high and dry on the coast of Boeotia through a tidal change. Yet Polybius makes it clear that Antigonos was saved from the greatest injury

subjects. This he did in accordance with [τ]ῇ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῇ[ς βασιλίσσης αἰρέσει]. The battle of Andros thus made itself felt in the Ptolemaic Empire: Euergetes had now to be sure of the loyalty of his governors; these, of the good will of those under them. Against foreign assailants, moreover, now that the great fleet was gone, the coast defences had to

be strengthened. Hence Hippomedon took extra precautions for the safety of Samothrace, ἀποστέλλων τοὺς διαφυλάζοντας ἱππεῖς [τε καὶ] πεζοὺς καὶ βέλη καὶ καταπάλτας καὶ χρησομένους τούτοις.

<sup>54</sup> iii. 2, 428 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xli.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* xiii.

at the hands of the Boeotian cavalry on this occasion simply by the kindness of a Theban officer.<sup>57</sup> The expedition was evidently meant to restore the prestige of Macedon in the areas nominally Antigonid since 241 B.C. That he should have attacked Egypt while his position at home was so insecure is quite unlikely. Besides, our sole authority for the object of the voyage<sup>58</sup> says, not that he gained a naval victory over Euergetes, but that he *in Asia Cariam subiecit*. Obviously, the Macedonian part of Caria—seized in conjunction with the Rhodians perhaps in 242–1 B.C.—had used the disasters of 230–29 B.C. to establish its independence. Certainly the expedition was barren of consequences so far as the integrity of the empire of the Ptolemies was concerned, since Polybius<sup>59</sup> speaking of the kings who preceded Philopator says: *παρέκειντο δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δυνάσταις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς νήσοις, δεσπόζοντες τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων καὶ τόπων καὶ λιμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας ἕως Ἑλλησπόντου*. How is it thinkable that Doson should have made so little use of the victory at Andros if he had really gained it in 228 B.C.? It was not till three years later that he was required to give close attention to Peloponnesian affairs. Certainly the intervention of Euergetes in Athens and Aetolia in 224 B.C.<sup>60</sup> seems not to have been meant to do Doson an injury, since its effect was simply to reassure these peoples and, by causing the rejection of Aratus's supplications, to force the latter into the arms of Macedon. Nor does it look as if overt hostility existed between Macedon and Egypt that, when Athens in this year formed an alliance with the latter and introduced the new tribe Ptolemais, she remained friendly to the former and retained the Macedonian tribes Antigonis and Demetrias. It is true that Euergetes began in 224 B.C.<sup>61</sup> to pay subsidies to Cleomenes, but he withdrew his support before Sellasia (222 B.C.) rather than provoke a war with Macedon.<sup>62</sup> Philopator, as is well known, refused to allow the ex-king of Sparta to return home after Doson's death, and preserved a strict neutrality during the Social War. Obviously, Egypt had neither the interest nor power to trouble Macedon in Greece after the Aegean islands had been lost to her empire in 242–1 B.C.

I believe we can now proceed further and infer part at least of the plan of campaign concerted against Macedon in 242–1 B.C. In the Achaean year 243–2 B.C., probably between February and June of 242 B.C., since the summer of 243 B.C. is otherwise accounted for, Aratus led an army into Attica. Its mission, as is clear from Plutarch's narrative, was twofold: to encourage the anti-Macedonians in Athens to revolt from Antigonius, and to capture Salamis. Hence Aratus, crossing over to the island, ravaged the country there, and liberated without ransom the Athenians whom he took prisoners. Taken by itself this last enterprise is unintelligible, since the Achaeans had no more use for an island at that time than Switzerland has to-day. It ceases to be

<sup>57</sup> xx. 5, 7 f.

<sup>58</sup> Trogus, *Prologue*, xxviii.

<sup>59</sup> v. 35.

<sup>60</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xli.

<sup>61</sup> Polybius, ii. 51, 1; cf. Beloch, iii. 1, 723 n. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Niese, ii. 342.

meaningless, however, when considered in conjunction with the programme of Euergetes.<sup>63</sup> The choice of Chremonides (and Glaucon)<sup>64</sup> to command the Ptolemaic fleet in 242–1 B.C. was doubtless meant to have a political effect in Athens, where he had once led the democrats in a great war against Antigonos. Salamis, moreover, could be protected by the Egyptian fleet; besides it was the best point of anchorage for a navy which could only enter the Piraeus by force. The ‘liberation’ of Athens was thus the mission of at least one part of the fleet of Euergetes, the project arranged between Egypt and Aratus, the end for the accomplishment of which, to speak with Teles, Chremonides was entrusted with *χρημάτων τοσούτων*. The passivity of the Athenians spoiled all these plans, and Chremonides retired to Ephesus. Then in the course of this or of the following military season Antigonos defeated the main fleet of Egypt at Andros and Agathostratus that which had menaced Attica in a minor battle<sup>65</sup> in the harbour of Ephesus.

Thus far I had worked the subject up when the article by Mr. W. W. Tarn entitled ‘The Battles of Andros and Cos’ in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1909 came into my hands.<sup>66</sup> The conclusions which are reached in sections A and B—that the battle of Andros was attributed by Trogus to Gonatas, not, as Beloch tried to make out, to Doson: that it was a victory for the Macedonian, and that it was fought by Antigonos surnamed *the Old Man*—coincide with mine, but are much better established philologically. I can construe them, however, in only one way, as proving that the sea power of Egypt came definitely to an end with the victory of Antigonos at Andros and of the Rhodians at Ephesus in 242–1 B.C.—the year in which Chremonides entered the Aegean as admiral of the Egyptian *generalissimo* of the Achæan League. This explains to me, moreover, why in 240–39 B.C. Macedon felt strong enough to take up the cudgels for the Epirote queen against its old

<sup>63</sup> The interdependence of these events, which was, doubtless, quite clear in the *Mémoires* of Aratus, is still recognizable in the report of Plutarch (*Aratus*, xxiv.): Μεγαρεῖς τε γὰρ ἀποστάντες Ἀντιγόνου τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσέθεντο καὶ Τροιζήνιοι μετὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων συνετάχθησαν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἔξοδόν τε πρώτην θέμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διαβάς ἐληγάτησεν, ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς λελυμένη τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐφ’ ὃ τι βούλοιτο χρώμενος. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, ἀρχὰς ἀποστάσεως ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ σύμμαχον ἐποίησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα πολέμου καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν.

<sup>64</sup> For Glaucon see the inscription from the base of a statue erected in his honour by Euergetes at *Olympia* (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 222), where also Euergetes’s statue of Cleomenes was dedicated, *Inscr. von Olymp.* v. 309. So far as I know we possess no record of a dedication, made by or

for Euergetes at *Delos*, while those Delian statues, of which the inscription was mutilated or excised completely, concern Philadelphus or his admirals, Bacchon and Callicrates (*B.C.H.* 1909, 480).

<sup>65</sup> This is inferred from the omission in the *Prologue* of Trogus of a reference to it. Cos is also omitted there. It was easy for Trogus, on looking back from the end, to see that the battle of Andros was of first-rate importance, since with it the maritime greatness of Egypt ceased.

<sup>66</sup> xxix. 264 ff. I have, of course, recast my material with reference to Mr. Tarn’s article. Moreover, through the courtesy of Mr. G. F. Hill and of Mr. Tarn himself I have been able to see the proof of the latter’s second paper (pp. 209 ff.) before sending my MS. to the printer. I owe it to this circumstance that I have not launched a baseless hypothesis as to the Theuergesia.

allies the Aetolians, and why the Achaeans were forced to obtain the support of the rival League. With the arrangement of the Delian archons between 247 and 166 B.C. used by Mr. Tarn in the course of his article I am also in entire agreement. On the other hand, when he seeks to provide a berth for the sixth archon, whom Schulhof places a 'little before 240 B.C.' by widening the space between Anectus (227 B.C.) and Cosmiades (197 B.C.) by still another year, I must protest as well as Schulhof. It is clearly impossible for Delos to have had Delian officials in 165 B.C., since it was in the winter of 167-6 B.C. that Rome awarded the island to Athens. Had Mr. Tarn been aware that the Ptolemaea was a quinquennial fête recurring in the winter or early spring of every first year of the Olympiad,<sup>67</sup> he would perhaps have inserted Lysimachides, the sixth archon, between 251 and 247 B.C., as I have done.

It is in regard to the times of the battles of Cos and Andros that Mr. Tarn and I are in complete disaccord. I am afraid that I can add nothing to confirm the views already stated, except to point out why, in my judgment, those of Mr. Tarn are unacceptable. He concedes that the vanquished admiral in the battle of Andros was Sophron; whereupon it becomes hard to believe that such a man would have been given command of a fleet immediately on his arrival in Ptolemaic Ionia, seeing that his experience with the Seleucids could have been gained only on land. Indeed, it cannot be shown that he fled from the court of Laodice to Ephesus before the year 246 B.C. was well advanced or already at an end.<sup>68</sup> Mr. Tarn makes both Andros and Cos follow one another in this order in the same year (246 B.C.); whereupon it becomes difficult for us to understand how both battles came to impress themselves upon our meagre tradition; why the lesser of the two

<sup>67</sup> The Ptolemaea was bound to be celebrated, if celebrated at all, in the late winter or early spring of the first year of each Olympiad (*Klio*, 1909, 339 f.); hence the reendowment of the fête—which we have spoken of as the foundation of the third Ptolemaea—in 247 B.C. cannot be brought into connexion with the death of Philadelphus and the accession of his son, which occurred in Ol. 133, 2 [see Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1909, 279; cf. below, p. 222]. Nor was the Ptolemaea, to my knowledge, an accession fête. The occasion of its inauguration is clearly indicated in the following and other similar passages from Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 202 . . . οἱ τινες [χρημ]ατιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὃν τίθησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Π[τολεμαί]ος τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἰσολύμπ[ιον]. It marked the consecration of the deceased Soter and his *acla*. For its character in what is either 275 or, more probably, 271 B.C., see Athen. v. 196 a *sq.*, and Otto, *Priester und Tempel in hellenistischen Aegypten*, i. 145 ff. By that time the Ptolemaea had become the consecration of all the traditions—religious, dynastic, and imperial—of the

Ptolemies as well as of Alexander, the founder of Alexandria. No new Ptolemy came to the throne in 275 or 271 B.C., or in 251 B.C., when the so-called second Ptolemaea was inaugurated on Delos. How for that matter could a penteteric (Athen. v. 197 d, 198 b), isolympic *agon* possibly be an accession fête?

<sup>68</sup> When Ptolemy entered Antioch (*B.C.H.* 1906, 330 ff.) Laodice was still in Ephesus. She had left it with Danae her *confidante* and Sophron, Danae's husband, who was commandant of Ephesus, when she planned to put the latter to death. This we infer from the fact that it was to Ephesus that Sophron fled (Phylarchus, xii. *frag.* 23 in Athen. xiii. 593 b). Since the fleet of Callinicus which the storm destroyed was fitted out in Ionia, Ephesus cannot have been a place of safety for a refugee, nor could Laodice have easily abandoned it, till after this disaster, and the appearance in 245 B.C. of Ptolemy's fleet in Aegean waters (Beloch, iii. 1. 700). Hence the probability is that the flight of Sophron took place in 245 B.C.



alone is mentioned by Trogus in his *Prologue*; and why both in the Adulis inscription and in our accounts of the first year of the Third Syrian War—which happen to be exceptionally full<sup>69</sup>—there is no suggestion of crushing, and, on Mr. Tarn's view, unprecedented, naval defeats for Egypt. Moreover, it seems to result from the arrogance which Phylarchus attributes to Patroclus at the time of the siege of Athens, when taken together with the cool daring and self-confidence with which he (in Plutarch) makes Antigonus attack the Invincible Armada of Egypt at Cos, that this dramatic historian made of the display and downfall of the naval power of Philadelphus a story in the style of Xerxes's expedition in Herodotus. To separate the prologue from the catastrophe by an interval of twenty years full of various incidents seems to me improbable, especially when Egypt retrieved her position within four years. Besides, if the *thalassocratie* of Egypt remained unbroken till 246 B.C., how are we to explain that Ephesus and Miletus passed from the hands of Ptolemy into those of Antiochus between 261 and 254–3 B.C.? Moreover, in order to make possible the alleged naval victories of Gonatas in 246 B.C. Mr. Tarn has to date the recovery by Macedon of Corinth and Chalcis in 247 B.C. This departure from current doctrine is hardly acceptable; for how in that event can the march of Aratus into Boeotia to the aid of Abaeocritus in 245 B.C. be explained?<sup>70</sup> As is clear from the Athenian documents,<sup>71</sup> if from nothing else, the enemies of Aratus were at this time the friends of Macedon, and obviously the Achaeans were hostile to Antigonus. Yet we hear of no difficulties being put in the way of Aratus, whereas the passage should have been impossible. That Alexander was dead or ill in 245 B.C. seems to me likely, but the march shows that his widow, Nicaea, who ruled for a time after his death, had taken his place, and was, like her husband, friendly to Aratus. Moreover, from *I.G.* ii. 5, 371 c we have come to know Alexander as victorious over Argos and Athens in 250–248 B.C.; yet, on Mr. Tarn's theory, his reign and his death had occurred, his widow's rule was at an end, and Antigonus was lord in her stead in 247 B.C. That seems to me to involve undue compression of events. Gonatas evidently regained Corinth in 245–4 B.C., the Aetolian conquest of Boeotia and the Macedonian suzerainty in the Aegean having cut completely in two Nicaea's kingdom, and thus forced her to seek refuge somewhere. Aratus, whose hopes were naturally great—had he not backed the rebels from the start?—was completely outmanœuvred by the wily old king, but he scored heavily in 243 B.C. by taking Corinth by surprise. On my construction, the advance of Gonatas to Delos in 246 B.C. was not due to his maritime superiority, to which his loss of Corinth and Chalcis in 251 B.C. was of course a staggering blow, but to the concentration of the naval power of Egypt for the great war of revenge and conquest in Asia. Antigonus, after recovering the Cyclades, remained on the defensive against Egypt during 245–4 B.C.; and while the

<sup>69</sup> See *B.C.H.* 1906, 330 ff. Naturally, little weight can be placed upon this argument.

de Sanctis, *Klio*, 1909, 7.

<sup>70</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xvi.; Polybius, xx. 4; cf.

<sup>71</sup> *Priests of Asklepios*, 147; Meckler, *Acad. phil. indec Hercul.* 75.

fleet of Ptolemy, acting in concert, doubtless, with Sophron in Ephesus and similarly disaffected Laodicean captains in other cities, reëstablished Egyptian authority in Ionia, the Macedonian king seized Euboea and Corinth for himself. On Mr. Tarn's view of two crushing defeats administered by Antigonus at Andros and Cos to the Egyptian navy in 246 B.C., what plausible explanation is there for Euergetes's reconquest of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Ionia—to say nothing of the Hellespontine and Thracian districts—between 245 and 243 B.C.? <sup>72</sup> Besides, it seems to me quite clear from the apophthegm attributed to Antigonus by Plutarch (Phylarchus) (Μέλλων δὲ ναυμαχεῖν (Antigonus) πρὸς τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, εἰπόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου, πολὺ πλείονας εἶναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς· ἐμὲ δέ, ἔφη, αὐτὸν παρόντα πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττεις; *Apophthegmata of Kings and Generals*, 183) that Ptolemy was absent at the battle of Cos, whereas in 246 B.C. Euergetes commanded his own fleet. The point of the remark is in the notorious aversion of Philadelphus to campaigning (Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, 463)—a characteristic to which Plutarch (Phylarchus) makes Antigonus again allude *à propos* of the trip of Aratus to Alexandria.<sup>73</sup> On this score alone I should feel obliged to ascribe the defeat at Cos to the reign of the second Ptolemy. When the Third Syrian War came to an end with the treaty negotiated between Euergetes and Seleucus in 242 B.C.—the year before the termination in May 241 B.C. of the First Punic War<sup>74</sup>—and when the loss of Corinth and the twenty-five warships stationed in its harbour both weakened the navy of Antigonus and made a serious attack on the Achaean League imminent—did not Macedon and the Aetolians enter into a pact to divide its territory between them?—Euergetes accepted the high office tendered to him by the anxious Achaeans, and dispatched his fleet to Greek waters. Why the Rhodians remained loyal to Antigonus when Seleucus abandoned him, and how the Egyptian fleet came to be divided we can only surmise; but the coalition won two decisive victories, and therewith the days of Egypt's political greatness were over.

How Mr. Tarn can be satisfied with making the voyage of Antigonus to Delos—Ptolemaic territory—and the establishment of Stratoniceia and Antigoneia there in 254 (rather 255) B.C. merely pious acts, I cannot imagine. Certainly a parallel to this kind of piety would be welcome. To me, in view of the situation in the Aegean at the time of the siege of Athens, it seems inconceivable that Antigonus could have 'washed his hands' in the sea without first breaking the naval power of Philadelphus. And the justice of this feeling Mr. Tarn seems himself to admit when in a note <sup>75</sup> he says that 'Antigonus may have fought a sea-fight of some kind in 254 B.C.' That this naval victory was gained at Cos, and that Antigonus while bringing back

<sup>72</sup> Ditt. *O.G.I.S.* 54.

<sup>73</sup> Plut. *Aratus*, xv.

<sup>74</sup> Eutrop. iii. 1; cf. Beloch, iii. 2, 453, n. 1. It may be remarked that whether the offer of the Romans to help Euergetes be historical, as I believe, or invented by later

Roman writers, as Niese (ii. 153, n. 4) alleges, makes no difference as regards the chronology. The peace between Euergetes and Seleucus must belong to 243–2 B.C. in either case.

<sup>75</sup> 108, p. 283.

with him Stratonice, the daughter of his ally, to be the wife of his son Demetrius, who had probably governed Macedon in his absence,<sup>76</sup> stopped at Delos to arrange the transfer of the League of the Islanders from Ptolemy's suzerainty to his own, and founded there Antigoneia and Stratoniceia—whether in honour of his sister or of his prospective daughter-in-law is immaterial—seems to me highly probable. To absolute certainty we cannot attain, where the evidence is so slight. If the victory of Macedon was not gained at Cos, we must invent one like it of which our literary, and what is more important, our numismatic record has no knowledge. The name is a matter of little consequence in any case: the important thing is the expulsion of the Egyptian fleet from the Aegean in 256–5 B.C.; its return in 251, its withdrawal in 246, and its final destruction in 242–1. What these events signified has been set forth in the opening paragraph of this article. We close with the query: what effect was produced in the Hellenistic world by the proffer of assistance made to Euergetes in 241 B.C. by the victor at the *Aegates insulae*?

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#### ADDENDUM.

On p. 193, l. 8, after '314 B.C.' and before 'Accordingly.' *add*:—

Proof conclusive is, finally, furnished by a couple of mortgage inscriptions from Hephaestia in Lemnos which have been published recently in *I.G.* xxii. 8, 18–19. The first of them is dated in the archonship of Nicodorus, who held this office in Athens in 314–3 B.C., and the first mortgage entered on the second document was also registered in his year. Hence the Attic year 314–3 B.C. had already begun before this island revolted. On *I.G.* xii. 8, 19 a second mortgage is entered. This, however, is dated ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου ἄρχοντος. Archias is not an Athenian but a local magistrate, who may have assumed office in the course of 314–3 B.C., or in one of the six years which followed.

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<sup>76</sup> For this reason, perhaps, the Demetria was not organized in 256–5 B.C., though I am inclined to think, with Mr. Tarn, that the lady honoured was Antigonus's sister. It is

possibly significant for what happened in 240–39 B.C., or the year before, that Stratoniceia was not inaugurated then.

## THE DEDICATED SHIP OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS.

THIS paper is the sequel to one dealing with the chronology of the battles of Andros and Cos, published in the last number of this Journal: in it I propose to consider such information as we have about a great ship belonging to Antigonus Gonatas, which may throw some little additional light on these two battles. It is perhaps unnecessary to recall the fact that the third century B.C. was distinguished by a colossal series of experiments in the building of large warships, and that the limits of the effective history of these in action, so far as known to us, coincide pretty well (omitting Antony's revival) with those of the effective action of the Antigonid dynasty at sea: that is to say, ships larger than hexereis are not heard of in action earlier than the time of Antigonus I. or later than the time of Philip V. I make one assumption in this paper, if it be an assumption and not an axiom: I shall suppose that what is true alike of the earliest flint axes and of the modern battleship was true of the naval war-machines of the third century B.C., and that the advances made in building, dimly as we can distinguish them, were due, not to this or that chance or whim, but to a linked process of development.

### *A.—'Αντιγόνου τριάρμενος.*

Pollux i. 82. Pollux, enumerating here various sorts of warships, says as follows: *ἐκατόντορος, πεντηκόντορος, τριακόντορος, εἰκόσορος, ἐννήρης, ἐπτήρης, τριήρης, διήρης, μονήρης, μάκρα πλοῖα* (here many names of smaller vessels not material). *καὶ Πτολεμαίου ναῦς, πεντεκαϊδεκῆρης, καὶ 'Αντιγόνου, τριάρμενος.* A very odd list; for it will be noticed at once that it omits the quinquereme, for so long the standard Roman battleship, the hexeres, so often the Roman flagship,<sup>1</sup> the dekeres, Antony's sensation at Actium—all the Roman material, in fact. Pollux therefore is not giving a list of his own time at all: the substance of it is prae-Roman. Now Ptolemy Philadelphus at some time in his life built two *τριακοντήρεις* and an *εἰκοσήρης*<sup>2</sup>; the sentence then of this list referring to Ptolemy, which relates to some time when the largest vessel of the Ptolemies was a *πεντεκαϊδεκῆρης*, must refer to

<sup>1</sup> Both consuls at Ecnomus, Polyb. i. 26, 11; Scipio in 205, Livy xxix. 9; Sextus Pompey, App. b.c. v. 71; Octavian in 36, against

Sextus Pompey, and in 31 against Antony.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 39: Athen. v. 203 d.

some period earlier than the building of these larger vessels by Philadelphus. This being so, we have here a list (whether copied by Pollux mediately or immediately), which in substance dates, not only from before the first appearance of Rome in the Eastern Mediterranean, but more precisely from some point in the reign of one of the two first Ptolemies.

Now the implied comparison of the ships of Ptolemy and Antigonus imports vessels more or less contemporary; and the culmination of the list with the ship of Antigonus shews that this ship was greater or more noteworthy than, or anyhow worthy to be compared with, that of Ptolemy. Which Antigonus is meant? As the list refers to a time not later than the reign of Philadelphus, it cannot be Doseon; and as the *πεντεκαϊδεκήρης* was invented by Demetrius I. after his father's death,<sup>3</sup> it cannot, if the *τριάρμενος* be an equally notable ship, be Monophthalmos. Moreover, there is hardly a place for so large a vessel belonging to Monophthalmos; for though he won one notable naval victory—that of Byzantium in 318 B.C.—this was before his shipbuilding of 315, which seems to have been the first practical attempt to utilise very large vessels.<sup>4</sup> Whether Diodorus be right or wrong in saying that he then built dekereis<sup>5</sup>—and Demetrius had nothing larger than heptereis at Salamis in 306<sup>6</sup>—it is a far cry to a vessel fit to be compared with a *πεντεκαϊδεκήρης*; and Antigonus I. never took the sea himself after the siege of Tyre in 314 B.C. The Antigonus of our list is, therefore, certainly Gonatas.

I note two other points. Of ships larger than triremes, the list gives only heptereis and ennereis; and it was in these two classes of ships that the strength of the navy of Philadelphus is said to have consisted.<sup>7</sup> This dates the list to his reign, rather than to the end of Ptolemy Soter's. The reason for building a number of heptereis is, obviously, the startling success of those used by Demetrius at Salamis. To the *έννήρεις* I shall recur.<sup>8</sup>

The other point is the word *τριάρμενος*. All other warships known to us from *δύρης* upward bear names compounded of a numeral and the termination *-ηρης*, denoting in every case, by the increased numeral, what it is easiest to call increased horse-power,—i.e. an increase in the man-power per oar or per series of oars, whichever view we like to adopt. The word *τριάρμενος* has no place in this series in *-ηρης*; we may presume therefore that the ship had no place in the series either: it was different or abnormal in some way.

The process of development of the *τριάρμενος* shall be given as briefly as possible. After Demetrius had demonstrated, at Salamis, the capabilities of vessels greater than quinqueremes, the Hellenistic powers, in contra-

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 43, in 289. In 301 Demetrius' largest vessel was a *τρισκαϊδεκήρης*, *ib.* 31, 32.

<sup>4</sup> None are heard of earlier, and Ptolemy I. had nothing larger than quinqueremes at Salamis in 306 (Diod. xx. 49, 2).

<sup>5</sup> Diod. xix. 62, 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. xx. 50, 2; 52, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Ath. v. p. 203 d; *έννήρεις* λ', *έπτήρεις* λζ', all the other numbers being far smaller. The actual numbers may be exaggerated, but the substance cannot be far wrong, seeing that the beginning of the catalogue has been confirmed by an inscription.

<sup>8</sup> See n. 48.

distinction to Rome, Carthage, and Rhodes, were all inclined to put their faith in the big ships. It is to be remembered that they were an Antigonid invention: Egypt only copied.<sup>9</sup> Whatever else Demetrius was, he was a great sea-king; and through all vicissitudes of fortune, from 306 to his ultimate fall, he and his fleet controlled the Aegean as absolutely as it was possible to do with galleys.<sup>10</sup> He built ships up to hekkaidekereis before his death.<sup>11</sup>

What Ptolemy Soter built we do not know; but Lysimachus, Demetrius' most bitter enemy, asked and obtained leave to inspect the vessels of the latter.<sup>12</sup> and with the result of this inspection we must connect the extraordinary ship built for Lysimachus at Heraclea, known as ἡ λεοντοφόρος ὀκτῆρης. It is not now possible to understand the description of this ship given by Memnon; but it is at any rate clear that it was a new or abnormal development of some sort, for it possessed more than one κατάστρωμα or deck,<sup>13</sup> whereas the series of galleys in -ηρης, even the largest, had only one.<sup>14</sup> That it was not an ordinary octeres is further shewn by its great size and by the fact that it must have been an answer to Demetrius' τρισκαϊδεκῆρης,<sup>15</sup> if not to an even larger vessel: for as Lysimachus did not win Heraclea till 289, his octeres must have been built for use against Demetrius in the coalition war of 288, at the same time as Demetrius built his ἐκκαϊδεκῆρης. In 280 this great octeres was largely responsible for the very important<sup>16</sup> defeat at sea which Gonatas suffered at the hands of Ptolemy Ceraunus, then in possession of Lysimachus' navy;—a defeat which ended for the time being any hope which Gonatas may have had of recovering the Aegean, and left Egypt (upon Ceraunus' death) supreme there for the next generation.

The *τριάρμενος* was then, as we have seen, a great ship, more notable than, or anyhow comparable with, a contemporary *πεντεκαϊδεκῆρης*, and of

<sup>9</sup> It might be more accurate to call them a Phoenician invention; for the first that we hear of (Antigonus in 315, Diod. xix. 58, 4; 62, 7-9), and the last that we hear of (fleet of Antiochus III. at Side, Livy xxxvii. 8, 3; 23, 5), are alike built in Phoenicia.

<sup>10</sup> Apart from the other evidence, the unexplained story in Plut. *Dem.* 25, that Demetrius' friends called the other kings mere officials of Antigonus and Demetrius, and (among them) nicknamed Agathocles his *νησιάρχης*, bears on this. This rare word (in the form *νησιάρχος*) is found once in the fourth century (Antiphanes ap. Ath. viii. 342 e) in the plural, where it can hardly have a technical meaning: but apart from this, and from the imitation of Plutarch's story in Dion Cassius (58, 5), the word I believe only occurs in the well-known inscriptions of Philadelphus' reign referring to the nesiarch of the League of the Islanders, who seems to have been appointed by Ptolemy and not by the League (J. Delamarre, *Rev. Phil.*

xx. 111). Obviously, therefore, Demetrius' *νησιάρχος* can hardly have been anything but the nesiarch of the League, a valuable piece of evidence for the existence of the League, under Demetrius' control, in or about 303 B.C.

<sup>11</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 43.

<sup>12</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 20.

<sup>13</sup> Memnon xiii. (F.H.G. iii. 534)

<sup>14</sup> For an ordinary octeres, Polyb. xvi. 3, 2. So Attalus' flagship at the battle of Chios, Polyb. xvi. 6, 6; the *τεσσαρεκοντήρης*, Callixenus ap. Ath. v. 204 b.

<sup>15</sup> Lysimachus' inspection of Demetrius' ships seems to belong to Demetrius' Cilician campaign of 300 or 299 (Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III. i. 221, n. 5), at which time Demetrius' largest vessel was the *τρискаϊδεκῆρης* (Plut. *Dem.* 31, 32). The *ἐκκαϊδεκῆρης* was built for the war against the coalition (Plut. *Dem.* 43).

<sup>16</sup> Memnon xiv. can allude to Gonatas as [ὁ] ἡττηθείς τῷ ναυτικῷ.

abnormal type. And one of the first events of Gonatas' reign was, as we have seen, the complete defeat of what remained to him of his father's navy by a fleet led by a great ship of abnormal type, itself probably the answer to a *τρискаιδεκήρης*. That this defeat left a considerable impression on Antigonos goes without saying; and we are bound, I think, to see in the *τριάρμενος* a development of the principle of (I can hardly say an answer to) Lysimachus' *octeres*.

The word *τριάρμενος* occurs again, applied to the large Egyptian cornships of a later time.<sup>17</sup> Mr. Cook thinks it means a three-decker; and if Antigonos' ship were modelled on that of Lysimachus, it *would* have been a three-decker, *i.e.* two *καταστρώματα*, and a third deck below the rowers' benches.<sup>18</sup> The ship then may have represented, as against the ordinary galley, an attempt to gain height and stability, both for greater catapult-range at a distance and for advantage in fighting at close quarters.<sup>19</sup>

B.—τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη.

Moschion,<sup>20</sup> after giving a long description of Hiero's ship the *Syrakosia*, compares with it, or rather declines to compare with it (which comes to the same thing), the *ἱερὰ τριήρης* of Antigonos, with which he defeated the generals of Ptolemy off Leucolla in Cos, 'since he dedicated the ship to Apollo.' As Antigonos could not well fight in a ship that was already an *ἀνάθημα*, it seems as if the only<sup>20a</sup> way of making anything of the last clause would be to suppose that the writer meant (but failed to express) that Antigonos had vowed the ship to Apollo in the event of victory, and dedicated it after, which is possible enough. The knot, however, has been cut by the universal adoption of Meineke's conjecture *ὅπου δῆ*. But history cannot be written by the aid of conjectural emendations; and all we can safely say of the text as it stands is, that the dedication of the ship was connected with the battle of Cos, that is, of course, that it took place after it.

With this very elementary consideration there vanishes the whole legend of the dedication of this ship at the Triopian sanctuary, a legend woven round Meineke's conjecture.<sup>21</sup> In view, however, of the wide acceptance of both emendation and legend, I propose to consider them on their merits, before substituting what I believe to be the true version.

<sup>17</sup> Lucian, *πλοῖον* 14; cf. *ψευδολόγος* 27. See A. B. Cook, art. 'Ships,' in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 485.

<sup>18</sup> This last must follow as a matter of course, if the view that in their oarage these vessels were analogous to galleys a *scaloccio*, which I have taken (*J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, pp. 137, 204), be correct. See further n. 65.

<sup>19</sup> See n. 65.

<sup>20</sup> *Ap. Athen.* v. 209 e. *παρέλιπον δ' ἐκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη, ἣ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς περὶ Δεύκολλαν τῆς Κώας,*

*ἔπειδῃ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν.* Nothing of course turns on the word *τριήρη*.

<sup>20a</sup> It has been suggested to me, whether *ἔπειδῃ καὶ* could mean 'when,' *i.e.* 'after which.' This is the sense one wants, but I do not know if it is possible. *ἔπειδῃ γε καὶ* occurs *Thur.* 6, 18, but in the sense of 'especially since.'

<sup>21</sup> By Otto Benndorf in Conze, Hauser and Benndorf, *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, vol. ii. p. 84.

The dedication of a warship, not taken from the enemy but one's own, is unique in Greek history.<sup>22</sup> If, however, Antigonus desired to honour some god in this fashion, religion provided an appropriate deity; and if for some reason he found Poseidon, whom his father had delighted to honour, unsuitable, one would have expected his thoughts to have turned to Pan, the friendly patron who had already aided him in two of the chief victories of his career.<sup>23</sup> There must have been some quite overmastering reason for the selection of Apollo, a god in no way concerned with sea-fighting.

Now *ὅπου* can only mean 'upon Cos.' But there is no reason, overmastering or other, for a dedication to Apollo upon Cos. The god of Cos was Asklepios; and Apollo, though worshipped there, counted relatively for so little, that he could be reckoned merely one of the 'other gods,' a mere *σύμβωμος* or *σύνναος* of the divine physician.<sup>24</sup> In face of this, the fact that Cos appears somewhat later under Antigonid jurisdiction is hardly material.<sup>25</sup>

It has been seen that Cos will not do: and the unfortunate *ὅπου* has consequently been strained past all bearing in order to make it refer to the Triopian shrine on the mainland. The accepted view is, that the ship was dedicated to Apollo at this shrine, a view supported by references to a well-known coin<sup>26</sup> and a well-known epigram.<sup>27</sup>

The coin shews, on the obverse a head of Poseidon, his hair bound with a 'marine plant,' on the reverse Apollo seated on the prow of a ship. That the coin belongs to Gonatas, and commemorates the dedication of his ship to Apollo after Cos, I have no doubt; but it is difficult to follow Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in bringing it into connexion with the Triopian festival. For this was not a festival in honour of Poseidon and Apollo, as Imhoof-Blumer states. Herodotus indeed mentions Apollo only, but in an informal way,<sup>28</sup> and his statement is not necessarily inconsistent with other deities participating. But our only other authority, the Scholiast on Theocritus xvii., apparently quoting from Aristides, mentions in one place, as the deities in whose honour

<sup>22</sup> There is only one instance even of the dedication of a complete vessel taken from the enemy, viz. after Salamis (Herod. viii. 121). The practice was to dedicate the beaks only, or the *ἀκρωτήρια*; so in the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (Paus. x. 11. 5), and on the Roman *columnae rostratae*; cf. the ships' beaks in the Delian inventories, and Dar. Sagl. *Donarium*.

<sup>23</sup> *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 273-4.

<sup>24</sup> The inscription from Cos in honour of Cephisophon (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 42; see Herzog, *Könische Forschungen und Funde*, 1899, pp. 1-10) mentions a letter of Ptolemy II. to the people of Cos about some offerings which he had sent *ταῖς τε [Ἀ]σκληπιῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς*. Dr. Herzog points out that the *ἄλλοι θεοί* must be those who were *σύμβωμοι*, *σύνναοι*, or *σύννοικοι* of Asklepios; and the list of these,

known to us from Herondas iv. 1 *seq.*, comprises Coronis, Apollo, Hygieia, Panace, Epio, Iaso, Podalirius, Machaon, *χῶσοι θεοὶ σὴν ἐστὶν κατοικεῦσιν*.


<sup>25</sup> Paton and Hicks, xxxii. = Newton, *Gr. Inscr. in B.M.* No. 247 = Collitz-Bechtel, 3611 = No. 6 in J. Delamarre, *Rev. Phil.* (1902) xxvi. 301: attributed to Doson's reign.

<sup>26</sup> Tetradrachm of Antigonus Gonatas; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 127: Head, *H.N.* 204; G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, 129.

<sup>27</sup> Kaibel, *Epigr.* 781 = Newton, *Inscr. in B.M.*, *Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Branchidae*, No. 797. See Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* xxix. 1874, p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Herod. i. 144.



the *ἀγών* was held, Poseidon and the Nymphs,<sup>29</sup> in another, the Nymphs, Apollo, and Poseidon.<sup>30</sup> There is no reason to doubt this, seeing that a further statement of the same writer, that the *ἀγών* was called *Δώριος*, is confirmed by two inscriptions.<sup>31</sup> It is possible that the *ἀγών* had changed its character since Herodotus wrote: it is more probable that Herodotus' notice is informal, and that Apollo had invaded an older sanctuary. But the coin agrees neither with Herodotus nor with Aristides: there *is* Poseidon, and there are no Nymphs. It has no connexion with Cnidus<sup>32</sup>: from the monogram  Imhoof-Blumer thought that the specimens which bear this monogram were struck at Demetrias in Magnesia.

But, apart from the coin, the Triopian sanctuary and festival, even if of some importance in the sixth century, had become a purely local affair. No inscriptions refer to it, so far as I know, except the two of Augustus' time already mentioned, where the games occur among other local or newly-created games: and these may be a revival only, for Strabo in his description of Cnidus<sup>33</sup> is silent as to games and sanctuary. It is mentioned once only in literature after Herodotus.<sup>34</sup> Of the Dorian Pentapolis, three towns, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus, had become of little importance since the foundation of Rhodes: while a fourth, Cos, looked, as did Rhodes herself, not to Triopia but to Delos; it was to Apollo at Delos that the theoriai of these two cities, in the first half of the third century, went year by year.<sup>35</sup> The festival must have sunk to a local appanage of the fifth city, Cnidus, in which shape it appears in the two inscriptions already cited. And the one important third century fact about it, that the Triopian sanctuary was honoured by Ptolemy Philadelphus, does not conflict with the view that it was of very subordinate importance; for Theocritus only assigns to it the same position in relation to Dorian Cos as Rheneia held in relation to Ionian Delos.<sup>36</sup>

It is clear that we cannot here find the overmastering reason which we require for a dedication to Apollo.

The real foundation for the view of the dedication which we are discussing is the epigram; and it ought to be abundantly clear that the theory which sees in the Antigonus of the epigram Antigonus Gonatas—a theory already rejected by Beloch and Dittenberger—cannot be upheld. The epigram commemorates the shrine near Cnidus of a hero, Antigonus son

<sup>29</sup> Schol. on Theocr. xvii. 61.

<sup>30</sup> Do. on Theocr. xvii. 67.

<sup>31</sup> καλεῖται δὲ Δώριος ὁ ἀγών. Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 677 (from Cos) Δώρεια τὰ ἐν Κνίδῳ; 679 (from Halicarnassus) Δωρεια ἐν Κνίδῳ; both of Augustus' time.

<sup>32</sup> That Prof. Bouché-Leclercq calls it a tetradrachm of Cnidus (*Hist. des Lagides*, 1. 194) must be a mere slip of the pen.

<sup>33</sup> Strabo. xiv. pp. 653, 656.

<sup>34</sup> Theocr. xvii. 68.

<sup>35</sup> See in particular the Delian inventories of Hypsocles' year (279 B.C. Homolle; *B.C.H.* xiv. 1890. p. 389 = Michel 833), and of Sosthenes' (250 B.C. Homolle; *B.C.H.* xxvii. 1903, p. 62). The Coan theoriai have been collected by Herzog, *op. cit.* 153.

<sup>36</sup> Theocr. xvii. 68-70. H. von Prött in *Rhein. Mus.* 53, p. 476, has got this curiously upside down. The cult came to Philadelphus through his mother. See Appendix.

of Epigonus, *and his wife*.<sup>37</sup> Now while there is plenty of evidence that, from the middle of the third century onward, the second generation of rulers after Alexander was referred to collectively as *οἱ ἐπίγονοι*,<sup>38</sup> there is none so far as I know to shew that a single member of that generation, such as Demetrius, could be referred to as Demetrius *ὁ ἐπίγονος*, much less as *ὁ ἐπίγονος* alone.<sup>39</sup> And even if it were possible, is it conceivable that the definite article could be omitted? Epigonus is quite a common name;<sup>40</sup> nevertheless, I suppose that if we found *Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιγόνου* in a third century inscription, instead of (as it happens) in one of Commodus' time,<sup>41</sup> some one would refer it to Antiochus Theos. In conclusion, I may make the obvious remark that a dozen shrines of Gonatas by name would have no bearing, one way or the other, on the question of the dedication of the ship. As a fact, however, we have no reason to suppose that Gonatas ever sought or obtained a footing upon the mainland.

I do not, however, like to leave Antigonus son of Epigonus without considering an alternative view which has been put forward, and which I think can be carried a little further. I have relegated this question to an appendix.

We can now return to the text of Athenaeus. An overmastering reason for dedicating a victorious warship to Apollo could, in Gonatas' case, arise in one way only: the Apollo must be the god of Delos. His object, which he in fact achieved, as shewn in my former paper, was the overthrow of the sea-power of Egypt and the bringing back under the rule of his house of the League of the Islanders, whose headquarters Delos was, and of the Aegean whose sea-power Delos typified. Delos was the centre, material and symbolic, of that rule of the sea which Gonatas desired to re-establish. As the would-be king of Babylon kissed the hands of Bel, so he who aspired to admiralty in the Aegean brought his gifts to the Delian Apollo. It was in Delos, when won, that Gonatas set up the statues of his ancestors; and no more significant way of proclaiming to the world the defeat of Egypt and the re-establishment of Demetrius' sea-power could be devised than for the victor to dedicate his now useless vessel to the god of what had been the very centre and symbol of the Egyptian naval supremacy. At Delos, then, if anywhere, we may expect to find some trace of the dedicated ship.

<sup>37</sup> πρὸς φίλου τέμενος ἥρωος Ἀντιγόνου.

καὶ γὰρ αἰδοῖσιν θυμέλη καὶ σηκὸς ὕ[π]ν  
ἀγχει

τῷ Ἐπιγόνου κούρῳ ξυνὸς ὁμουνέτιδος κ.τ.λ.

<sup>38</sup> The title of the history of Nymphis of Heraclea (*temp.* Ptol. Euergetes I.), as given by Suidas, was *περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιγόνων*. Earlier still, the second part of the *Histories* of Hieronymus of Cardia, written about 260-250 B.C., seems to have been called *περὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων*; Reuss, *H. von Kardia*, p. 6. For later dates, Diod. i. 33; Strabo, xv. p. 736; Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 6.

<sup>39</sup> M. Holleaux' conjecture in the decree of the Telmessians in favour of Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus (*B.C.H.* 1904, p. 408 = Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 55), *Πτολεμαῖον ἐπίγονον*, in the sense of 'son of the Diadochus Lysimachus,' is based expressly on this epigram, and seems open to precisely the same objections. If the missing word *must* be a surname, it may be one quite unknown to us; who, in similar circumstances, could have correctly restored 'Gonatas'?

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. and the indices to *I.G.* xii.

<sup>41</sup> *I.G.* xii. 7, 247:—from Minoa in Amorgus.

## C.—τὸ ἐν Δήλῳ πλοῖον.

Pausanias,<sup>42</sup> speaking of the Areopagus, says that near it is shewn the ship built for the Panathenaic procession. Some one, he thinks, may have surpassed (or conquered—the word *ὑπερεβάλετο* is ambiguous), this vessel; then he adds, ‘but I know that no one ever conquered the ship in Delos, which . . .’ The last seven words are untranslatable, as most of the material which might have supplied the key to their meaning is lost.

Why does Pausanias suddenly jump from the Areopagus to Delos, and why does he use the extraordinary word *νικήσαντα*?

The most recent commentators on Pausanias, Dr. Frazer and Hitzig, taking *ὑπερεβάλετο* and *νικήσαντα* to mean ‘surpassed in size,’ merely say that Pausanias was mistaken and that there *were* bigger ships than an *ἐννήρης*, instancing the *τεσσαρακοντήρης*, etc. I would rather follow Boeckh, who pointed out that we must not attribute to Pausanias such elementary ignorance.<sup>43</sup> Boeckh’s own conjecture was that the Delos ship was a *festival* ship, like the Panathenaic only larger and sailing only on land. If there had been such a festival at Delos, we ought perhaps, among the mass of material available since Boeckh’s day, to have heard something of it by now; and this theory, like the other, cannot explain *νικήσαντα*. For while *ὑπερβάλλεσθαι*, like our ‘beat,’ is ambiguous between the ideas of size and victory, *νικᾶν* is (at least so far as I can find) not ambiguous; it is our ‘conquer,’ and Pausanias must have had a reason for using it. For if I want to say ‘No one ever built a bigger ship than such and such a one,’ I do not say ‘No one ever conquered it.’ Moreover, if anyone says, as Pausanias is supposed to do, ‘*Perhaps* some one may have built a bigger ship than ship A,’ followed immediately by the statement ‘Ship B is the biggest ship that ever was in the world,’ he seems to me to be talking nonsense: it seems to me to be equivalent to saying ‘*Perhaps* there is a bigger ship than ship A, but anyhow ship B is bigger,’ which is surely a contradiction in terms.<sup>43a</sup> We must look therefore, I think, for an interpretation that does not rest upon the idea of *size*.

The first thing is to get the connexion of ideas. Pausanias has been speaking of the new ship built for the Panathenaic festival. Now the Panathenaic ship seems to have represented the ship of Theseus,<sup>44</sup> the ship which was perpetually kept in repair,<sup>45</sup> and sent with the sacred embassy to Delos<sup>46</sup>; and this Delian *theoria* had been for a while revived at Athens in Hadrian’s time: we know of at least four *theoriai* going.<sup>47</sup> Pausanias’ mental process therefore travels naturally from the new

<sup>42</sup> Paus. i. 29, 1: τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δέικνται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἤδη πού τις ὑπερεβάλετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθήκον ἐς ἐννέα ἐρέτας ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

<sup>43</sup> *Attisches Seewesen*, p. 77.

<sup>43a</sup> Even if I am wrong on this point, it does not affect the argument that the Delos ship was

that of Gonatas.

<sup>44</sup> C. Waldstein, *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.* i. pp. 10, 15; see J. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 565.

<sup>45</sup> Plut. *Theseus* 23; *An seni sit resp. ger.* 6.

<sup>46</sup> Plato, *Phaedo* 58 A, B.

<sup>47</sup> G. Colin in *B.U.H.* xxiii.85; von Schoeffer, *Delos*, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, col. 2500.

ship of the revived Panathenaea to the revived theoria sent to Delos, and this in turn reminds him of something which he knew, or which he had read about in some *Δηλιακά*, concerning a ship at Delos.

Now in his description of the Delos ship, though we cannot translate it, two points clearly appear. It had some ninefold arrangement of rowers, and it had more than one *κατάστρωμα*: that is to say, it was some unusual or abnormal form of *ἐννήρης* with more than one *κατάστρωμα*. But we have seen that the first great naval incident of Gonatas' reign was his defeat by a fleet led by an abnormal *ὀκτῆρης* with more than one *κατάστρωμα*; and there appeared every reason to suppose that his ship the *τριάρμενος*, which from its name should (we have seen) have had two *καταστρώματα*, was, according to the law of continuous development, built with reference to the type of that *ὀκτῆρης*. This can hardly be a coincidence; and the abnormal *ἐννήρης* of Delos, which literally 'goes one better' than Lysimachus' *ὀκτῆρης*, must be, or represent, Gonatas' *τριάρμενος*.<sup>48</sup> And it must also be the dedicated ship which we expected to find at Delos; for Gonatas can hardly have dedicated *two* great vessels there. Consequently, the ship which Pausanias knew of at Delos was Gonatas' *τριάρμενος*, his flagship at Cos, dedicated by him after his victory to Apollo at Delos.

The connexion of ideas in Pausanias' mind now becomes very plain. The Panathenaic ship represented the vessel of Theseus, dedicated on its return in triumph, moored near the Pythion,<sup>49</sup> and (though for long a triakontor<sup>50</sup>) known as *ἡ ἱερὰ τριήρης ἢ τῆς Παρθένου*.<sup>51</sup> The Delian ship was, or represented, the vessel of Gonatas, dedicated after its triumph, dedicated to Apollo, and (though an *ἐννήρης*) received into the ranks of the *ἱερὰι τριήρεις* and so called. The parallel is close. Whether it is still closer: whether Boeckh was right, and the Delos ship known to Pausanias was not in fact Gonatas' ship, but a copy of it, drawn on wheels at the Soteria or some other festival, after the fashion of the sacred ship of Smyrna which was carried round the market-place at the Dionysia to celebrate (so it was said) an old sea-victory of Smyrna over Chios;<sup>52</sup>—this we cannot decide.

We can, however, now perhaps explain *νικήσαντα*. Pausanias says that, for all he knew to the contrary, some one somewhere might at sometime have had the better of Theseus' ship; but that he knew that no one had ever been victorious over the Delos ship. The original dedication then must have borne some such inscription as 'ever-victorious,' which Pausanias had either read or read of. The ship then had been victorious on more than one occasion; and as we know that its building must belong to the revival of

<sup>48</sup> No doubt there is a relationship between this *ἐννήρης* and the great number of *ἐννήρεις* in Philadelphus' navy, just as his *ἐπτήρεις* must bear a relation to Demetrius' flagship at Salamis.

<sup>49</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 7.

<sup>50</sup> Plut. *Theseus* 23. We are never expressly

told that it became a trireme. See Boeckh, *Attisches Seewesen*, p. 76.

<sup>51</sup> Himerius, *Or.* iii. 12.

<sup>52</sup> Refs. in Frazer ad Paus. i. 29, 1. See, however, a totally different explanation of the Smyrna ship in Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 192.

Antigonos' navy at some time after the Chremonidean war (there being no other place for it),<sup>54</sup> its 'victories' were in fact two, the battles of Andros and Cos: we know of no other possible. But the dedication of the ship to Apollo is expressly connected with the victory of Cos. This confirms the conclusion already arrived at in my former paper, that Cos must be later than Andros; consequently to Cos the Soteria, the festival of the 'crowning mercy,' is rightly assigned.

I promised before<sup>54</sup> to explain the confusion which has led to our finding one and the same story told about both battles, a story which, even if true, can only have belonged to one of them. The explanation is now obvious. The story runs.<sup>55</sup> that before the battle some one said to Antigonos, 'Do you not see how the enemy's ships outnumber ours?', to which he replied, 'Against how many of their ships do you set me?' Plutarch or his source took this remark to mean that Antigonos thought his personal presence was worth a number of vessels to his side—'one blast upon his bugle horn were worth a thousand men'—(witness the addition of *παρόντα* in one version); and he notes that such a thought was not in keeping with the character of Antigonos, who was no boaster. This explanation therefore will not do. Neither can we make a point out of the fact that Antigonos was there and Ptolemy was not; for Ptolemy at the time was leading his land forces to victory, and a reflection on his absence from the fleet would have been impossible. The verbs employed both mean 'to range in order of battle against'; and the primary reference is to Antigonos' *ship*: 'against how many ships do you range this of mine?' 'Me,' by a common figure of speech, imports 'my command.' Both battles then occurring in the same campaign, and Antigonos being present at both on the same flagship, nothing was more likely to happen at a later time than uncertainty as to which of the two battles could lay claim to an anecdote about that famous vessel. To which of the two battles it did in fact belong we cannot of course decide.<sup>56</sup>

*D.—ἡ 'Αντιγόρου ναυαρχίς 'Ισθμία.*

There still remains one question to consider: the Poseidon of Gonatas' tetradrachm.

Plutarch, after giving the story of Timoleon and the parsley to shew that

<sup>54</sup> It cannot come *before* the war (*J.H.S.* xxix. 281); and it must come soon enough after to allow of Ptolemy II., before his death, building various ships larger than a *πεντεκαϊδεκῆρης*.

<sup>55</sup> *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 267.

<sup>56</sup> Plut. *De seips. laudando*, p. 545 B: 'Αντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος τᾶλλα μὲν ἦν ἔτυφος καὶ μέτριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Κῶν ναυμαχίᾳ, τῶν φίλων τινὸς εἰπόντος· οὐχ ὀρᾷς, ὅσαι πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολέμια νῆες; ἐμὲ δὲ ᾗ αὐτόν, εἶπε, πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττετε; Almost verbally repeated in *Apophthegm. regum*, p. 183 C, except that the *κυβερνήτης* puts the question, and Antigonos

answers ἐμὲ δέ, ἔφη, αὐτὸν παρόντα πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττετε; Plut. *Pelop.* ii.: 'Αντίγονος ὁ γέρων, ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἀνδρου ἐμελλεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες εἶεν· ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτόν, ἔφη, πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;

<sup>56</sup> I may remark here that the dedication of the ship at Delos shows, even more strongly than the building of the portico, that Gonatas expected no further trouble, and therefore confirms what I before deduced, that the war must have ended in a definite treaty, which gave him Delos and the Cyclades.

parsley (and not pine) had once been the Isthmian wreath, adds 'and moreover Antigonos' flagship, whose poop spontaneously burst into leaf with parsley, got the to-name Isthmia.'<sup>57</sup> This story is evidently meant to be on all fours with that of Timoleon. Now the point of the Timoleon story, as is well known, is, that parsley was the omen of death, that Timoleon's men on seeing it were cast down, and that he with great presence of mind recalled to them the fact that there was *one* Greek city where parsley meant, not death, but victory, and that for him therefore *as a Corinthian* it was a good omen. Obviously therefore, in the parallel story, since Antigonos himself was a Macedonian, the necessary Corinthian element can only have been supplied by the *ναυαρχίς* and its crew: this flagship came from Corinth, and could have come from nowhere else.

Which Antigonos was it? Not Doso, for he never went to sea after regaining Corinth. Not Monophthalmos, for at the time of the only sea-fight which he fought and won in person (Byzantium, 318 B.C.) he had nothing to do with Corinth; neither apparently had his ally Cassander, seeing that in 313 Corinth was still in the hands of Polyperchon.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the Antigonid connexion with Corinth begins first in 303,<sup>59</sup> only two years before the death of Monophthalmos, and at a time when he had long ceased to go to sea in person. The Antigonos in question is therefore Gonatas.

Corinth, like Athens, occupied a peculiar position in the composite realm of Gonatas, a position which, again like that of Athens, depended on sentiment no less than on facts. Of the naval arsenals of the Empire—Demetrias, Chalcis, Piraeus, Corinth—Corinth appears to have been the most important; and the reason for this, apart from facts such as the excellent harbours and docks, and the 'fetter' of the Acrocorinth, is to be found in the desire of Alexander's successors to attach themselves to him by any possible tie. If Ptolemy had his grave and name-city, Antigonos had something more than the home-land alone. Philip and Alexander had undertaken to conquer Persia as heads of a confederacy of Greek states formed at Corinth. When the first Antigonos and his son were attempting to reconstitute for themselves the undivided heritage of Alexander, Demetrius' first step was to revive the League of Corinth:<sup>60</sup> it was, so to speak, the regularisation of his position. And Gonatas, holding Corinth in fact, held in idea the heritage of Alexander in Europe, the potential headship of the Greek world: he represented the men who had formed and reformed the League. It must have been a useful counter in the political game played between Antigonid and Lagid; for although Ptolemy Soter's attempt to reconstitute the League in 308 under his own presidency had failed,<sup>61</sup> the Lagids had not let slip the idea, witness the ceremony at the celebration of the Isolympic games in honour of Ptolemy Soter. There in the procession were borne together the statues

<sup>57</sup> *Quaest. Conv.* v. 3, 2, p. 676 D: ἐτι τοίνυν ἡ Ἀντιγόνου ναυαρχίς ἀναφύσασα περὶ πρύμναν αὐτομάτως σέλινον Ἰσθμία ἐπωνομάσθη.

<sup>58</sup> Diod. xix. 74, 2.

<sup>59</sup> Diod. xx. 103, 1; Plut. *Dem.* 25.

<sup>60</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 25.

<sup>61</sup> Diod. xx. 37, 1-2; Suidas, *Demetrius*. See Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1, 150.

of Alexander and Ptolemy Soter, and beside Soter stood the city of Corinth crowned with a diadem of gold,<sup>62</sup> symbolic of the Corinthian League and the headship of the Greek world.

Gonatas then had a flagship built at Corinth, which won a victory: this is implied in the story. We only know of two naval victories of his, Andros and Cos; the ship therefore is identical with his ship dedicated at Delos, the *τριάρμενος*. After one of these battles (whether the old king really loaded up with parsley<sup>63</sup> or not) the ship got the name Isthmia in addition to its own name. Probably that name was Corinthia, for the following reason.

Moschion, we have seen, compares Gonatas' ship with Hiero's great vessel the Syrakosia, though the latter was far larger. The Syrakosia can hardly have been built before, or much before, the end of the first Punic war in 241; and a probable theory brings its presentation with a cargo of corn by Hiero to Egypt into connexion with the famine referred to in the decree of Canopus, a famine which took place somewhat earlier than the date of the decree (239/8 B.C.).<sup>64</sup> Hiero's ship was not a galley, or primarily intended for war; she was a glorified round ship, though three-decked and armed like a floating fort; this furnishes a reason for supposing that the interpretation of *τριάρμενος* as a vessel taller and heavier than the galley-type is correct.<sup>65</sup> For Hiero's ship, by the law of development, did not spring out of nothing: her genesis must have been due, at least in part, to the tremendous renown

<sup>62</sup> Ath. v. p. 201 d. Cf. J. Delamarre, *Rev. Phil.* xx. p. 114; J. Kaerst, *Gesch. des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, II. i. p. 401.

<sup>63</sup> As there are a number of parallels between this ship and that of Theseus, we may wonder if this story has any connexion with the *πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη* of the latter when starting for Delos (Plato, *Phaedo* 58 A). In the war against Philip V., in 199, the proconsul P. Sulpicius apparently copied Gonatas' 'omen' (Livy xxxii. 1, 12 lauream in puppi navis longae enatam); but the sole and perhaps unexpected result was the decreeing of a supplicatio.

<sup>64</sup> Dittenb. *O.G.I.* s. 56, l. 13; Niese ii. 196; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, i. 253.

<sup>65</sup> *εἰκόσροπος* (Ath. v. 207 c) *τριπάρδοδος* δέ. *εἰκόσροπος* is the round merchant ship; Hom. *Od.* 9, 323 *φορτίδος εὐρείης*; Hesych. *φορτηγοῦ τελείας*. No doubt it also meant a ship of twenty oars, as the lexicographers say, and see Pollux 1, 82; but the Syrakosia was not rowed by twenty two-handed oars. *τριπάρδοδος* is clearly shewn by the description (whatever *πάρδοδος* means elsewhere) to be used here for a three-decker. This supports the view that *τριάρμενος* means three-decker. We meet a round ship, armed and with a beak, in action against a galley, on a sixth century vase (Torr, *Anc. Ships*, Fig. 16). At a later time we have

explicit mention of warships of a mixed type; App. *b.c.* v. 95, Octavia presents her brother with *δέκα φασήλοις τριηρικαίοις, ἐπιμύκτοις ἐκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν καὶ μακρῶν*: half round ship, half galley. Such must have been the nature of Gonatas' ship; on the one hand it was rowed, while Hiero's was not; on the other, it must have been of comparatively heavy tonnage, if timber enough for some fifteen quadriremes was built into it (Ath. v. 206 f compared with 209 e), while *τριάρμενος* was used later of heavy merchant vessels (ii. 17). The extra height would be partly for the sake of catapult range (Ath. v. 208 c), but also for fighting at close quarters; and the armament of Hiero's ship, of which only the extra large catapult was Archimedes' invention, may well give a clue to that of Gonatas; towers, grapnels, and yards fitted for dropping stones on the enemy. It is conceivable that the *ἐκκαϊδεκήρης* of Philip V. (Livy xxxiii. 30 *inhabilis prope magnitudinis*) was of this type carried to an extreme, and was by no means the same as the very efficient *ἐκκαϊδεκήρης* of Demetrius I. (Plut. *Dem.* 43). Gonatas may have beaten Egypt by much the same methods as Rome, getting Corintho-Macedonian ideas through Sicily, employed against Carthage in the first Punic war.

of Gonatas' ship—(a renown we have been collecting scrap by scrap from our hopelessly mutilated tradition)—which she was intended to surpass. A naval architect, Archias, was sent for from Corinth to build her—possibly he was the actual builder of the *τριάρμενος*;—and she was named after Hiero's city, Corinth's daughter-town. Her exemplar then can hardly have been called anything but Corinthia. For the parallel of the two ships lasted even to a change of name: as the Corinthia was renamed Isthmia after the Isthmian festival, so Hiero, when he sent the Syrakosia to Egypt, renamed her Alexandris.<sup>66</sup>

To return to the coin. The Apollo on the prow is, we have seen, Apollo of Delos. The Poseidon, his head wreathed with a 'marine plant,' must be Poseidon of the Isthmus; for we find Poseidon, his head similarly wreathed with a 'marine plant,' on copper coins of Corinth,<sup>67</sup> and the coincidence can hardly be unintentional.<sup>68</sup> Whether the 'marine plant' can possibly represent the Isthmian parsley I must leave to others to say. But we may suppose, if we will, that Poseidon himself stood, then as later, on the mole of the harbour of Cenchreae,<sup>69</sup> and thence surveyed the launch of the Corinthia; and I take it that the famous coin celebrates, so to speak, the life history of this ship; Poseidon, its birth at Corinth and its winning of the Isthmian name; Apollo, its victorious end at Delos.

## APPENDIX.

### ANTIGONUS SON OF EPIGONUS.

In the Delian inventory of Demares' year (*B.C.H.* 6, 1882, p. 1=Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 588), l. 94 appear two phialai, dedicated together under the hieropes of nine years before =189 B.C. (Homolle), by Ptolemy son of Lysimachus and Antipater son of Epigonus. From the conjunction of the gifts, Dittenberger thought that the latter donor, like the former, should be of royal race, of the house of some successor of Alexander, but pointed out that the name Epigonus is not known in any such house. He suggested, however, that Antipater might be a brother of our Antigonos son of Epigonus (whose date is unknown). Can one take the matter a little further?

Antigonos son of Epigonus appears as one who cultivated (*φιλιόν*) the Triopian festival. We know of one family, and one only, which did this, that of Berenice the

<sup>66</sup> Though this is the feminine of *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς* (*Etym. Mag.* 389, 15), may it not refer to the festival of Alexander's worship rather than to the city?

<sup>67</sup> Head, *H.N.* p. 339; period *circ.* B.C. 338-243. Dr. Head himself gives the comparison. The same type of Poseidon appears on other coins of Gonatas (Head, *H.N.* 203, 204): in the case of the Isthmian Poseidon this is only to be expected.

<sup>68</sup> The resemblance to the coins of Corinth seems to me to dispose of several alternative views, such as: (a) that Poseidon can refer to

Triopia; (b) or to Delos, where his worship was active, including perhaps (F. Durrbach in *B.C.H.* 1905, p. 524, No. 179, l. 10) a naval sham fight at the Poseideia; (c) or is merely a reminiscence of Demetrius' coinage after Salamis, typifying naval victory in general: if indeed Demetrius' Poseidon of the second series (Head, Fig. 144) do not refer to the Isthmian congress, one of the fruits of victory, as much as to the victory itself.

<sup>69</sup> Paus. ii. 2, 3. The statue actually seen by Pausanias may have replaced one there before the destruction of Corinth.



second wife of Ptolemy Soter : she was (Schol. Theocr. 17, 61) daughter of an Antigone who was daughter of a Cassander who was brother of one Antipater, who cultivated the Triopian festival. [Not Cassander the king, on the dates ; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III. 2, 128.] We have here a family which included both the names we require, Antigonus (in the form Antigone ; so also Berenice's daughter) and Antipater ; while two of its members, Antipater and Ptolemy Philadelphus, are the only people we know, other than our Antigonus, who were devotees of the Triopian cult.

Ptolemy son of Lysimachus has a tremendous literature of his own ; references and theories collected by M. Holleaux, *B.C.H.* 28, 1904, p. 408. Probably there were two of him ; but the point here is (and I need go no further), that on *every* theory yet put forward the Ptolemy so designated in Demares' list must be (or rank as) a descendant of Berenice through Arsinoe Philadelphus. If then we conjecture that the two sons of Epigonus (who need not belong to the same generation at all) belonged to Berenice's house, we see, not only that the two donors of 189 B.C. (rather perhaps 188) were a kind of relations, but that their connexion with the royal house of Egypt fits in well with the occasion : their offering can hardly have been anything but a compliment to Rome, the friend of Egypt, who had just definitely become mistress of the Aegean. It is perhaps a fair conjecture, from the occurrence in each case of the rare name Cassander together with Antipater, that Berenice's family was a collateral of that of Antipater the regent, and that she was therefore Eurydice's 'cousin' as well as maid of honour.

It is obvious that the conjecture that Antigonus son of Epigonus was a member of Berenice's house can be nothing but a conjecture, till we can prove the name Epigonus in that house. I have failed to see any satisfactory way of bringing it into relation with M. Holleaux' before-mentioned reading Πτολεμαίων ἐπιγ[ονο]ν in the decree of the Telmessians in favour of Ptolemy son of Lysimachus.

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#### A CORRECTION.

M. Schulhof has pointed out to me that in making the Theuergeria date from the archonship of Mantitheos (§ E of my former paper) I have misunderstood him, and I take the earliest opportunity of correcting this error, which I much regret. His reference in fact was to the third Ptolemaieia : the commencement of the Theuergeria is unknown. (I may add that a new inscription—*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* vol. 5 (1909), p. 158, No. 2—seems to show that Ptolemy III. did not acquire his cult-name till some little time after his accession.) This being so, the question of the precise date of the accession of Ptolemy III. only creates a difficulty if the third Ptolemaieia are the accession foundation of this monarch. I think they will turn out to be this, on the analogy of the first Ptolemaieia and the Demetrieia ; but they *may* of course fall in the reign of Ptolemy II., and this possibility may remove the objection to my suggested dating, which I thought I had to consider, viz.:—the possibility of Mantitheos' year falling *before* the actual accession of Ptolemy III.

W. W. TARN.

## EGYPT'S LOSS OF SEA-POWER: A NOTE.

By the courtesy of Professor Ferguson and of the Editors of this *Journal* I have had the opportunity of reading Mr. Ferguson's article in proof, and the editors have kindly offered me space for a short reply.

While I agree with much in Mr. Ferguson's valuable paper, and am delighted to see that he ascribes Andros to Gonatas, I find myself unable to accept his dating of the two battles. To go fully into the questions involved is, of course, impossible here; and I confine myself simply to the objections which Mr. Ferguson has raised to my view.

If Sophron could not have commanded for Egypt in 246 (on which I express no opinion), it proves that *Sophrona* is not an admissible conjecture for Trogus' *prona*; nothing else.—That Trogus mentions Andros alone is a real difficulty. But we have to choose between him and the contemporary evidence of the coins. Mr. Ferguson agrees with me that the two sets of tetradrachms refer to Lysimacheia and Cos; if Andros was the decisive victory, why no corresponding coin? In my view, too, Egypt had ruled the sea unbeaten for forty years, and this or that writer may well have treated her *first* defeat as the crucial point.—I know of no reason for supposing that Plutarch's reference to Antigonos at Cos is from Phylarchus.—Ephesus Miletus, and the other towns that fell to the Seleucids in the second Syrian war were presumably taken from the land side.—As to the death of Alexander of Corinth, the events recorded Plut. *Arat.* xv. must come *before* Euergetes' expedition (as de Sanctis pointed out), and Gonatas at the time is back in Corinth; *ergo*, Alexander was dead by 247. Aratus in 245 obviously went to the help of Boeotia by *sea*; his fleet had just been plundering the Aetolian coast, Plut. *Arat.* xvi. Nothing shews Alexander was alive at the date of *I.G.* ii. 5, 371 c (Kolbe, *die attischen Archonten* 1908, p. 61); but taking Mr. Ferguson's own ground (*Priests of Asklepios* 166), the *latest* date for this decree is summer 248, and if Alexander died that autumn, Antigonos could well be in Corinth by the autumn of 247. When Alexander died, Nicaea kept the fortress, and Antigonos *at once* (εὐθύς, *Arat.* xvii.) sent Demetrius to woo her. There are no events to compress; a year from Alexander's death to Nicaea's second marriage (a marriage of ambition) is ample.—Euergetes, in my view, after 246, had to buy off one of his enemies. Antigonos took the Cyclades and made peace, leaving Euergetes a free hand along the coast of Asia, which Antigonos never considered as

within his 'sphere.' I never supposed that Egypt ceased to be a considerable sea-power after 246; till she lost Phoenicia, this was impossible. In 246 Euergetes went with part of his fleet as far as Antioch (Gurob Papyrus). After that, as he was operating both by land and sea, he was *bound* to be with the army, the superior service throughout antiquity. [See also *ante*, p. 218.]—As to the events of 254, I may mention an unnoticed factor, the 'peace' of 257 (*B.C.H.* 1908, p. 57, no. 10, and p. 59). A peace affecting the islands ought to be a peace between Ptolemy and Antigonus; and about now the two were co-operating in Bithynia (Memnon 22). It looks like a new reason against placing Cos in 256/5, but requires further consideration.

In Mr. Ferguson's view, Gonatas waited for his decisive battle with Egypt till Euergetes was free of all his troubles in Syria, while he (Gonatas) had meanwhile (243) lost his chief naval base and part of his fleet. But the real point is the Paneia and Soteria. It is difficult enough to suppose that Antigonus, entering the Aegean in Ptolemy's absence, established a festival called Paneia; that, with the dominant fleet of Egypt unbroken, he should found one with the name Soteria is to me incredible. And if Antigonus broke Egypt's sea-power in 242/1, why did the victor of the Aegates Insulae forthwith offer Euergetes help—*against Syria*?

One word as to Mr. Ferguson's theory of the Ptolemaieia (note 67), on which some of his dates are based. Five separate Ptolemaieia enter into the history of the islands at this time, and Mr. Ferguson appears to treat three of them as being 're-endowments' of the Alexandrian penteteris. We have (1) the penteteris at Alexandria (name *B.C.H.* 1900, p. 287), in which was worshipped first Ptolemy Soter (Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 202) and later the *θεοὶ σωτῆρες* and Alexander (H. von Prott, *Rhein. Mus.* 53, 460); (2) the federal Ptolemaieia of the League of the Islanders (*B.C.H.* iv. p. 323, no. 11, l. 13) in which was worshipped first Soter (*Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 202 *ἰσοθέοις τιμαῖς*, cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, p. 101) and later Soter and Ptolemy II. (*B.C.H.* 1907, p. 340, no. 3, l. 24); interval unknown, but perhaps, like the earlier Antigoneia, a trieteris; (3, 4, and 5) Schulhof's first, second, and third Ptolemaieia (at Delos). These three have absolutely nothing to do with the worship of any Ptolemy; they are annual fêtes, with yearly sacrifices and consecrations of *φιάλαι*, in honour of Apollo. A yearly fête at Delos, in which Apollo was worshipped, can hardly be a 're-endowment' or 're-establishment' of a penteteris at Alexandria in honour of the *θεοὶ σωτῆρες*: the second and third, moreover, are separate foundations and not even re-endowments of the first, for the inventory of Stesileos (l. 88) shews that all the *φιάλαι* were offered *concurrently*, with a separate *ἐπιστάτης* for every vase every year. And as in each case we have to seek the particular circumstance which led Ptolemy to honour Apollo, any one of the three might (if dates suited) be an accession fête as well as anything else, exactly like the (Delian) Demetrieia.

This being so, I do not see how we can say that the first, second, or third Ptolemaieia must have been founded in the first year of an Olympiad, or use such a theory as a means of settling dates. There is, moreover, another reason against part of Mr. Ferguson's dating. Professor Dürrbach tells me

that it is now almost certain that the archon Lysimachides (Schulhof's so-called '6th archon') is a very early archon, probably prior to Delian independence. Consequently the necessity which Mr. Ferguson felt he was under of inserting this archon between 251 and 247 appears to exist no longer; and it should be sufficient to take all the dates between Lysixenos and Anectos back two years at most. It is quite possible that one year will ultimately be found sufficient.

W. W. TARN.

SOME BRONZES RECENTLY ACQUIRED FOR THE  
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

[PLATES XII.-XVI.]

IN 1897 Professor Furtwängler, whose loss we feel more and more, published in the Proceedings of the Academy of Munich certain early bronzes from various parts of Greece and Italy, and belonging to various Museums. He then observed how great is the importance of these bronze statuettes of good Greek work, seeing that larger bronze statues have almost wholly disappeared, and the masterpieces of the great bronze-casters survive only in marble copies of the Roman age. With this suggestive observation I fully concur.

The excavations of recent years have brought to light a considerable number of important Greek bronze statuettes, which can be in some measure dated by the circumstances of finding, as well as by style. Many of these are in the National Museum at Athens, published by De Ridder. A certain number, as is natural in the case of such small and valuable objects, have been exported from Greece and Italy and purchased by great Museums or by private collectors. Unfortunately in regard to many of these the place and circumstances of finding must always be doubtful, as it is not in the interest of the seller that the truth should be known.

A few important bronzes have been acquired for the Ashmolean Museum by the energy of the late Keeper, Dr. A. J. Evans. Some of these I propose to publish in the following pages, with the kind consent of Dr. Evans and the present Keeper. I shall select only such as are interesting in style or subject, and throw light on the history of Greek art.<sup>1</sup>

No. 1 (Pl. XII. 1).—The first bronze was presented to the Museum by Dr. A. J. Evans in 1897. It is a relief cut out of a very thin plate of bronze with repoussé figures which are finished off by engraving. It comes from Crete and belongs to a small group of very archaic Cretan works. One

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<sup>1</sup> For the whole class see especially De Ridder's Catalogues of the bronzes from the Acropolis and in the Museum of the Archaeological Society, and his paper in *Bull. Corr.*

*Hellén.* 1900, p. 1: Furtwängler's papers of 1897 and 1899 in the Transactions of the Academy of Munich: and the British Museum *Catalogue of Bronzes*.

of these bronzes represents two hunters quarrelling for the possession of a wild goat,<sup>2</sup> which one of them carries on his shoulders.

The present bronze represents a hunter to l. kneeling on r. knee. He



FIG. 1.—BRONZE IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN.

is clad in a short chiton, sewn up the side and leaving the arms free : it is

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<sup>2</sup> Now in the Louvre. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 Tav. d'agg. T ; cf. Milchhoefer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 169.

girt in at the waist; the seam is marked by a line of pattern. The r. leg of the hunter is missing from the middle of the thigh; his head is hidden; in the r. hand he grasps a staff, with the l. he supports on his shoulder by the horn a wild-goat which is tied, hind legs and neck, in the Egyptian fashion. The head of the goat is facing. Size  $108 \times 74$  mm.

There is a very similar figure in the National Museum of Copenhagen.<sup>3</sup> By the courtesy of Dr. Sophus Müller, the Keeper, I am enabled to publish it (Fig. 1). It represents a hunter similarly clad; in his r. hand he holds a bow, with the l. he supports on his shoulder by the horn an ibex; a quiver is slung at his side. The ibex seems of great size; one can make out the head (inverted) and the beard, with one horn; the rest is missing, and it is hard to make out how it was placed; the cord which hangs down the l. side of the hunter in a loop has no apparent connexion with it. Size  $142 \times 50$  mm.

In all three of these bronzes I am disposed to see an ordinary hunting scene. The Cretan wild goat, which figures in the *Iliad*<sup>4</sup> as providing horns of which bows are made, was notorious. Furtwängler is disposed to regard the group of two figures as representing a dispute between Apollo and Heracles.<sup>5</sup> That dispute, properly speaking, was in regard to the possession of the Delphic tripod; but there are vases, notably a black-figured vase published by Gerhard,<sup>6</sup> on which the place of the tripod is taken by a deer. It is suggested that the Cretan goat might also be a subject of dispute between the two deities. There is something to be said for this view; but I prefer on the whole to regard all four of the figures represented on the reliefs as ordinary hunters.

Such figures in bronze, cut out, and fastened on to a surface of wood or metal represent a very early phase of Greek art. Examples are to be found in the figure of Heracles kneeling, from Olympia,<sup>7</sup> a Gorgon and a cock in the Athenian National Museum, and a boar found at Metapontum. Such appliqué figures are common in early Etruscan art, the method being probably borrowed by the Etruscans from Ionia. A similar appliqué group of Heracles and the lion, of much later period, was in the Sabouroff collection (Pl. CXLVIII).

The style of these bronzes is very distinctive. In some respects, the smallness of the man's waist, the thinness of his legs, the extraordinary involution of the type, we may trace a decided likeness between the Ashmolean bronze and works of the later Minoan art. At the same time the work is certainly Greek. The likeness to the silhouetted figure of Herakles from Olympia is striking, though the differences are also considerable. The Cretan work is far more delicate and finished: it would be difficult to match it for detail among early Greek reliefs. The artist's sense of form is true: the anatomy of knees and other parts is well given. The man's head, by a curious piece of awkwardness, is not visible: we have to supply it from

<sup>3</sup> To which my attention was called by Mr. E. T. Leeds.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, p. 2200.

<sup>6</sup> *Auserl. Vascul.* Pl. CI.

<sup>7</sup> *Olympia, Bronzes*, Pl. XI; cf. p. 108.

the other examples, where the pointed beard of one of the men reminds us of vases of the seventh century.<sup>8</sup> The way in which the chiton is drawn up through the girdle, so as to form a kolpos, is remarkable. The date must be the seventh century, or but little later; and the time is indicated by Greek tradition as a flourishing period in Cretan art, when the earliest of the Daedalid artists were at work.

No. 2 (Pl. XIII. 1).—Figure of Athena standing.—She wears a close-fitting helmet with long crest falling down the back and three projections in front: also a long chiton. The upper part of the body is covered, back and front, with what looks like a second garment falling from shoulders to waist, and marked all over by stippling. It is very hard to say whether this is intended for the over-fold of the chiton, or for a separate garment, or for the aegis, which in the case of many archaic Athenas covers both back and breast. In any case there seems to be some confusion, arising from the artist copying a type which he only imperfectly understood. The stippling seems to me to tell in favour of the view that the garment is an aegis.

Her hair falls in a long mass behind to the waist, three rows of formal curls are above the forehead, four long curls fall over the breast. The l. leg of the goddess is slightly advanced, her r. hand, which is raised, is pierced to hold the lance, the l. arm is bent before the body; probably a shield was attached to it. The folds of the chiton are indicated by wavy lines. Feet wanting. Height 110 mm.

This is an example of a late archaic or transitional Palladian, in the attitude of combat. The face shews the archaic smile, but is carefully moulded: the legs shew well through the chiton. The goddess is not striding freely, neither is she standing, but in an intermediate attitude. The figure was acquired by Mr. Evans at Aegium, in Achaia, in 1896. It may probably have come from the interior of Peloponnese. In connexion with this source it is interesting to observe how many archaic fighting figures of Athena were venerated in the cities of Peloponnese, most of them probably being cultus images. The following are figured in the *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*:—

Megara	A. 11	FF. 3
Cleonae	H. 1	Perhaps by Dipoenus and Scyllis
Troezen	M. 5	Perhaps by Callon
Messene	P. 7	
Pellene	S. 10	Early Pheidian, according to Pausanias
Tegea	V. 21	Possibly by Endoeus
Pylos	GG. 24	

The small scale of the coins, and in many cases their careless execution, does not allow us clearly to discern by their help the progress of the

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<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* Benndorf, *Griech. u. Sicil. Vasenb.* Pl. LIV.



Palladian type, from the time of Dipoenus and Scyllis to that of Pheidias. But some of the figures, such as those at Cleonae and Troezen, seem to be very stiff, with the legs close together. The figure at Pellene seems decidedly to be meant for a copy of an early work of Pheidias, made, as Pausanias says,<sup>9</sup> before the Athenas at Athens and Plataeae. It is in an attitude not unlike that of our figure, with the legs a little way apart; but the head and the chiton are much less primitive.

It is interesting to compare our statuette with the bronze Athenas found on the Acropolis of Athens, though this comparison may be somewhat misleading in regard to the date of our figure, since the Ionian and Nesiotic influences which had course at Athens in the age of Pisistratus sent that city far ahead of the towns of Peloponnesus in beauty of style. Two points, the long curls falling over the breast, and the long wavy lines by which the folds of the peplos are represented, are common to our Athena and the beautiful dedicated Corae of Athens of the Pisistratid age; but the heads cannot be compared. A small bronze Athena of the Acropolis<sup>10</sup> closely resembles our figure in the position of the arms, the hanging over-fall of the peplos, and the attitude generally. And in spite of the difference in artistic value the two bronzes may well belong to about the same time, the latter part of the sixth century.

The three projections which surmount the helmet are curious. At first sight they seem to resemble the rosettes sometimes seen in that position in terra-cotta figures; but that clearly is not the explanation in the present case. They belong to the helmet, and those at the sides are in the place where cheek-pieces when turned back are placed.

No. 3 (Pl. XII. 2).—A bearded warrior. He wears crested helmet with cheek-pieces and nose-piece, greaves, and cuirass from neck to thigh: otherwise he is naked. The cuirass is engraved with a curious scroll pattern at top, and bands round the waist enlarging to a shield-like pattern round the navel.<sup>11</sup> The r. hand seems to have held a spear, a shield was probably on the l. arm. The inscription ΝΙΚΙΑΣΜΑΝΕΟΞΚΕΝ is engraved on the back, *boustrophedon*.

The head is primitive, with round staring eyes and mouth upturned at the ends; the muscles of the knees are represented on the greaves: the l. leg is in advance. The helmet is of unusual form, fitting smoothly over the head like a cap. Height 102 mm.

This figure was bought on the coast of Epirus, and was said to have come from Dodona. But, as we shall see, Peloponnesus is a more likely source. A work of decidedly archaic style, dating from about the third quarter of the sixth century, the statuette is of about the same period as the warrior from Olympia (*Bronzes*, Pl. VII. No. 41), though of very different style. It is incomparably inferior to the beautiful warrior from

<sup>9</sup> vii. 27, 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ephem. Arch.* 1887, Pl. VIII.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Evans suggests that we may see in

this pattern a survival of the early Cretan mitra.

Dodona now at Berlin, published by Engelmann,<sup>12</sup> who is disposed to attribute it to Aegina.

The forms of the letters in the inscription<sup>13</sup> and its arrangement remind us of a small class of inscriptions from Troezen and Methana, discussed in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 1900, p. 180,<sup>14</sup> which date from the time about B.C. 500. They are, however, not so distinctive as to be decisive. Athens is not excluded, and the name Nikias is predominantly, though not exclusively, Attic.

The style of the bronze is interesting and distinctive. One would naturally be disposed to regard it as of Aeginetan origin, though certainly earlier than the well-known pediments. It is to Aegina that Engelmann attributes the warrior from Dodona which I have already mentioned, though the long lock falling over the breast differentiates it from known works of the Aeginetan school. The most clearly Aeginetan among small bronzes is the very beautiful armed runner at Tübingen. Our figure seems to differ in some points from Aeginetan customs. The waist is decidedly small, and the helmet, which is of unusual form, differs from those of the Aeginetan pediments. I should therefore, on the whole, prefer to leave its workshop in doubt; though I feel confident that it was in the neighbourhood of Aegina. We need not attach any importance to the statement of the vendor, as he no doubt mentioned Dodona in order to enhance the value; and Mr. Evans was told that he had given various accounts of its provenience.

No. 4 (Pl. XIV.).—Young male figure from Chlembotsari, near Tanagra, Boeotia. The top of the head is missing, also the r. hand, the l. arm from the elbow, and both legs from above the knee: the l. leg is slightly advanced. A large bronze, cast hollow: a large hole in the back. Height 160 mm.: length of face 23 mm., breadth of shoulders 67 mm. The hair is not cut short, but falls in a wavy mass behind the head, part way down the neck; it is confined by a band. The face is rounded and stolid: the eyes large, the upper lid not coming over the lower at the corners; very coarse are the lines of the lower lip. The figure is very broad-shouldered and square built: the breasts are somewhat flat: the muscles of the abdomen are rather prominent, more so than in the case of the figures of the Olympia pediments, or the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, but the line of the bottom of the ribs is less clearly indicated. This same peculiarity is noted by M. Holleaux in the case of an archaic Apollo from the Ptoos temple,<sup>15</sup> which is, however, of course of a much earlier period. The fashion of the hair is noteworthy, and may be compared with that of Hera on the coins of Argos and the Polycleitan head (No. 1792) in the British Museum. In spite of its Peloponnesian aspect, this bronze may be of Boeotian fabric, as the art of Boeotia never has any clearly-marked local character, but is imitative in style.

<sup>12</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Pl. I. Other warriors of the same class *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xi. Pl. IX.; *Athen. Mittheil.* iii. 1.

<sup>13</sup> All except the  $\odot$ ; and this letter is so

indistinct that its form cannot be clearly made out.

<sup>14</sup> Compare *Athen. Mittheil.* 1909, p. 356.

<sup>15</sup> *B.C.H.* xi. 358.

There is one remarkable peculiarity about this figure. Looking through the hole in the back one sees the point of a sharp bronze nail which had been driven through the left breast, clearly after the statuette was complete, as the signs of penetration of the breast are clear, if we look at the inside, though outside the injury was subsequently repaired, and is no longer visible. One is at first tempted to think the nail is connected with sorcery: that the person who drove it in did so in malice. It is notorious that, according to the beliefs of ancient magic, an injury done to the image of a person passed on to the person himself. Many images in lead have come down to us which have been thus tortured.<sup>16</sup> Such images, however, are usually miserable as works of art: we can scarcely suppose that so good a statuette as the present can have been originally intended to serve so base a purpose. But we can cite authority to prove that even dedicated bronze images were sometimes thus foully used. Pausanias tells us that after a bronze statue of the great athlete Theogenes<sup>17</sup> of Thasos had been set up, one of his enemies used to resort to it at night, and to whip it: and we are told by Pausanias that he did so once too often, for one night the statue fell on him and crushed him.

However, in the absence of other examples of bronze statues used for magical purposes, we may prefer a simpler view, that the nail was inserted to remedy a flaw in the casting. It would scarcely be possible to drive a nail through a plate of bronze unless there existed a small hole through which to insert its point. But if a small hole existed and the nail were driven through it, and the head of the nail reworked, we should have an appearance like that presented by our figure. In this case we need not suspect the presence of malice.

We can I think scarcely hesitate to see in our statuette a portrait. It is quite possible that it may come from the temple of the Ptoian Apollo near Thebes, whence have been derived in recent years many figures of youths in marble and bronze. Deonna,<sup>18</sup> the most recent writer on these figures, has called them merely *Kouroi*, and left unsolved the question whether they are properly images of Apollo or of men. The testimony of our bronze is therefore valuable, though it may not be decisive.

No. 5 (Pl. XV. 1). Youth playing kottabos.—Evidently part of a *πάβδος* or bronze upright which supported the saucer into which the wine was thrown: a stem rises from the head of the figure. Youth naked, l. hand on hip: in r. held by fore-finger a kylix from which he is throwing the wine. Height 98 mm. This is a figure of slight build and careless execution. It was bought at Naples, and the patina seems to be that of South Italy: it was probably, unless imported, made in one of the Greek cities of Magna Graecia. The interest lies in the subject. Several vases are known<sup>19</sup> representing young

<sup>16</sup> See a paper by Nogara and Mariani in *Ausonia* for 1909.

<sup>17</sup> This appears to be the true spelling of the name rather than Theagenes. See *Berlin*

*Philol. Wochenschr.* 1909, p. 252.

<sup>18</sup> *Les Apollons archaïques*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> See references in Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Kottabos.

men in the act of playing kottabos. The game was evidently part of a fashionable carouse, and the youths and girls who play it make their throw usually without rising from their couches.

In the present bronze figure we have another phase of the game, in which it appears almost as an athletic sport. The player is naked and stands upright. He inserts his forefinger in one of the handles of a kylix and throws the wine forward over his shoulder at the mark.

No. 6 (Pl. XIII. 2). Draped female figure running.—A girl, clad in the doubled Doric peplos falling to her feet, running, holding in each hand a ball or apple. Her hair is represented by straight lines forwards and downwards: it is bound with a fillet, gathered in a knot at the back and turned over the fillet in front. The chiton is divided on the right side from ankle to knee. Height 68 mm. Believed to have come from the Peloponnese.

The simplicity of the action and of the folds of the garment, as well as the fashion of hair and face, seems to point to the school of Argos. A likeness to the Ligourio bronze is evident. We have a very simple but characteristic example of fifth-century art in Peloponnese. As regards the subject, Atalanta picking up the golden apples is naturally suggested. It is, however, far more probable that we have only a Dorian girl playing at ball. That she holds more than one ball is no objection to this view. In Greek games of ball more than one ball was quite usual; and in fact, this complication was the way in which the Greeks varied the extreme simplicity of ball-play.

No. 7 (Pl. XV. 2). Bearded Dionysus.—Dionysus striding, with long pointed beard, his hair bound with a fillet and falling down his back as far as the shoulders. He is clad in a girded chiton, with formal pleats down the front, and falling to the ankles; over his shoulders is a panther's skin, two paws of which fall at the back of his thighs, and two are tied on his breast. The head of the panther falls by r. arm; the end from eyes to mouth is broken away, but the ears are visible, and decisive that this is not the skin of a lion. Dionysus wears no sandals; his naked feet rest on a narrow band of bronze, shewing that the figure had been affixed to a cista or some other object. The hands are wanting. Height 110 mm. Presented by Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum.

A near parallel to our bronze is furnished by a group which originally surmounted the handle of a tripod, and was found on the Acropolis of Athens. Here a figure, bearded and clad in a long chiton and panther-skin, in all respects resembling our bronze, walks between two draped female figures, while the lower part of a fourth figure, who seems from the wings on his boots to be Hermes, appears to accompany the trio. This group is by De Ridder, in his *Catalogue*<sup>20</sup> of the Acropolis bronzes, thus described: 'Le groupe se compose de quatre personnages, deux virils, Hermes (?) et Héraklès, deux féminins, Iole (?) et une joueuse de double flûte. Le sujet est l'apothéose d'Héraklès.'

<sup>20</sup> Pp. xiv, 284, Pl. V.

I was myself at first disposed to see in our figure a Herakles; but on closer inspection the head and pointed ears of the panther are clear. Whether this head can also be made out on the Athens bronze I am unable to say; but there does not appear any clear indication that the skin there is leonine; certainly it does not cover the head, as would be the case if the figure were Herakles.

Thus we are justified in recognizing both in the Athenian group and the detached bronze of the Ashmolean very interesting representations of the bearded Dionysus. This is a figure common on vases, though rare in sculpture.<sup>21</sup> The long chiton with a panther-skin over it, the long pointed beard, the long hair, are all known in figures of Dionysus, both on black-figured and early red-figured vases, especially the latter. The taenia in place of a wreath of ivy is rare on vases.

Thus the group at Athens would represent not, as De Ridder supposes the apotheosis of Herakles, but Dionysus and Hermes with two nymphs. Is this group Greek or Etruscan? Furtwängler, struck by the likeness of the group to Etruscan work, declared it to be of Italian origin;<sup>22</sup> but this is in itself unlikely, and is disputed by De Ridder, who sees in it a Chalcidian representation. It is notoriously difficult to discriminate between the statuettes used for decoration which were made at Chalcis and those made in Etruria. But in this case I agree with De Ridder. And I think that our statuette also is of Greek work. At the same time it must be confessed that Mr. Fortnum's bronzes were bought in Italy.

As our figure is detached we cannot determine to what scene it belongs. The date is the early part of the fifth century.

No. 8 (Pl. XVI).—Female figure, naked; the right hand extended and the head turned towards it; the left hand turned downwards. The left foot is drawn back, and the line of the body describes a gentle curve. The hair is bound with a fillet and gathered in a knot at the back. There is a hole at the back, near the bottom of the spine, in which a support had been fixed. This figure came from the De Janzé collection (*Cat.* No. 357): it was bought by Mr. Oldfield, and by him presented to the Ashmolean Museum. Height 135 mm. Length of face 13 mm.

This bronze is probably of Italian origin. It is of an eclectic type. The character of the head and the fashion of the hair are Polycleitan, and much resemble the well-known Amazon. The pose also is Polycleitan, resembling that of the Doryphorus. But the proportions of the body belong to another and later school. The figure is slight and tall. Though the head is deep from back to front the face is of oval shape, without the strong bones of the Polycleitan head. It is far smaller in proportion to the body than that of typical Polycleitan figures. The statuette is called in the De Janzé catalogue an Aphrodite and in fact there was an Aphrodite

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Thraemer in Roscher's *Lexikon* i. pp. 1090-1122; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. pp. 263, etc.  
<sup>22</sup> *Olympia, Bronzes*, p. 128.

by Polycleitus the Younger at Amyclae, beneath a tripod; but for this attribution there is no ground, though it is impossible to be sure that the artist may not have meant to represent Aphrodite. What, however, he has in fact portrayed, is a naked girl in Polycleitan attitude. The hands bear no attributes nor do they seem ever to have borne any: perhaps, however, we should imagine the fillet of the Diadumenos stretched from one to the other. The breasts are very slightly indicated: the girl is clearly quite young, and forms a companion to some of the boy athletes of Polycleitus. In its perfect simplicity the figure forms a marked contrast to the female statues of the Hellenistic age; and it was this simplicity which appealed to the taste of the Romans of the early Empire, and made them often hark back from the effeminacy of Praxitelean art and the exaggerations of the Asiatic schools which worked on the lines of Scopas and Lysippus to the Peloponnesian art of the fifth century.

I may end with a general observation, supplementing the remark of Furtwängler with which I started. Bronzes even though on a small scale often serve better to train the eye than does the study of the marble statues in such museums as those of Rome and the European capitals, since they are unrestored and untouched. Recent work upon the statues of the Capitol Museum at Rome has strongly impressed upon me the fact that the noted works of that Museum are mostly so much made up and restored that they tend when taken, so to speak, at their face value, to give one an utterly false idea of Greek art. However much one may try to remove mentally the deformations of the Italian restorer, something of them still remains in the imagination. It is to be wished that one of our great archaeologists would write a history of Greek sculpture, based solely on the extant unrestored works of the successive schools of sculpture, setting aside entirely all later copies, and excluding from his illustrations every particle of restoration. In such a work small bronzes would necessarily play a great part. Of course they must not be too much relied on. In particular I regard the custom of some painstaking archaeologists, who measure every part of a bronze with meticulous precision as a perversion, for the makers did not thus measure them, but merely worked by the eye. But the classical example of the small bronze from Ligourio, which is generally regarded as the best evidence which we have for the style of the Argive school in the days immediately preceding Polycleitus, is enough to show that bronzes may be of great value in that gradual recovery of the history of ancient sculpture which has been going on with occasional aberrations and relapses since the days of Winckelmann.

P. GARDNER.

## ON THE Γῆς Περίοδος OF HECATAEUS.

THE article by Mr. J. Wells in a recent number of this *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> in which he endeavours to disprove the genuineness of the Γῆς Περίοδος commonly ascribed to Hecataeus, comes as a timely warning against the prevalent tendency to treat Hecataeus as if his contribution to the scientific development of Greek thought could be estimated with any degree of certainty. The poverty of content of the extant fragments purporting to be from Hecataeus, and the scantiness of allusions to this author by other ancient writers,<sup>2</sup> leave but a precarious basis for generalisation on the scope and value of his work; and they certainly do not suffice to determine his influence upon Herodotus and the chroniclers of the fifth century. Furthermore, they quite bear out Mr. Wells' contention that the claims recently made out on behalf of the scientific eminence of Hecataeus have been exaggerated. So far as our evidence avails, it stamps the Γῆς Περίοδος as an ordinary περίπλους tricked out with an unusual abundance of ready-made etymology, and the Γενεηλογίαι as falling far below the level of critical acumen which its author professed to apply<sup>3</sup>; nor do the references to Hecataeus by later writers suggest any reason for treating him with any peculiar respect.

On the other hand, the complete rejection of the Γῆς Περίοδος as a forgery from beginning to end involves a sacrifice of historical material which modern scholars should be very reluctant to make. The total bulk of our extant ancient authorities is so small that no portion of them can be discarded with a light heart. It may therefore be advisable, before accepting Mr. Wells' conclusion as to the spuriousness of the Γῆς Περίοδος, to test this part of his case by means of a more searching inquiry.

In the first place, it must be admitted that Mr. Wells' arguments against the authenticity of the Γῆς Περίοδος may be supplemented by some further considerations.

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<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* 1909, pp. 41-52.

<sup>2</sup> In particular, the number of tolerably certain references by Herodotus is singularly small. There are but two passages in which Herodotus' remarks on questions of geography can be assumed with any confidence to apply to Hecataeus rather than to anybody else (ii. 21, and iv. 36, where the theory of Ocean which Herodotus comments on may fairly be identi-

fied with that of Hec. fr. 278). There is no proof whatever that the 'Ionians' and other predecessors against whom Herodotus polemises in his Egyptian λόγοι stand for Hecataeus.

<sup>3</sup> Readers whom the bold language of the opening passage in the Γενεηλογίαι (fr. 1) may have unduly impressed may have their prejudice corrected by a glance at fr. 341.

(a) The references by Strabo to the work in question are not merely few in number, as Mr. Wells observes, but prove for the most part to have been taken over at second hand. The notices on pp. 1 and 7 of Strabo's Geography are avowedly drawn from Eratosthenes, those on pp. 550 and 552 from Demetrius of Scepsis, that on p. 553 from Apollodorus. The references on pp. 271 and 316 may very well be to the *Γενεηλογίαι*, and that on p. 299, concerning a *Κιμμερία πόλις*, to Hecataeus of Abdera, whom Strabo does not distinguish sharply from his namesake of Miletus. The acquaintance of Strabo with Hecataeus' geographical work thus turns out to be a vanishing quantity.

(b) In addition to the fragments criticised by Mr. Wells there is a further series of passages whose presence in a sixth-century treatise of geography may be suspected on various grounds.

(i) Fr. 26<sup>4</sup> (*Κύρνος, νῆσος πρόσβορρος Ἰαπυγίας*) contains a blunder which is hardly conceivable in an author of Hecataeus' era. The part which Corsica played in the sixth-century history of Greece was far too conspicuous to allow of its true geographical position becoming unknown by 500 B.C.

(ii) In his description of the Adriatic sea the author of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* displays a remarkable inconsistency in the use of the expressions *Ἀδριατικὸς* and *Ἰονικὸς κόλπος*. The former is applied not merely to the seaboard of the town of Adria, but to the waters of the Dalmatian coast (frs. 58, 61, 69). On the other hand the gulf at the head of the Adriatic, in the region of Istria, is called 'Ionic' (fr. 59). Now, whatever exact limits Hecataeus assigned to the 'Adriatic' and 'Ionic' gulfs respectively, he may be supposed to have kept those limits constant. The shifting terminology of the extant fragments points to their being a late compilation from authors who wrote at different epochs and therefore differed in their use of the two names.

(iii) In fr. 99 the name of Chios is tentatively derived from 'the snow that fell there in great quantities.' But an Ionian like Hecataeus must have known perfectly well that Chios, like the rest of Ionia, has a singularly temperate climate and is almost exempt from snow.

(iv) Still less could Hecataeus have located the island of Lade, which lay within sight of his native town of Miletus, in the district of Aeolis (fr. 226).

(c) While the above fragments bear signs of being mere forgeries, in other cases the negligence of later excerptors appears to have foisted into the *Γῆς Περίοδος* passages out of some altogether different work. In addition to frs. 372-380, most of which C. Müller has successfully shown to be false attributions, some of the earlier passages may be similarly exposed as intruders. Fr. 125 is plainly derived from Hdt. ix. 118, fr. 163 from Hdt. iv. 86.<sup>5</sup> In fr. 127 the frequent allusions to Abdera which Stephanus of Byzantium derived from the *Γῆς Περίοδος* may be confidently ascribed to Hecataeus of Abdera; and the reference in fr. 160 to the Northern Ocean

<sup>4</sup> The numbering of the fragments in this article is that of the 1841 edition by C. Müller.

<sup>5</sup> Diels, *Hermes*, 1887, pp. 418-9.



suggests that this passage too was drawn from this same author's Tale of the Hyperboreans.

Again, fr. 91, which is mainly genealogical, reappears in C. Müller's edition as fr. 348 of the *Γενελογίαι*; and it is easy to see how other items of a mixed geographical and genealogical character might have been transferred from the *Γενελογίαι* to the *Γῆς Περίοδος*. Thus the passages in the latter work which deal with the western Mediterranean might be affiliated to the mythography of Herakles, which is proved by fr. 349 to have touched upon geographical questions; and the Pontic section of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* (notably fr. 187) might be supposed to belong by rights to the Amazonian and Colchian section of the *Γενελογίαι* (represented in frs. 350-2).

(d) Lastly, Stephanus Byzantinus and the other excerptors have been by no means careful to make clear at what point in their texts the quotations from the *Γῆς Περίοδος* begin and end. Therefore even in passages which are *prima facie* genuine it is often difficult to determine what portion should be credited to Hecataeus, and how much is to be regarded as an accretion from some other source.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, there is a clear balance of supplementary evidence in disproof of Mr. Wells' thesis.

(a) The forgeries which ancient compilers contrived to palm off upon the royal libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum prove on inspection to have been almost universally of a literary rather than of a scientific character.<sup>7</sup> The content of the rhetorical impostures was usually such as to afford no easy means of detection save on considerations of literary style, and in the third century B.C. literary criticism was still in its infancy. Conversely treatises like the *Γῆς Περίοδος* would be sure to contain many thousands of data whose truth turned upon a simple question of fact, and the scientific erudition which is all that is needed to determine such questions was the distinguishing mark of Alexandrine scholarship.

In point of actual fact there is not a single ancient treatise on geography which can safely be condemned as a deliberate piece of falsification. The fourth century treatise by 'Scylax of Caryanda,' entitled *Περίπλους τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς οἰκουμένης Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Λιβύης*, which Mr. Wells accuses of sailing piratically under the stolen colours of Darius I.'s admiral, plainly deserves recognition as a duly certified craft with honest intentions. As Niebuhr has pointed out,<sup>8</sup> there is no good evidence that the sixth-century Scylax of Caryanda ever composed a *Περίπλους*: Herodotus nowhere gives so much as a hint of this, and there is no trace of his having used any such written treatise as a source of his knowledge of eastern countries. Again, the contents of the younger Scylax' work are of such a character as could

<sup>6</sup> The following clear instances of this ambiguity of authorship occur among the first hundred items: frs. 19, 25, 32, 43, 49, 58, 61, 90, 92.

<sup>7</sup> Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, ii. chs. 35, 37-38.

<sup>8</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 124.

not have been fathered upon his namesake with any degree of plausibility. As the title suggests, they deal entirely with the Mediterranean coast, and in the extant part there is no allusion whatever to the waters which the original Scylax had specially investigated.<sup>9</sup> When it is further remembered that the fourth-century treatise makes no attempt to counterfeit the Ionic dialect which was the only vehicle of expression for a Carian and a man of science in the sixth century, it must be conceded that the *Περίπλους* under consideration is a genuine work by a man whose community of name and country with the sixth-century explorer is a mere accident.<sup>10</sup>

Nor yet can the versified geographical primer which passes under the name of 'pseudo-Scymnus' fairly be called a forgery. This designation is a mere invention by later editors, who abhorred a treatise left anonymous and *faute de mieux* filled the gap with a palpably false title.<sup>11</sup> A single glance at the 'pseudo-Scymnus' will show that it could not possibly have been published as a portion of the real Scymnus' *Περιήγησις*, for the latter was written in prose and was a work of large compass.<sup>12</sup>

(b) A further consideration of the more specific external evidence which Mr. Wells presses into his service will be found to detract somewhat from its value.

(i) The silence of Aristotle with regard to the Γῆς Περίοδος no doubt proves Mr. Wells' contention that Hecataeus' geographical work cannot have been of high scientific merit. But in the first place it is unsafe to assume that Aristotle's disregard of the Γῆς Περίοδος is complete. The passage in the *De Mirabilibus*<sup>13</sup> which Mr. Wells quotes as a prototype of fr. 58 in our *soi-disant* Hecataeus turns out on closer inspection to bear the marks of a later origin. In addition to other discrepancies from the text of fr. 58 it leaves out one essential item<sup>14</sup> which the author of the Γῆς Περίοδος can hardly be supposed to have made up out of his own head: and the omission in Aristotle's text is best accounted for by treating this as an incomplete excerpt out of Hecataeus' first-hand description. Nor can it be said with confidence that this is the only case of a quotation by Aristotle from Hecataeus: the treatise *De Mirabilibus* nowhere mentions the sources of its information, and for all that anybody knows it may be replete with snippets appropriated from the Γῆς Περίοδος.

But granted that Aristotle never quoted the Γῆς Περίοδος, this circumstance needs no supposition of forgery to explain it. The nature of its contents sufficiently explains Aristotle's neglectfulness, for a mere log-book with etymological digressions would make a poor quarry for a researcher

<sup>9</sup> The lacuna on pp. 93-4 of the codex (pp. 79-80 of C. Muller's edition) is clearly not large enough to have entirely swallowed Scylax' allusions to the eastern seas, had he made any.

<sup>10</sup> Niebuhr, *op. cit.* p. 110, shows that the name Scylax was not uncommon in Caria.

<sup>11</sup> Susemihl, *op. cit.* ii. 677-8.

<sup>12</sup> Herodian (*Περί Καθολικῆς Προσφῆδας* ii. 925. 6) shows that one single treatise of

Scymnus, the *Περίπλους Ἀσίας*, ran into 10 volumes.

<sup>13</sup> 842 b 27.

<sup>14</sup> τὰς ἀλεκτορίδας τῷ μεγέθει πάντων εἶναι μικροτέρας τῶν ὀρνίθων. The passage from the *De Anima* vi. 1. 558 b, also quoted by Mr. Wells, stands in no connexion with fr. 58 of the Γῆς Περίοδος, as its contents are markedly different.

whose interest lay in problems of natural history. Moreover, on Mr. Wells' hypothesis it would be necessary to obelise all other geographical treatises, such as the *Περίπλοι* of Hanno and of Scylax, whom Aristotle seldom or never quotes: which is absurd.

(ii) The lack of first-hand references in Strabo proves of less importance than appears at first sight. This author's brevity in dealing with Hecataeus is no more striking than the equal or greater curtness with which he dismisses all other geographers and scientists of the pre-Alexandrine age. It is a simple consequence of the fact that Strabo had an immense confidence in the 'History of Geography' of Eratosthenes, and therefore thought it unnecessary to go back beyond this authority to the primary sources.

(iii) The attitude of Callimachus with regard to the *Γῆς Περίοδος* is acknowledged by Mr. Wells himself to be somewhat uncertain. However far we may follow Mr. Wells in his appreciation of Callimachus as a critic of the first rank, the fragment of Athenaeus which mentions his name in connexion with the *Γῆς Περίοδος*<sup>15</sup> is far too scanty to furnish a basis for any definite conclusions. It is impossible to deduce for certain out of this text whether Callimachus condemned the whole *Γῆς Περίοδος* or its Asiatic section only, or whether he committed himself to any conclusive opinion on the subject of its authenticity.<sup>16</sup>

(iv) Lastly, the verdict of Eratosthenes cannot be lightly dismissed, even though it was founded upon a consideration of Hecataeus' 'ἄλλη γραφή.' There is no need to regard this as an allusion to Hecataeus' literary style, which can hardly have been distinctive enough to attract Strabo's attention. Its reference would rather seem to be to Hecataeus' manner of treating his subject, for this criterion must have suggested itself far more readily to a scientific student like Eratosthenes, who had made a close study of the development of geographic method and could speak with confidence of the procedure of its earlier exponents. Moreover, in Hecataeus' case this standard of comparison between one work and another was an unusually sure one, for in the extant fragments alike of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* and of the *Γενεηλογίαι* it is easy to detect one and the same fondness for pedigree-tracing and etymological speculation. If, as is probable, Eratosthenes' judgment was founded upon this kind of resemblance, and perhaps upon the similar extent of positive knowledge which may have been displayed in these works, his pronouncement in favour of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* being genuine must be allowed to carry considerable if not decisive weight.

(c) The proofs of spuriousness which Mr. Wells finds in the actual fragments of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* do not always turn out to carry much weight.

(i) The indiscriminate use of the term *πόλις* for every aggregate of population signifies little. In some instances the offending word is clearly

<sup>15</sup> Hec. fr. 172. 'Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίας περιηγήσει, εἰ γνήσιον τοῦ συγγραφέως τὸ βιβλίον. Καλλιμάχος γὰρ Νησιώτου ἀναγράφει.

<sup>16</sup> So Diels, *loc. cit.* pp. 412-6, whose agnosticism Mr. Wells can hardly claim to have confuted.

to be regarded as an addition by Stephanus Byzantinus.<sup>17</sup> But in any case there is nothing strange in an author of the sixth or fifth century B.C. dignifying all manner of habitations by the name πόλις. Exactly the same nomenclature is found in Herodotus,<sup>18</sup> and it is even the prevalent one in the fragments of Hellanicus, Pherecydes, and Philistus, where time after time the name πόλις is applied to insignificant settlements which could not conceivably be called 'cities'.<sup>19</sup>

(ii) In fr. 30 (Ἀρίνθη πόλις Οἰνώτρων ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ) the phrase ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ is clearly not, as Mr. Wells suggests, a mere mistranslation of the Latin name 'Interamnina.' There can be no doubt that it is a real geographical determination serving to contrast the site of Arinthe with that of other Oenotrian towns 'ἐν μεσογείῳ' (frs. 33-9). Moreover the actual site of Arinthe has been identified with approximate certainty in the township of Rende, which not only recalls the name Ἀρίνθη but lies 'ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ' between two tributaries of the Crathis.<sup>20</sup>

(iii) The definition of Thrace as comprising Macedonia (fr. 116: Θέρμη πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων), if it is a blunder at all, is not an isolated one. In fr. 120 the peninsula of Pallene is reckoned as part of Thrace. Better still, the Attic tribute lists of the middle of the fifth century include the towns of the Macedonian seaboard and those of Thrace proper under the common heading ἐπὶ Θράκης or ἀπὸ Θράκης.<sup>21</sup> A hard and fast line of distinction between Thrace and Macedonia was not likely to be drawn so long as Macedonia was a purely barbarian state with the same customs and institutions as its neighbour in the east and therefore could conveniently be included under the generic name of 'Thrace.'

(iv) In attacking fr. 132 (Ζώνη πόλις Κικόνων) Mr. Wells has raised the question whether the Cicones still dwelt in eastern Thrace in Hecataeus' time. The passage which he quotes from Hdt. vii. 59 shows that Zone itself was no longer in the hands of the Cicones at the time of his writing. But this does not prove a wholesale emigration of the tribe to other parts of the world. Indeed, the contrary is asserted in Hdt. vii. 110, where the Cicones come second in the list of tribes which Xerxes passed on his march through Thrace from east to west. If therefore the Cicones in general still lived in the neighbourhood of Zone in 480 B.C., there is little difficulty in supposing that they possessed that township itself, and that the description of Zone in fr. 132 could very well have come from Hecataeus' own pen.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. in fr. 46.

<sup>18</sup> Witness the list of 'πόλεις' in i. 149: Δήρισαι, Νέον Τείχος, Τῆμος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγυρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Γρόνεια; and that in vii. 123: Αἰπάζος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γίγωνος, Κάμψα, Σμίλα, Αἰνεία. Similarly, many of the πόλεις mentioned in the Attic tribute lists must have been quite tiny settlements.

<sup>19</sup> Hellanicus frs. 13, 18-9, 21-5, 27, 119, 121, 128 (ed. C. Müller). Pherecydes frs. 116-7. Philistus frs. 9, 14, 18-9, 21, 27, 29, 31-2, 38-9, 40, 43. Attention may also be

drawn to a luminous essay by C. Schuchardt on the earlier Greek conception of a πόλις (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1909, pp. 305-321), where it is shown that πόλις originally meant 'fortress,' but soon came to denote any settlement without reference to size or political status.

<sup>20</sup> G. Tropea, *Rivista di Storia Antica*, 1897, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> *I.G.* i. 237, 239, 240, 242-3, 257, 259. The variant reading Θράκιος φόρος is also found.

(v) Against the genuineness of fr. 189 ('*Τῶπῃ πόλιν Ματιήνων προσεχὴς τοῖς Γορδίοις . . . , οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ἐσθῆτα φορέουσιν, οἷνπερ Παφλαγόνες*) Mr. Wells argues that people dwelling as far apart as Paphlagonia and the Caucasus cannot have worn the same costume. This assumption is in itself rendered precarious by Herodotus' statement<sup>22</sup> that the military outfit, and presumably also the ordinary attire, of the Paphlagonians was worn by a variety of other tribes extending as far as Cappadocia. Besides, there is no warrant for holding that Hyope is in the Caucasus region. The Matieni are shown by Herodotus' not infrequent allusions to have dwelt on the north-western fringe of Mesopotamia, and the Gordii may be safely identified with the inhabitants of Gordyene in Southern Armenia. It need therefore cause no surprise if a fashion of dress which prevailed in Cappadocia also obtained in the neighbouring lands across the Euphrates, so that fr. 189 after all remains unimpeachable.

(vi) The fact that Strabo calls Loryma in S.W. Asia Minor a *παραλία τραχεῖα* does not prove, as Mr. Wells concludes, that there did not exist a harbour of that name in Hecataeus' time (fr. 232). It is quite possible that a roadstead which lay deserted in Strabo's days, when the commerce of Rhodes had dwindled to an insignificant volume, contained a trading station in one or other of its creeks at a period when traffic in the Rhodian seas was notoriously brisk. Indeed there is evidence that as late as 43 B.C. Loryma was an inhabited spot.<sup>23</sup>

(vii) In other cases the incongruities in the extant fragments of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* may be due to some blunder on the part of excerptors or copyists. Instances of false attributions have been noticed above (p. 237). It is also noteworthy that in fr. 48 the MS. of Stephanus Byzantinus contains a ludicrous transmutation of *Σικελίας* into *Κιλικίας*, and other misreadings of this kind may have crept into the text of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* without having been detected as such. In some doubtful passages, e.g. frs. 26 and 226 quoted above, the very absurdity of the mistake points to some such conclusion.

(d) The genuineness of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* may further be based on a series of positive proofs.

(i) It is unsafe to submit the fragments to any linguistic tests, because there is no guarantee that the excerptors have reproduced the dialect forms of the original text with any degree of consistency.<sup>24</sup> But it may be noticed that in fr. 254 the author comments on the termination *â* in *Xvâ* (Canaan). Now this ending could not have seemed strange to a Greek of the Alexandrine era, when Attic forms like *μνâ* and *Ἀθηνâ* must have been familiar enough; to an Ionian of the sixth century, conversant with no other

<sup>22</sup> vii. 72.

<sup>23</sup> Appian, *Bell. Cic.* iv. 72. Similarly fr. 108 need not be called into question because Cynus in Opuntian Locris is therein called a *πόλις*, and not an *ἐπίγειον*, as with Pausanias

(x. 1. 2). The depopulation of Greece in the interval between Hecataeus' and Pausanias' era sufficiently accounts for the discrepancy.

<sup>24</sup> Smyth, *Ionian*, p. 86.

first declension suffix save that in -η, they would be a much more natural object of comment.

(ii) A stronger argument for the authenticity of the Γῆς Περίοδος is to be found in the general scope of geographical knowledge which it reveals. Both in its fulness and in its scarcity the author's fund of information is precisely such as might be attributed on general considerations to a Greek writer of the late sixth century B.C. The conception of the earth as equally divided between the two continents of Europe and Asia, and as surrounded by an ocean which acts as a reservoir for river waters,<sup>25</sup> was certainly current among early Greek geographers, for it incurred the pointed ridicule of Herodotus.<sup>26</sup> Needless to say, in the third century B.C. such theories were entirely antiquated: nor could they have been reconstructed out of Herodotus' allusions in the form presented by the extant text, for this contains far more detail than is implicit in Herodotus' remarks.<sup>27</sup>

Again, the knowledge displayed in the Γῆς Περίοδος is generally restricted to the Mediterranean seaboard and rarely extends into the interior of countries. In this respect it reflects exactly the limits of exploration in Hecataeus' time, when Greek travellers were almost exclusively seafarers.

On the other hand, a writer of the third century would have a large stock of knowledge respecting the Asiatic continent to draw upon, and it would be a remarkable feat on the part of Mr. Wells' forger to have kept so successfully within the narrower bounds of Hecataeus' knowledge.

Furthermore, the treatment of individual countries in the Γῆς Περίοδος is quite in accordance with the circumstances of the early expansion of Greece. The notices concerning Spain are singularly plentiful, and stand in marked contrast with the ignorance of Herodotus and Scylax about this country.<sup>28</sup> North Africa also appears to have been better known to the author of the Γῆς Περίοδος than to Herodotus.<sup>29</sup> Now this superiority of knowledge is entirely in keeping with the conditions of the middle and even the late sixth century, when the Greeks were still able to maintain themselves in the waters of the western Mediterranean and to obtain a foothold along the shore of North Africa. But from about 500 B.C.<sup>30</sup> the Carthaginians and Etruscans closed these regions to the Greeks,

<sup>25</sup> The indiscriminate use of the expressions *Περὶ ἡγῆσις Λιβύης* and *Περὶ ἡγῆσις Ἀσίας* in frs. 268-329 shows that Libya is here reckoned as part of Asia, and that the author of the Γῆς Περίοδος only recognises two approximately equal continents—Asia and Europe. The Oceanic theory mentioned above is derived from Schol. Apol. Rhod. iv. 259: 'Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος (λέγει) ἐκ τοῦ Φάσιδος διελθεῖν εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανόν, εἴτα ἐκείθεν εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον.

<sup>26</sup> iv. 36 and ii. 21.

<sup>27</sup> The passages in Herodotus do not convey the inclusion of Libya in Asia, nor the possibility of through travel between the Phasis and the Nile.

<sup>28</sup> The *Περίπλους* of Scylax is particularly interesting in this connexion. Whereas the coast of southern Italy receives a full treatment, the description of the remaining coast-land to the Straits of Gibraltar is at once very deficient and incorrect: even Massilia and its colonies seem hardly known to the author.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Macan, *Herodotus* iv.-vi., vol. ii. pp. 277-8.

<sup>30</sup> It is significant that the two chief events in the extrusion of the Greeks from the farther Mediterranean, the battle of Alalia (535 c.) and the failure of Dorieus' schemes of colonisation (515 c.) fell in the early days of Hecataeus' life.

and the latter never won their way back. Thus there is no difficulty in assigning this section of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* to Hecataeus, but it is particularly hard to see how a writer of a late age could have made it up.

Another feature of our text is its lack of information concerning the western coast of the Adriatic. This deficiency need cause no surprise in a writer of Hecataeus' time, when the Etruscan thalassocracy hindered effective exploration by the Greeks. In a writer of a later period such reticence would have been strange and suspicious, for the Adriatic had meanwhile been opened up by Dionysius I. of Syracuse,<sup>31</sup> and even if a forger had contrived to discover and counterfeit the real Hecataeus' ignorance about these waters he would have been hard put to it to gain any credit for his omissions from his customers. In particular, the absurd story concerning the abnormal fertility of the Po valley (fr. 58) would not have been a good advertisement for the *Γῆς Περίοδος* among a better informed public.

The extensiveness of the section on Thrace (frs. 115-150) and the minuteness of knowledge displayed with regard to this region (e.g. in fr. 123) is particularly appropriate to a writer who was contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, for it was on the 'Scythian expedition' of this monarch that Thrace first became accessible to the world in general. This part of Hecataeus' record would then have possessed all the interest that attaches to a new discovery, and the author of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* would have had an obvious reason for his prolixity. On the other hand, after the Gaulish migrations of the early third century Thrace again became *terra incognita*, and considering that the *Γῆς Περίοδος* gives plenty of information which is not contained in the Thracian excursuses of Herodotus and Thucydides, it is hard to see where an Alexandrine author could have found his facts.

The comparatively high merit of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* in its notices about the Black Sea (frs. 149-168) needs no further explanation if its author was a citizen of Miletus. A somewhat stranger feature is the superiority of its information respecting the North Iranian plateau, as compared with that of Herodotus (frs. 168-173.<sup>32</sup>) At first sight this might seem to show the hand of a compiler who had at his disposal the results of Alexander's Anabasis. But the region covered by the fragments of the *Γῆς Περίοδος* is but an insignificant fraction of the Central Asian territory disclosed by Alexander's conquest. It is simpler to assume that in the last decade of the sixth century a trade route was opened up along the Phasis and the Caspian Gates, and that Hecataeus drew his information from the pioneers of that passage. The vagueness of Herodotus' knowledge about this region would result from the extinction of the traffic along this road, which would be an inevitable result of the long war between Greece and Persia during the first half of the fifth

<sup>31</sup> Scylax, writing apparently about 350 B.C., possesses some knowledge about the whole length of the eastern Italian coast (chs. 14-19).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Prašek, *Klio*, 1904, pp. 206-7. This scholar clearly goes beyond his evidence in attributing to the author of the *Γῆς Περίοδος*

an *extensive* knowledge of Iran. But he shows convincingly that Herodotus' information was less complete, and that Herodotus must have drawn upon the *Γῆς Περίοδος* rather than *vice versa*.

century. The tolerably precise information of our text with regard to the Indus country (frs. 174–179) may readily be attributed to Scylax, the admiral of Darius, who was a contemporary of Hecataeus and could easily have communicated the results of his discoveries to him.<sup>33</sup>

The fulness with which the Γῆς Περίοδος describes the Syrian coast needs no comment. In Hecataeus' days as well as in the Alexandrine era it was easy enough for a Greek geographer to obtain the requisite information. A more distinctive feature is to be found in the entertaining story which is told in fr. 266 concerning the Pygmies and their means of defence against the cranes that would peck them. The absurdity of this passage, to which Mr. Wells deservedly calls attention, is a proof of its early origin. In Hecataeus' and Herodotus' age a Greek traveller could repeat Egyptian parodies<sup>34</sup> of anthropology or natural history without losing credit among his hearers; in the third century the second and third Ptolemies had created a very serious interest in the countries of the Upper Nile,<sup>35</sup> and a forger would have been ill advised to indulge in such forms of humour as occur in fr. 266.

In fine, the geographical knowledge and ignorance disclosed throughout the Γῆς Περίοδος is entirely appropriate to the stage of discovery at which the Greeks stood at the end of the sixth century B.C. It differs considerably from the scope of information available in the Alexandrine age; and it is incredible that a forger of the third century should have contrived to reflect with such perfect accuracy the range of exploration in a bygone age.

(iii). The genuineness of the Γῆς Περίοδος is further attested by the consonance of its descriptions with some special historical circumstances of the sixth century.

In frs. 23 *sqq.* the western coast of Italy is apportioned among six nations whose names are as follows: Ligurians, Tyrrhenians, Ausonians, Oenotrians, Italians, Iapygians.<sup>36</sup> It is clear that this division could only have been made previous to the descent of the Etruscans upon Campania or of the Oscans upon Lucania and Bruttium, and to the occupation of the Latin coast by colonists from Rome. The survival of the Ausones and Oenotrians as a substantial part of the population of the peninsula, and still more the restriction of the name 'Italy' to the comparatively small district of Lucania, are distinctive marks of an early age, and are infinitely more likely to have been recorded

<sup>33</sup> Fr. 179 (Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρική, Σκυθῶν ἀκτὴ) mentions a town which Marquart (*Philologus*, Suppl. x. p. 242) identifies with the starting point of navigation on the Indus and thus makes into a natural place for Scylax to have seen and remembered. Marquart further mentions that this reach of the Indus has a Turanian population, thus justifying its description as 'Scythian.' The meaning of ἀκτὴ is hard to determine: perhaps it signifies 'fraction,' 'enclave' (= ἀπορρώξ).

<sup>34</sup> The substratum of truth in this tale is presumably to be found in some ceremonial

mummery and mimic fighting practised by the Pygmies. The distortion of the real facts in fr. 266 is of the same character as in various passages of Herodotus' Egyptian λόγοι, and probably is due to a similar inspiration on the part of the author's native Egyptian informants.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Diodorus i. 37; Strabo, pp. 769–770, 789; *C.I.G.* 5127 (the Adule inscription); Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 151–2, 215–6.

<sup>36</sup> Tropea, *loc. cit.* p. 83.



by Hecataeus than by an Alexandrine forger. Similarly the description in fr. 28 of Nola as an *Ausonian* town can only have preceded the period of Etruscan and Sabellian occupation of Campania, unless the memory of its Ausonian origin was preserved through the centuries and the tradition became known in Alexandria, which is a contingency too remote to be worth considering.

Frs. 43 and 44, which record the existence of Zancle and Catana respectively, have already been noticed by Diels as proof of an early origin of the *Γῆς Περίοδος*.<sup>37</sup> To these may be added fr. 49 which makes a similar statement about Himera. Although this name is sometimes loosely applied to the town of *Θέρμαι* which took the place of Himera in the fourth century, yet it is far more probable that in fr. 49 it is intended to designate the city which was destroyed in 409. It is of course possible that a forger might have discovered the existence of Zancle and Catana and Himera, provided that he had taken the trouble to peruse Timaeus or the earlier historians of Sicily; but this hypothesis is less straightforward than that of Hecataean authorship and cannot be pressed in the absence of confirmatory evidence. Still more telling are frs. 46 and 47, of which the former describes Lilybaeum as a *headland*,<sup>38</sup> the latter mentions Motya as a still existing town. As Motya was destroyed in 398 and Lilybaeum did not come into being as a city until 397, these two passages bear clear traces of their authenticity: in particular, it would have been amazing if an Alexandrine had discovered the non-existence of Lilybaeum in the days of Hecataeus.

Fr. 116, which Mr. Wells has singled out as peculiarly suspicious, contains good evidence of its own genuineness. The people of Therma are therein called 'Helleno-Thracians,'<sup>39</sup> which accords very well with the strange fact that Therma never became a predominantly Greek town until the period of Macedonian supremacy. While such a piece of knowledge as to the ethnology of the inhabitants is not surprising in Hecataeus, it would seem to have been entirely beyond the reach of a writer living in days when Therma was long extinct.

Fr. 140 (*Βόρυζα πόλις Περσέων*) has been noticed by Diels as bearing on its face the mark of authenticity. Indeed peculiar value attaches to this fragment, for the short-lived occupation of a Thracian stronghold by a Persian garrison<sup>40</sup> could not on any plausible hypothesis have been on record two or three centuries after the event.

Fr. 286 enumerates a list of islets in the Nile, whose names—Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus, Samos—deserve attention. The cities and countries of which these names are reminiscent had a large share in the peaceful penetration of Egypt by the Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries, and

<sup>37</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 419.

<sup>38</sup> The addition 'ἔστι καὶ πόλις' may be taken from its form and position in the text to stand outside the quotation and to have been appended by Stephanus

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the *Ἕλληνες Σκύθαι* in Hdt. iv. 17.

whom Macan (note *ad loc.*) regards as a half-breed population.

<sup>40</sup> Boryza may be regarded as a counterpart of Doriscus, which Herodotus (vii. 59) describes as a *τεῖχος βασιλῆιον* in the days of Xerxes.

it is quite probable that the islands above mentioned received their names from pioneers of this era. That these names should have survived to the time of Hecataeus is no matter for wonder; that they should have been remembered after centuries of Persian or Macedonian rule and a constant fluctuation of the resident Greek population is a far more unlikely hypothesis.

(iv) Lastly it may be apposite to record the occurrence of numerous variants in the spelling of names by which the Γῆς Περίοδος is distinguished from the chief geographical and historical works of the fifth to the third centuries. The most significant discrepancies may be tabulated as follows.

Fr. 3	Ephorus: Καλάθουσα	'Hecataeus': Καλάθη.
„ 25	Philistus: Αἰθαλία	„ Αἰθάλη.
„ 82	Hellanicus: Οἰανθεία	„ Οἰάιθη.
„ 93	Herodotus, etc.: Μαντίνεια	„ Μαντίνη.
„ 109	Rhianus: Αἰγώνη	„ Αἰγανεία.
„ 124	{ Pindar: Κρηστωναῖοι	„ { Κρηστάνες.
	{ Rhianus: Κρηστώνιοι	
„ 143	Herodotus, etc.: Αἶμος	„ Αἶμον.
„ 195	Aeschylus, etc.: Χάλυβες	„ Χάλυβοι
„ 208	Herodotus: Σίγειον	„ Σίγη.
„ 210	Hellanicus: Λαμπώνιον	„ Λαμβανεία.
„ 233	Herodotus: Κάλυνδα	„ Κύλανδα.

To these may be added the Χάλαιον in fr. 83, as contrasted with Χάλειον in fifth-century inscriptions;<sup>41</sup> and Μέδμη in fr. 41, as against Μέσμα on coins of the fourth century.<sup>42</sup>

The wide range of authors quoted in the left-hand column shows that the discrepancies in the orthography of the Γῆς Περίοδος are not due to occasional slips of the pen, but form an integral part of the text. Now this radically distinctive spelling need cause no surprise in a writer of the sixth century. Documentary evidence of the correct lettering of geographical names must at that time still have been rare, and it is perfectly comprehensible that Hecataeus should sometimes have selected among the current alternatives a form which the standard orthography of later days no longer recognised. But it would have been singularly wrong-headed for an Alexandrine forger to deviate from the spellings consecrated by the classical writers of the two previous centuries. One of the most obvious criteria by which his production could have been judged was the consonance of his place-names with those used by his predecessors, and a thoroughgoing divergence would have established a strong *prima facie* presumption of the spuriousness of his work. The variations of spelling noted above may therefore be taken as a further proof of the handiwork of the real Hecataeus.

*Conclusion*.—The reasoning of this article may be summed up as follows.

The extant text of the Γῆς Περίοδος is in a seriously defective condition;

<sup>41</sup> Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 25 (l. 48) and 44.

<sup>42</sup> Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 89. In

this instance there can be no doubt that the form with δ is the more archaic of the two.

it contains a considerable number of passages which can scarcely be accepted as trustworthy excerpts from Hecataeus: and it affords but little evidence as to the scientific value of his work. On the other hand the arguments both external and internal for the spuriousness of the whole treatise are quite inconclusive; the positive marks of authenticity are many and diverse; and the fragments as a whole may safely be accepted as a genuine remnant of Hecataeus' treatise on geography.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

## POLITICS IN THE *FROGS* OF ARISTOPHANES.

THE construction of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes is of a normal conventional type. From the appearance of Dionysus in his strange garb, appropriate to the patron of a heroic stage run mad on realism, to a Dionysus whose wine is new and his bottles old, the customary series of comic incidents develops the conventional situation. This introduction presents us with the antecedents, the background, and the grouping of a comic dispute. *νῦν γὰρ ἀγὼν σοφίας ὁ μέγας χωρεῖ πρὸς ἔργον ἤδη.* The contest forms the main part of the drama; and, quite conventionally, it is separated from the introduction by a parabasis which offers a mixture of serious and comic advice. That the background is the nether world: that the disputants are so eminent a pair as Aeschylus and Euripides: that the judge is the god of all tragedy and comedy himself, and the chorus blessed spirits of the sanctified—all this illumines the old forms with a fresh and unrivalled originality. But the mechanical structure is simple and conventional, as has been said.

There are indeed certain inconsistencies of plot. In some of them the critics find evidence that in its present form the play is a revised edition, prepared for the second performance; others, we are told, are due to a change in the whole conception of the drama necessitated by the death of Euripides during its composition. These points are discussed by Mr. Rogers in his introduction, and in general I do not desire to contradict his conclusions. But there is one point, germane to my topic, which must be mentioned. When we are told that the conclusion of the poetic contest is 'a curious jumble'—since the judgment goes in favour 'not necessarily of the better tragedian, but of the man who can give the state the wiser political counsel,'—we have, I think, a certain confusion of thought; and as I shall try to show in the sequel, we are led by too great insistence on mechanical detail to ignore a higher consistency of idea which is after all far more important. We are apt to forget that the test of a play is the effect not upon the analysing reader but upon an audience: I venture to think that in the politics of the *Frogs* we have a clue to a higher, more artistic unity than can be found by the analysis of the structure.

The literary contest is for the most part and in detail, quâ literary criticism, pure fun. If any serious-minded person still doubts it, we can happily refer him to Dr. Verrall's characteristic, and therefore delightful,

treatment of the *ληκύθιον* episode in the *New Quarterly Review*<sup>1</sup>—though some invincibly serious persons find in Dr. Verrall's 'had a bad cold and blew his little nose' not so much a defence of Euripides as an unscrupulous attack, a damaging attack, on Tennyson! Here, however, I need hardly labour the point that in spite of certain shrewd and pertinent thrusts, the criticism quâ literary criticism is for the most part ludicrous and meant to be ludicrous; and that the seriousness, which is felt beneath the fun, rests on a contrast ultimately religious and moral. Even here there is an admirable lightness of touch. Euripides is not scourged: the exposure of sophistry is delicate, almost affectionate. It was not entirely the influence of Mr. Gilbert Murray, but also something in the spirit of the drama which left the audience on good terms with Euripides at the end of the Oxford performance. Aristophanes has succeeded in discrediting sophistry without making us hate the memory of the sophist. *Πειθώ* is inadequate; but no Athenian can have felt less proud of Euripides at the end of the play than he was when he entered the theatre. Dionysus is in love with Euripides at the outset: he still delights in his cleverness at the end. 'Both are my friends, I can't decide between them.' Sophocles had put on mourning for Euripides: the people of Athens had surely mourned with him. Contrast the tone of this play with that of the *Clouds*: contrast the affectionate reference to Agathon with his treatment in other plays. The criticism of the modern point of view is, however, serious and sincere. The effect must have been that the audience sympathised with the spirit which is put into sharp contrast with it; not, I think, that they cared less for the memory of the poet, whose works both the audience and Aristophanes appear to have known almost by heart.

But the contrast is sincere and serious. Euripides is the poet of reason and, if you will, of sophistry. Aeschylus is the poet of religion. It is important to notice the artistic skill with which this identification of Aeschylus with religion is made. It has not always been stated with sufficient clearness.

Aeschylus, the child of Eleusis, is the poet of the mysteries. That is one great reason why the *μύσται* are here at all. It is to the Eleusinian goddess he prays,

*Δήμητερ, ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,  
εἶναί με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων.*<sup>2</sup>

It is the epithet of the mystic deities that is conferred upon him. Compare:

*\*Ιακχ', ὦ πολυτίμοις ἐν ἔδριας ἐνθάδε ναίων,*<sup>3</sup>

and

*\*Ιακχε πολυτίμητε, μέλος ἑορτῆς  
ἡδιστον εὐρών, δεῦρο συνακολουθεῖ*<sup>4</sup>

with the respectful appeal of Dionysus,

*ἐπίσχεσ οὗτος, ὦ πολυτίμητ' Αἰσχύλε.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> January, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Line 886.

<sup>3</sup> Line 324; cf. also 337.

<sup>4</sup> Line 398.

<sup>5</sup> Line 851.

And this identification of the spirit of Aeschylus with the religion of the mysteries is driven home by a supremely artistic stroke in the mystic silence of Aeschylus when he first appears.<sup>6</sup>

*Di.* Aeschylus—why are you silent? You hear what he says.

*Eur.* He'll put on grand airs at first—the pompous trick he used to play in all his tragedies.

*Di.* Hush, my good fellow—no more irreverence!

*ΔΙ.* Ἀίσχylε, τί σιγᾷς; . . . ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν, μὴ μεγάλα λίσαν λέγε.

And again the same *mystic* silence is suggested by the self-satisfied but self-condemnatory attack of Euripides on the openings of his dramas:

He'd bring some single mourner on, seated and veiled, 'twould be Achilles, say, or Niobe, the face you could not see,<sup>7</sup>

πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τιν' ἀν καθίσεν ἐγκαλύψας  
'Αχιλλέα τιν', ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς.

To which the comment of Dionysus is:

ἐγὼ δ' ἔχαιρον τῇ σιωπῇ, καί με τοῦτ' ἔτερπεν  
οὐχ ἥττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦντες.

The conflict, then, is religious and moral. But for this very reason it is inevitably political. The interest is indeed for us primarily literary. But statements, such as are frequently made to the effect that 'in the delicacy of the political situation' Aristophanes avoided politics, and chose 'a purely literary subject,' are misleading.<sup>8</sup>

They imply a distinction, a clear differentiation between the spheres of religion, morals, politics, and art which would have been incomprehensible to an Athenian even at the end of the fifth century. Aristophanes could not conceivably turn from Cleophon<sup>9</sup> to Euripides with the sense that he was turning from the affairs of the state to the affairs of the individual: the affairs of the city are the affairs of the gods: the worship of the gods is the affair of the city. Religion for Aristophanes is an essential element of patriotism, and irreligion *means* political far more than personal obliquity. To say that the new culture has led the citizens away from the pious spirit and practice of Aeschylus is to say that the new culture has made the city less safe from her enemies. The people a few months before had executed their best generals, the victors of Arginusae, in a religious panic. Such a people could hardly find 'relief' from the anxieties of politics by turning to the consideration of the havoc wrought by irreligious poets in the sanctuary

<sup>6</sup> Line 832.

<sup>7</sup> Line 911, Mr. Rogers' translation. Notice incidentally the reference to Achilles. We shall see later that it is not altogether without significance.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* the late Sir Richard Jebb, essay on Sophocles in *Essays and Addresses*. Dr. Verrall

in the article already mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> M. Croiset's remarks on the fact that Plato competed against Aristophanes with the 'Cleophon' in this year are notable in this connexion (*Aristophane et les Partis à Athènes*, p. 244).

of the tragic Dionysus himself. It is of course amazing, and it is to their eternal glory, that they could laugh with the poet even at their misfortunes. Throughout the play we have sinister hints, of what we know from other sources and from the sequel was the fact—treachery within the city—Thorycion, Adeimantus, who was to betray his countrymen at Aegospotami, oligarchs who cared more for themselves and their power than for Athens—demagogues, we must add, who though they were no traitors, yet for their own ascendancy's sake refused to hear of peace, the only hope for fresh prosperity—the allies gone—the money gone—the coinage debased—the food supplies in large measure cut off—many citizens suspect and disfranchised: some (and among them the greatest of all) in exile—no one in the audience I suppose, who had not lost a father or a brother or a friend by plague or battle or by the hemlock: many of them to be among the prisoners whom Lysander slaughtered after Aegospotami: none of them, except the traitors, who did not know that if Athens yielded he himself would probably die.

In such a case whither can one turn for relief unless to the goddesses who saved the city even though it was burnt to the ground, in the days of Salamis: the goddesses whom the conqueror had heard holding their own mystic celebrations when their worshippers had been driven out, the goddesses of Eleusis, vanquishers of the Persian? perhaps—but only if we put away our sophistries and quibbling impieties—willing to save us also from the present enemy, σωτήρες θεοί, par excellence σωτήρες<sup>10</sup>; for the individual the givers of a joyful life beyond; and to the city upon whom, as on the citizens, the clouds of death were hanging so low, the one great hope of possible σωτηρία in this life here. It was by a happy insight that the designer of the Oxford programme chose for his symbol of the tragic contest the weighing of *Persuasion* against *Death*.

At this point we may recall the famous passage in the ancient life of Aristophanes: 'The praise and love which he won from his fellow-citizens was above all due to this—that he was zealous to show by his plays the freedom of the Athenian state: that it was led in chains of slavery by no tyrant, but was rather a democratia, whose people governed themselves in freedom. This was why he won praise, and was crowned with a wreath of the sacred olive—an honour which is regarded as equal to the golden crown—for his well-known words in the *Frogs* about the ἄτιμοι,

τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιον πολλὰ χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει  
συμπαραινέιν.'

It is unnecessary to cite the words in the ancient argument in which, it will be remembered, we are told on the authority of Dicaearchus that it was the appeal of the parabasis to drop old enmities and suspicions and to enfranchise the disfranchised, which secured the play the honour of a second representation. It was for patriotic statesmanship that the poet received the wreath of Athene's olive.

<sup>10</sup> It is profitable to follow σῴζειν, σωτήρ, σωτηρία throughout the play

If I have succeeded in making myself clear, I think I shall be permitted to assume that the Athenians had not left behind their politics and their anxieties for the city when they came to witness the performance of this play. Let me now go further and say that the most important clue for the artistic appreciation of the play is to be found in the thoughts which must have been in Athenian minds when Xanthias and his donkey first appeared. The Athenians were thinking not merely of the gods who might yet save their city, not merely of the possibility of enlisting for the struggle all the discontented and suspected—they were thinking, we may be sure, of their exiles, and above all of their greatest exile, Alcibiades. Plutarch tells us how even after all was lost ‘they looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of all their errors. They had cast him off without any offence of his: their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant, in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been worse in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals, yet amidst their present misery there was one slight glimpse of hope that while Alcibiades survived Athens could not be utterly undone.’ Can we doubt that in these earlier times, when Athens was straining every resource to preserve herself alive, the most urgent of all questions for the Athenians was the question of Alcibiades—can we be reconciled to him—would he be willing to come back: if he were willing could we so humble ourselves as to beg his aid—would the gods approve and save us; or would they make him a curse to us, as indeed he has sometimes been in the past? *ποθεῖ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ’ ἔχειν* is in fact the clue to the whole policy of the *Frogs*.

To resume: we have tried to show that a religious and moral discussion could not have been felt by the audience as essentially non-political—but rather would be felt to concern *τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως*. We know that the actual Athenian audience was above all things impressed by the political appeal of the *παράβασις*. And we have the word of Aristophanes as well as the general probability of the case to tell us that Alcibiades was in the minds of the Athenians, ‘Tell us of Alcibiades . . . *ἡ πόλις γὰρ δυστοκεῖ* . . .’

It is worth while to read again the noble lines in which the appeal is made, and to consider whether any man in the audience would have failed to think of Alcibiades when he heard (ostensibly of the disfranchised citizens) (I quote Mr. Murray), l. 697:—

But remember these men also, your own kinsmen, sire and son,  
Who have oftentimes fought besides you, spilt their blood on many seas:  
Grant for that one fault the pardon which they crave you on their knees.  
You whom nature made for wisdom, let your vengeance fall to sleep.  
Greet as kinsmen and Athenians, burghers true to win and keep,  
Whosoever will brave the storms and fight for Athens at your side!

*πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκόντες συγγενεῖς κτησώμεθα  
καπιτίμους καὶ πολίτας ὅστις ἂν ξυννανμαχῇ.  
εἰ δὲ ταῦτ’ ὀγκωσόμεσθα κάποσεμννούμεθα.*



τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις,  
ὕστέρω χρόνῳ ποτ' αὖθις εὖ φρονεῖν οὐ δόξομεν.

Let us, if you will, say that there is here no hint of exiles or of Alcibiades. In the Antepirrhema—when, as Mr. Rogers points out, the chorus is emboldened, the audience just styled φύσει σοφώτατοι have become ἀνοητοί, —the reference is clearer (727):—

Even so, our sterling townsmen, nobly born and nobly bred <sup>11</sup>—

τῶν πολιτῶν δ' οὓς μὲν ἴσμεν εὐγενεῖς καὶ σώφρονας  
ἄνδρας ὄντας καὶ δικαίους καὶ καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς,  
καὶ τραφέντας ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ,  
προυσελοῦμεν,

and so on.

Even now, O race demented, there is time to change your ways;  
Use once more what's worth the using. If we 'scape, the more the  
praise  
That we fought our fight with wisdom; or if all is lost for good,  
Let the tree on which they hang us be at least of decent wood.

χρήσθε τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν αὖθις. καὶ κατορθώσασι γὰρ  
εὐλογον. κἂν τι σφάλῃτ' ἐξ ἁξίου γούν τοῦ ξύλου,  
ἦν τι καὶ πάσχητε, πάσχειν τοῖς σοφοῖς δοκίσετε.

After that we are not surprised that the first words of the farcical scene which follows are Νῆ τὸν Δία, τὸν σωτήρα.

If you still doubt that Alcibiades was in the mind of the audience who applauded these lines, consider by whose mouth the parabasis is spoken. The speakers are the initiated. By songs and dances they have presented not, I think, a precise and realistic representation either of the greater or of the lesser mysteries—such a precise reproduction as is sometimes imagined would have been in accordance neither with piety nor with the recognized methods of Greek art—rather they have given suggestions which have filled the mind with thoughts of all the sacredness and solemnity of the most holy Eleusinia.<sup>12</sup> If nothing had been said or thought of Alcibiades before, this spectacle must have suggested his name. The weightiest reason for the rejection of Alcibiades was his suspected impiety: he had been exiled first under the suspicion of a violation of those very mysteries: the weightiest reason for supposing that he now might save the state was that he had made his peace

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Rogers.

<sup>12</sup> Professor Tucker has argued convincingly, I think, against the pedantry which would make the chorus represent all the stages of the autumnal procession from Athens to Eleusis. But his argument is weaker when he attempts to show that the festival at Agrae alone is suggested. Spring-time and flowers are per-

petual for the initiate in the other world. 'Where is this meadow?' asks Professor Tucker (Introduction, p. xxix) on l. 325. The answer is not 'at Agrae'—but φοινικορόδοις ἐν λειμῶνεσσι πρόστιον αὐτῶν. The difficulty of a theory of exact representation is shown by Professor Tucker's note on l. 445.

with the goddesses. Who could have seen this chorus without thinking of the day of his return (in 408) when the Eumolpidae and the herald had taken off the execrations which they had pronounced against him, and when Theodorus, the chief of the Eumolpidae said 'for his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth'? Who can have failed to think of the greater day when as strategos he had 'taken the priests and the persons initiated and those who had the charge of initiating others, and coming down with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence, exhibiting in the march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared he had performed not only the office of a general but of a high priest.<sup>13</sup>

There were many who envied him: demagogues who were jealous of so great a rival: oligarchs who were the friends of Sparta: men like Cleophon on the one hand, and on the other Adeimantus, the traitor of Aegospotami, both of whom are attacked in the play.<sup>14</sup>

Such men had still the power and will to play upon the religious sentiment of Athenians and so keep Alcibiades under suspicion. That is why Aristophanes must go to work so carefully, suggesting throughout the play but only in the final scene announcing in so many words through the mouth of Aeschylus that in his opinion Alcibiades should be recalled. A sinner, he says, in effect—I admit it: but what great amends he made. And are we not all sinners too—with our love of sophistry and with the impiety it means.<sup>15</sup> Turn from your sophistries, yes—but make friends with others who have also made their blunders. In his youth we know that Alcibiades was the friend of Socrates—but we have it on the testimony of Xenophon that his absorption in politics led to his estrangement from his master. It is probable that the suspicion which attached to all followers of that greatest of the sophists was the reason for the estrangement.

But it is possible to show in clearer detail how these considerations help us to understand the atmosphere of the play. The clues are *death* and *sophistry*: *σωτηρία* and disaster due to impiety: the goddesses as *σωτήρες*—Alcibiades as *σύμμαχος*—the sinner restored to the favour of the goddesses he has offended. Take first a small point: the words of Dionysus, l. 71. I want a genuine poet:—

For some are gone, and those we have are bad,

οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί,

words in themselves suggestive of the desolation of the city at this time. But

<sup>13</sup> Langhorne, *Plutarch*. Professor Tucker objects to the 'current theory that Athens was exulting over the exploit of Alcibiades,' and points out, with admirable humour, that 'people do not exult over a thing which they managed to do the year before last, but which they have been unable to do last year.' It is, of course, not a question of 'exulting over the exploit.'

Simply the representation of the Initiate at a time when Alcibiades is in the popular mind is enough.

<sup>14</sup> See especially the closing scene, ll. 1504–1513.

<sup>15</sup> This consideration explains the comparative mildness of the attack on Euripides to which I have referred above.

the scholiast tells us (he is quoted by Mr. Rogers) that the line is from the Oeneus of Euripides. Diomed addresses the deposed and exiled king:—

σὺ δ' ὦδ' ἔρημος συμμάχων ἀπόλλυσαι ;

to which the answer is:—

οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί.

In the present case the situation is reversed. It is the city which ὦδ' ἔρημος συμμάχων ἀπόλλυται.

Is it not again Alcibiades whom the chorus seem to address, when in the contest, after their great appeal has been spoken, they turn to Aeschylus with the words *τάδε μὲν λεύσσεις, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ*,<sup>16</sup> the words of the desperate Myrmidons begging their lingering chieftain, offended like Alcibiades, essential to victory like Alcibiades, to lead them into battle:—

τάδε μὲν λεύσσεις, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ.  
δοριλυμίντους Δαναῶν μόχθους  
εἴσω κλισίας προπεπωκώς !

Pass on to the judgment of the prologues and notice how Aeschylus selects of all his plays the *Choephorae* to quote—the play which, as I think the late Dr. Headlam was the first to point out, is full of allusions to the mysteries<sup>17</sup>—and notice how each word tells<sup>18</sup>:—

Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, πατρῷ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη—(ἐποπτεύων, a mystic word),  
σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι σύμμαχος τ' αἰτουμένφ.  
ἦκω γὰρ ἐς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι.

Here we have crammed into three lines, death, mysteries, *σωτηρία*, *σύμμαχος*, and the return of an exile. There is some excellent fooling about the first line—then Aeschylus repeats again the second and the third. To which Euripides:—

δις ταῦτόν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ὁ σοφὸς Αἰσχύλος.

On literary grounds the defence of Aeschylus is neither necessary nor amusing:—

ἐλθεῖν γὰρ εἰς γῆν ἔσθ' ὅτῳ μετῇ πάτρας·  
φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἥκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται.

And Euripides retorts:—

οὐ φημὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην κατελθεῖν οἰκίδε·  
λάθρα γὰρ ἦλθεν, οὐ πιθὼν τοὺς κυρίους.

It is no longer for the Athenians to wait till Alcibiades sues for pardon—they must themselves take the initiative and pass a measure restoring his high honours and inviting him to return.

I have spoken of a reference to Achilles earlier in the play. If what I suggested seemed fanciful, let me now point out how the lines of Aeschylus which are produced by Euripides at 1264 begin with:—

<sup>16</sup> Line 991.

<sup>17</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 245.

<sup>18</sup> Line 1126.

Φθιῶτ' Ἀχιλεῦ, τί ποτ' ἀνδροδάϊκτον ἀκούων,  
 ἰή, κόπον, οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν;

Lord of Phthia, Achilles, why, hearing the hero dividing,  
 Hah! smiting! approachest thou not to the rescue?

And that four times the refrain recurs:—

ἰή, κόπον, οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν.<sup>19</sup>

Turn next to the weighing of line against line. The first pair appears to me to be introduced merely as an excuse for the silly jest of Dionysus—but the second pair has long been felt to be full of meaning.

No shrine of persuasion save reasoned argument:—

οὐκ ἔστι Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος.

Euripides has placed persuasion in the scale, the weightiest of all his goods.

Death the only god who cares not for gifts,  
 μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐρᾷ,

is the retort; and the sequel known to the audience is this:—

οὔτ' ἄν τι θύων οὔτ' ἐπισπένδων ἄνοις,  
 οὐ βωμός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται,  
 μόνου δὲ Πειθῶ δαιμόνων ἀποστατεῖ.

Sacrifice and libations avail not with death: death has no altar, and no paean: death is the one god whom *persuasion* troubles not.

Persuasion and argument and reason are specious; but death is the supreme fact of which reason has nothing to tell. Another reference to Achilles. And death again—death and war—is the reply to the 'iron-clamped mace,' which Euripides next puts into the scale.

ἐφ' ἄρματος γὰρ ἄρμα καὶ νεκρῷ νεκρός,  
 ἵπποι δ' ἐφ' ἵπποις ἦσαν ἐμπεφυρμένοι.

Chariot on chariot, dead on dead, horse upon horse, confusedly heaped.

At last comes the final contest:—

ἐγὼ κατήλθον ἐπὶ ποιητήν (says Dionysus)—τοῦ χάριν;  
 ἴν' ἡ πόλις σωθεῖσα τοὺς χοροὺς ἄγῃ.

And the test is to be advice to the city—first about Alcibiades—and now for the first time he is mentioned by name.

<sup>19</sup> Reference to Achilles in ll. 912, 991, 1264, 1400; cf. Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, xxiii, 203 'Ἐν γοῶν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν 'οὐ

παῖς Ἀχιλλέως, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος εἴη ἂν αὐτός' . . . (of Alcibiades).

Euripides speaks truth—no one can deny that he is right. Aristophanes must admit the case against the exile :—

μισῶ πολίτην ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν  
βραδὺς πέφυκε, μεγάλη δὲ βλάβπτειν ταχύς,  
καὶ πόριμον αὐτῷ, τῇ πόλει δ' ἀμήχανον.

Woe on the burgher who to serve his state  
Is slow, but swift to do her deadly hate,  
With much wit for himself, and none for her.

ΔΙ. εὖ γ' ὦ Πόσειδον· σὺ δὲ τίνα γνώμην ἐρεῖς ;

Aeschylus replies οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν. There is no need to omit the line. Perhaps there was surprise in the theatre when it was spoken : perhaps the audience had expected at once the advice to recall the exile : probably the enemies of Alcibiades applauded.

But Aeschylus sternly begins again :—

μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν,  
ἦν δ' ἐκτραφῇ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

and again, at once, νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα.<sup>20</sup>

The play is done. The advice is given, we may go off in patriotic generalities and admirable Euripidean jests—but there remains the final procession when the torches of the mystics are lighted, and the victorious poet is conducted to the upper world amid the strains of his own music.

φαίνετε τοίνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ  
λαμπάδας ἱράς, χᾶμα προπέμπετε  
τοῖσιν τούτου τούτον μέλεσιν  
καὶ μολπαῖσιν κελαδούντες.

On Pluto's address : ἄγε δὴ χαίρων, Αἰσχύλε, χώρει, καὶ σῶζε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμῃς ἀγαθαῖς, the remark of the Scholiast, 'because Attica belongs to Demeter and Persephone,' is not so far-fetched as the editors think. It is a scene whose setting and whose phrases alike recall the great conclusion of the Eumenides—that glorious triumph of a united Athens, when, as Dr. Headlam showed,<sup>21</sup> the Erinyes have taken the scarlet robe of the Metoecs and have become the kindly guardians of the citadel, that scene which Dr. Verrall expounded as the counterpart of a general reconciliation in the political world of Cimon and Pericles. It is a fitting conclusion to such

<sup>20</sup> On l. 1434 Professor Tucker writes 'commentators have naturally been at a loss to decide which has spoken *σαφῶς*, or rather which has not' I think that in the circumstances the audience would feel no doubt at all. Euripides, the *σαφός*, has made a remark which is highly

characteristic, and, *as a piece of practical advice*, quite unsatisfying. The advice of Aeschylus is *σαφές*, *clear and good*. It makes clear what the whole play has hinted.

<sup>21</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. xxvi. Pt. II, 1906, p. 268.

a play, and a worthy symbol of the greatness of dying Athens—dying happily only, like the blessed initiate, to live again in the not less wonderful Athens of Plato.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

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Dr. Verrall has kindly communicated the following note:—

*Frogs* 1167–8.

That the allusion here is political, I quite agree; and I think it possible to make a plausible guess at the facts in view. Suppose a vote to have been passed extending some grace to such exiles, or such exiles of some particular class, as had ‘returned’ (*κατήλθον* or the like) by a specified date. Such a vote, unless very carefully worded, might easily raise important disputes of interpretation. Was the ‘return’ signified a return in fact or a return in law? Obviously many persons legally banished must have been resident by permission (*πιθόντες τοὺς κυρίους*), and many more by the ignorance or connivance of authority. Were these last within the meaning of the supposed grace? This might well be a very delicate and difficult question. Aristophanes, as Mr. Sheppard’s paper shows, would certainly be for the more liberal interpretation. This I take him to indicate by putting the argument for the narrower (and probably sounder) construction into the mouth of Euripides and making Dionysus dismiss it as a quibble: ‘A clever interpretation indeed! But what you mean, I do not understand.’

A. W. VERRALL.

## NOTES ON SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS, MAINLY IN ATHENS.

THIS paper contains some notes on miscellaneous inscriptions of which all but two are in Athens. The two exceptions are, firstly, the Ἀστραγαλομαντεία inscription at Adalia, of which I publish a copy which will, I trust, be found more accurate than any of the previous versions; and, secondly, a recently discovered inscription from Northern Phocis dating probably from the end of the second, or the beginning of the third, century A.D. The remainder of the paper is devoted to some corrections in previously published copies of inscriptions in the Acropolis Museum.

During a recent visit to Adalia (Attalia) in Pamphylia I copied again the well-known Ἀστραγαλομαντεία inscription<sup>1</sup> which is built into a wall there in one of the streets not far from the harbour: and it seems worth while to publish here the text of the inscription in minuscules, with a few critical notes. The most accessible copy of the stone is that given in Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* No. 1038, but it is very faulty, and since that work was published other copies of the same inscription, or of similar inscriptions which are almost identically worded, have been found in Asia Minor. The most complete version was found by Sterrett at Ördekji (Anabura) in Pisidia (*Papers of the American School at Athens*, iii. [The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor] pp. 206-214; *Hermes* xiii. pp. 532 foll.), and enabled many of the previously uncertain readings on the Adalia stone to be cleared up; and a fragmentary inscription of the same class which is in places identical with that at Adalia was found at Aghlasun (Sagalassus) in Pisidia more recently. But in Graf Lanckoronski's work,<sup>2</sup> where the latter inscription is published, the readings of the Adalia version are only given very briefly, and not always correctly, in his critical notes. Consequently there seems room for an attempt to publish a correcter text, though, owing to the damaged condition of the stone, the readings are of necessity still uncertain in one or two places. It does not seem necessary to cite the differences of reading between the present version and that of Kaibel<sup>3</sup>; Graf Lanckoronski's version wherever given is denoted by L.

L. 3 begins /////Γ ΔΑΛΛΑ: the restoration is clearly [ὁ στό](μ)α.

<sup>1</sup> First published by Hirschfeld, *Berlin. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1875, p. 716. See also Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1038; *Hermes*, x. pp. 192 foll.; *Rhein. Mus.* vii. p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens . . .* herausgegeben von Karl Grafen Lanckoronski (Wien. 1892), ii. pp. 220 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

ΛΛ being an error of the engraver's for Μ. L. has εἰς, but ἰ is commoner than εἰ throughout the inscription, nor does there seem room for the latter.

L. 5 ends ΑΓΟΡΑΣΜ///: we should thus read ἀγορασμ[οῦ] not, with L., ἀγορᾶς.

L. 7 ends ΟΜΟΥΙΣΔΕΞΕΙΤΗΤΛ///: this must be ὁμοῦ ἰς δ' ἐξείτης τ[ε], not ὁμοῦ τε δὲ ἐξείτης τ[ε], as L. It is however quite possible that some letters are lost from the end of the line where the stone is broken away: if so, perhaps the last two letters visible are the remains not of ΤΕ but of ΠΕ, which should be completed as πε[νπτος]. From a metrical point of view either alternative is equally bad.

L. 13 begins [μ]ῆ βαίνιν, not [μ]ῆ βάινεν as L.

L. 17 begins [ἰ]ς χείλος τρεῖς δὲ [δ' ἐ]ξείτε. L. wrongly gives this line with the incorrect repetition of δέ to Sterrett's stone, which however reads correctly τρεῖς δ' ἐξείται.<sup>4</sup>

L. 23. The stone reads clearly πράξεις, not, as L., πράξας. At the end of the line I read ΚΡΑΤΗΙ, which must be restored κρατήσι[ς]; L. however reads κρατήσ[ας].

L. 26. I read at the beginning /ΛΙΜΝΗ///H, which is presumably [μ]ίμνι[ν μ]ῆ - -, L. has μίμνης?

L. 27. L. has ἐν χρόνῳ καιρὸν τηρεῖν, κ.τ.λ. But, though this is highly probable it is not certain: the stone has //ΝΧ///ΝΛ /ΑΙΡΟΝ, κ.τ.λ. There seems space for three letters between χ and ν: [κα]ιρόν may be regarded as certain, but if we reject χ[ρό]ν[φ] I have no alternative to suggest.

L. 28 ends ΟΣΑΜΕΡΙΜΝΗ///: i.e. ὄσα μεριμν[ᾶς]. L. reads ὄσσα, which is required by the metre, but is certainly not on the stone.

L. 32. The stone has ΤΗΝ, not, as L., ΣΗΝ πρᾶξιν.

L. 36. My copy agrees with L. in reading ΑΓΩΑΝΑΔΙΚ/// at the end of the line: previous copies had not noted the superfluous Α in the middle of the word ἄγωνα.

L. 40. The stone seems to have ἐπιρωτᾶς, not, as L., ἐπερωτᾶς. This is followed by ΣΥΝΛΗ///, which L. restores σὺν Διὸς Ἑρμῇ. The letter after the Ν must have been Α, Δ, or Λ, but what follows is quite uncertain.

ἀστρυγ                      κβ'                      Μοιρῶν ἐπιφανῶν  
 ἰς] χείλος τρεῖς δὲ ἐξείτε, πένπτος τρεῖς πείπτων  
 ἰς στό](μ)α μὴ δοῖς χεῖρα λύκῳ μὴ σοί τι γενήτε  
 δυσχερές ἐστι πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ (π)εύθη κὲ ἀπισ[τον]  
 5 ἀλλ' ἡσύχιος μένε λήσας ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγορασμ[οῦ].  
    δδδδς                      κβ'                      Ποσειδῶνος

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 213, l. 21.



- τέσσαρα δ' οἱ τέσσαρες ὁμοῦ ἴς δ' ἐξείτης πέ[ν]πτος (?).  
 ἴς πέλαγος σπέρμα βαλὺν καὶ γράμματα γράψ[αι]  
 ἀμφότερον μόχθος τε κενὸς καὶ ἄπρακτος·
- 10 μηδὲ βιάζου θνητὸς ἐὼν θεὸν ὃς ἔτι βλάψι.  
 δγγστ κβ' Ἄρεως θουρίου.  
 τέσσαρα καὶ δύο τρεῖς, δύο δ' ἐξείτε· τὰδε φράζ[ει]  
 μ]ῆ βαίνιν ἦν μέλλις ξένην τήνδε γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
 αἴθων ἐσχώρηε λέων μέγας δν πεφύλαξο·
- 15 δεινὸς ἄπρακτος χρησμός ἐφ' ἡσυχίῃ δ' ἀνάμεινον.  
 αςστδ κγ' Ἀθηνᾶς·  
 ἴς χεῖλος τρεῖς δὲ [ δ' ἐ]ξείτε καὶ τέσσ[αρα] πένπτος·  
 Παλλὰδ' Ἀθηναίην τίμα καὶ πάντα σοι ἔστε  
 ὅσσα θέλεις καὶ σοι τὰ δεδογμένα πάντα τελεῖτε
- 20 λύσι δ' ἐγ δεσμῶν καὶ τὸν νοσέοντα σεσώσ[ει].  
 στστδγ κγ' Εὐφροσύνης·  
 σ]τέλλε ὅπου σοι θυμός· πάλιν γὰρ δόμον ἦξι[ς]  
 εὐρ[ω]ν καὶ πράξεις κατὰ νοῦν πάντα τε κρατήσι[ς]  
 Εὐφροσύνην [ω]νείσθε πωλεῖν τε καὶ οὕτως.
- 25 στγγγ κδ' Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος·  
 μίμνι[ν μ]ῆ πράξης, Φοίβου χρησμοῖσι δὲ πείθ[ου]  
 ἐ]ν χ[ρό]νῳ [κα]ιρὸν τηρεῖν· νῦν δ' ἡσυχος ἴσθι·  
 μι]κρὸν ἐπισχὼν τελέσεις π[ά]νθ' ὅσα μεριμνᾷς.  
 δδδστ κδ' Κρόνου [τ]εκνοφάγον·
- 30 μ]ίμνε δόμων ἐπὶ σῶν· πάλιν μηδ' ἰμοι βαίνει,  
 μή σοι θῆρ ὀλοὸς καὶ ἀλάστωρ ἐνγύθειν ἔλθῃ·  
 οὐ γὰρ ὀρώ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀσφαλῆν οὐδὲ βέβειον.  
 δστγγ κε' Μηνὸς φωσφόρου·  
 θά]ρσι, καιρὸν ἔχεις, πράξις δ' θέλεις καιροῦ δ' ἐπιτε[ύξῃ]
- 35 ἴς ὁ]δὸν ὀρμηθῆνε, ἔχεις καιρόν τιν' ὁ μόχθος  
 ἐρ]γον τ' ἐνχειρίν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀγῶ<a>να δίκ[αιον].  
 στσα κε' Μητρὸς θεῶν·  
 ὡ]ς ἄρνα κατέχουσιν λύκοι κρατεροὶ τελέοντες  
 β]οῦς ἑλικας πάντων τούτων καὶ σὺ κρατ[ήσις]
- 40 καὶ πάντ' ἔστε σοι ὅσα ἐπιρωτᾷς σὺν Δ[ι]ὸς Ἑρμῇ (?).  
 στστδδ κς' Διὸς [κ]ατα[χθο]νί[ου]  
 ἡ πρᾶξις κ[ω]λύματ' ἔχ[ι - - -  
 λ]υπηρά τις ὁδὸς καὶ - - -  
 ὦν]είσθε χ[α]λεπ[ὸν] καὶ - - -

2. The following inscription was found by Mr. Jerome Farrell, of the British School, in the spring of 1909, during a journey in Northern Phocis.<sup>5</sup> It was lying in a vineyard close to the track which leads from Dadi to Boudonitza across Mt. Callidromus, and came probably from Drymaea, the

<sup>5</sup> I wish to acknowledge his kindness in allowing me to publish it here, and to make use of his copy and impression of the stone.

site of which town is only a few hundred yards away from where it was found. It is inscribed on a base of greyish marble measuring  $72 \times 50$ . The letters are ca. .03 high.

Μᾱρ(κον) Οὔλ(πιον) Δαμάσι[ππ]ο[ν], | τὸν βοιωτάρχην, πατὴρς |  
 5 βοιωτάρχου, τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, φωκάρχην, ἀρχιερέ[α] τῆς Βοιωτίας,  
 ἀμφικτύονα, θεικόλον, Πανέλλην[α] καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δὲ πάσας  
 10 ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τελέσαντα λιτουρ[γίας] Κιντυ[λ]λία Πλουτάρχη ἡ γυνὴ  
 τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα εὐνοίας καὶ | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

Letter forms: Α Ε Π Σ Ω.

This is almost an exact duplicate of another inscription in honour of the same man, which was found about a hundred years ago on the site of the ancient Amphicleia, which lies a few miles to the S.W. of the find-spot of the present stone. There is no need to give the whole text of the latter stone here, as it is to be found in several publications,<sup>6</sup> but we may note briefly the differences between the two. (1) The Amphicleia version begins ΨΒΔ, i.e. ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς καὶ) δ(ήμου), which is omitted here. (2) Damasippus' first title is there τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ [με]γάλου θεοῦ Διονύσο[ν], and the base was ordered to be set up Διονύσου ἐν τεμένει, the last two lines containing a provision to this effect. These details are omitted from the new inscription, as they no doubt referred to Damasippus' tenure of the priesthood of Dionysus at Amphicleia, which would not need to be recorded on a base set up elsewhere. (3) A title which he possesses here but not on the other base is ἀρχιερέα τῆς Βοιωτίας, to which we have a parallel in an inscription at Chaeroneia,<sup>7</sup> which is in honour of Φλαβία Λανείκη, who is described as ἀρχιέρειαν διὰ βίου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν, κ.τ.λ., and seems to have lived early in the third century A.D. It is interesting to note that in the case of Damasippus the post should have been held by a man who is known only from inscriptions found outside Boeotia. That he was however a Boeotian seems probable from the fact that he himself like his father before him was βοιωτάρχης.

3. The following inscriptions in the Magazines of the Acropolis Museum are transcribed incorrectly or incompletely in the various works in which they have been published. The corrections are made from my own copies and impressions of the stones which I have taken while preparing the catalogue of the inscriptions. The more interesting of the unpublished inscriptions in the Magazines appeared in this *Journal* (vol. xxvii. (1908), pp. 300 foll.), and it seemed worth while to supplement that account with the following notes in order to save space in the catalogue proper. The number given first is in all cases that of the Museum-inventory.

<sup>6</sup> *I.G.* ix. 1. No. 218, and references *ibid.*; Boeckh published it with a commentary on the titles and offices held by the recipient in *C.I.G.* 1738. The same man seems to be mentioned in

an inscription from Anticyra, *I.G.* ix. 1. No. 8, which Dittenberger (*loc. cit.*) attributes to the reign of Septimius Severus or Caracalla.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.* vii. No. 3426.

2635.—Sybel, *Katalog der Skulpturen zu Athen*, 6109.

On a fragment of Pentelic marble forming originally the lower right-hand corner of a base with figures in relief is the inscription Διονύσιος | Λακιάδης. Sybel read the second word as Ἀθμονεύς, without comment. Except that the two *alphas* are not very clear there is no possibility of the word having been anything but Λακιάδης.

This is probably a fragment of the large, but much damaged, base with reliefs representing athletes, which was discovered on the Acropolis in 1859.<sup>8</sup> It does not actually join, as at each of the corners where it might belong there is much more missing than this fragment contains. But from the style both of the relief and the inscription it seems to have belonged to this base, or one exactly like it.

4054.—Schöne, *Hermes* iv. p. 292; *I.G.* iii. 1292; Sybel, *Katalog*, 7158; Larfeld, *Handbuch der gr. Epig.* ii. p. 362.

This stone has the following inscription on the back, which is not mentioned in any of these publications. It is broken on all sides. Letters .045 high.

ΛΩΡ	- - πν]λωρ[οί - -
ΛΗΣ	λ]ησ
ΟΣ	ος
ΙΝ ΙΠ	- - π

4054 A.—Is another fragment of the same stone, inscribed likewise on both sides, but does not join the foregoing. It is complete above only. On the front is a male head in relief, on a larger scale than that on the published side of No. 4054: the first line is cut on the plain moulding above the relief, the remainder in the field to l. Height .22; breadth .19; thickness .09. Letters *ca.* .015 high.

ΠΥΛΩΡΟ////	Πυλωρ[ι]
ΤΡΙΚΟ////ΙΣΙΟΣ//	[ὁ δέινα] Τρικο[ρύ]σιος
Σ	- - s.

This restoration is practically certain: Τρικόρυθος was a deme of the tribe Aiantis. There was no letter after the Σ in l. 3, but what preceded it is lost. On the back of the slab is the following. (Letters .045 high.)

- - ἐ]πὶ Ἀρισ - -  
 - - ου ἀπ - -  
 - - χ[υ] - -

4064.—Lolling, *Δελτ.* Ἀρχ. 1888, p. 183; *I.G.* ii. 5, p. 263, No. 1620 f. In l. 2 for ΟΕΥΣ read ΡΕΥΣ. Lolling, followed by Köhler, restored [Λευκον]οεύς: we should probably complete it [Λαμπτ]ρεύς, as this brings

<sup>8</sup> See Sybel, *Katalog*, 6154, for full bibliography. In *Bull. dell. Ins.* 1859, p. 197, where it was

first published, the copy gives ΛΑΚΙΑΔΗΝ in l. 2; it should be ΛΑΚΙΑΔΗΣ.

the beginning of ll. 2 and 3 into line, and the inscription was apparently cut *στοιχηδόν*.

4070.—'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1842, No. 913; *Arch. Zeit.* xxv. p. 94; Le Bas, *Attique*, i. 134; Sybel, *Katalog*, 6743; Friedrichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke*, No. 1184.

The true reading in l. 1 is ΡΟΙ ΑΓΓ, which I would restore as [στεφανη-φό]ροι ἀγ[ῶνες]. There is an allusion to games of this kind in *I.G.* ii. 3, 1285. Of previous editors Pittakis ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., *loc. cit.*) read ΟΡΑΙ; Le Bas (*loc. cit.*), ΟΡΑΙ; E. Curtius (*Arch. Zeit.*, *loc. cit.*), ΟΙ...ΑΙ..., and in l. 2 στεφάνον (στεφάνων is quite certain); Sybel read ΟΙ...ΑΙΟ; and Friedrichs-Wolters give, with some hesitation, ΟΙ...ΑΙΟ. The first letter (Ρ) was not visible until I had scraped away some of the mortar with which the stone is still largely incrustated, and the same simple process showed that the last letter was plainly Ω, but only the left-hand side is preserved. There is no letter lost between Ι and Α, though the space is wider than between the other letters.

4. In connexion with my paper on 'Some Unpublished Attic Inscriptions' published in this *Journal* (vol. xxviii, pp. 291 foll.), one or two points have occurred to me which are perhaps worth publishing here, as they tend to furnish a more satisfactory restoration of No. 5 (*I.G.* ii. 1, 89) of the inscriptions contained therein.

Ll. 3-5. It is quite possible that the letter in l. 3 after the word - - - βο]νλεύ(σ)α'σθ)αι was not Κ as I give it in the transcript of the inscription: but what it was is not at all certain. It is tempting to restore the letters Ρ. ΟΙ in this line, which were preceded by four letters now lost, as the end of the word κύρ[ι]οι, and to insert τε before it. The space between this and the letters (σ)[ι] preserved at the beginning of the next line will be exactly filled if we read κύρ[ι]οι [γενῶνται, καὶ ἐπιμεληθῶ]σ[ι], and explain, quite simply, that it was some proviso of the decree which referred to appointing a number of men who should be both empowered to discuss the means (κύριοι συμβουλεύσασθαι), and to take steps to see (ἐπιμεληθῶσι), that no one be injured (ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικῆται): the construction would no doubt have been ἐλέσθαι ἀνδρας - - οἵτινες κύριοι γενῶνται, κ.τ.λ. This suggests at once a much simpler restoration of ll. 4-5 than the one I proposed (*op. cit.* p. 305, fifth line from the bottom), for it is now plain that the sentence ending -ια καὶ ἡ συνμαχία τῷ δήμῳ, κ.τ.λ., contained a verb governed by the ὅπως in l. 4, and was parallel to the clause ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικῆται. We may proceed then to restore thus (ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικῆται [ἀλλὰ γενῆται ἢ τε φιλ]ία καὶ ἡ συνμαχία, κ.τ.λ. Thus these lines can now be restored with considerable probability as follows (though I cannot bring them into connexion with the words (τ)οὺς ἀδικου(μ)ένους in l. 2): l. 3 - - οἵτινες συμβο]νλεύσασθαι [τε κύρ[ι]οι [γενῶνται καὶ ἐπιμεληθῶ](σ)[ι] (ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικῆται, [ἀλλὰ γενῆται ἢ τε φιλ]ία καὶ ἡ συνμαχία, κ.τ.λ.

Ll. 6-7.  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha[\iota \mid \epsilon\delta\omicron\xi\epsilon \tau\hat{\omega}\iota \delta\eta\mu\omega\iota - -]$  is not satisfactory. Probably the formula was merely  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha[\iota \mid \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\hat{o}\nu \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} - -]\eta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\nu, \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ <sup>9</sup>

L. 8 began probably with  $\tau\hat{o}\upsilon\varsigma \text{Εὐβοιᾶις}$ , not, as I restored it,  $\tau\hat{o}\upsilon\varsigma \text{πρέσβεις}$ . These corrections simplify considerably the difficulties which I had previously felt to surround the interpretation of the opening lines of this decree. They do not, of course, affect its historical bearing.

I may perhaps also point out, and hereby apologize for, two misprints which had escaped my notice in the next inscription in the same paper (No. 6, pp. 307-8). (1) The height of the letters is given as .05: this should be .005. In l. 4 of the transcript for  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi[(\acute{\alpha})\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$  read  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi](\acute{\alpha})\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , the bracket being turned the wrong way.

A. M. WOODWARD.

<sup>9</sup> In reviewing Wilhelm's recently published *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1910, No. 1, p. 8. Ziebarth points out that the name here is to be restored [ $\text{Ἀμφ}]\eta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ , a name which is actually found at Oreus, and has been

discussed together with similar names in Wilhelm's *Urkunden diplomat. Aufzeichnungen*, p. 90. This evidence I had totally overlooked in publishing the present inscription. We may therefore, as Ziebarth suggests, restore  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha[\iota \mid \delta\acute{\epsilon} . . . . . \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \text{Ἀμφ}]\eta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\nu \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$

## MODERN GREEK IN ASIA MINOR.

(Continued from p. 132.)

### THE DIALECT OF THE POUTAK OVASI.

§ 39.—In contrast with the Silli dialect spoken in one place only, we have here to do with a dialect in use in many villages, in each of which it varies slightly. I leave out of account the dialect of Sinasos. As recorded by Archelaos<sup>40</sup> it differs, or rather, since the purified language has made great strides in Sinasos, it differed widely from that of the Poutak Ovasi villages, chiefly however in being less corrupt, no doubt owing to long contact with Constantinople and the outer world. Mr. Archelaos assured me that the idiom now spoken at Tshalela and Potamia closely resembles this old Sinasos dialect.<sup>41</sup> Of Arabison also I can say nothing; it is said to be a recent colony with a dialect like that of Misti. It would be of great interest to examine these northern villages, including Anakou and Silata, and with them the Lazic colonies north of the Halys, keeping especially in view the points of contact between Pontic and North Cappadocian, such as the tendency to distinguish between animate and inanimate objects in the declension of nouns, which is a mark of Pontic and is increasingly prominent in the Cappadocian dialects as one passes from the southern to the northern villages,<sup>42</sup> the use at Sinasos of the Pontic *κί* as a negative by the side of *δέν*,<sup>43</sup> the dropping of unaccented *i* and *u* and the preservation of the old possessive pronouns.<sup>44</sup>

§ 40.—The villages of which I speak from personal knowledge are limited to Fertek, Ghourzono, Aravan, Misti, Axo, and Malakopi. From Phloïta and Anakou I have also short notes. I visited Limna, Trocho, and Delmeso, but brought away no dialect notes. The list in § 4 adds to these Semendere, Oulagatsh, Dila, Silata, and the colonies from Misti, Tsharakly and Jeklek,

<sup>40</sup> Συναρός, pp. 147-155.

<sup>41</sup> This is true also of the dialect of Delmeso.

<sup>42</sup> See §§ 62, 63 below, on declension. For Pontic see Chatzidhakis, *Einleitung in die Neugr. Grammatik*, p. 372.

<sup>43</sup> Archelaos (Σιν. p. 237) states that it is used by the side of *δέν* in Cappadocia generally.

This I believe to be incorrect. I have found no trace of it except at Sinasos. Local scholars are often much at sea beyond the limits of their own immediate observation. *κί* is from the ancient *ὀυκί*, *ὀυκί*.

<sup>44</sup> Pontus has the 1st pl. in *-μεσ* act. and dep., and *Καρ.* (p. 168) gives the same in the act. for Cappadocia (? Pharasa).

for which I have a few notes from Mr. Kechayopoulos. In all of these further local peculiarities no doubt exist, but the geographical position and the comparative uniformity of the dialect make it unlikely that they would yield much more of great importance. Any general statements must be understood to cover only the same ground as my sources, and Sinasos and its group are expressly excluded.

The most marked feature of the dialect of all these villages from Fertek northwards, always excepting Sinasos and its group, is the total disappearance, except in a very few phrases, of any distinction of gender, grammatical or natural.<sup>45</sup> This is clearly due to the influence of Turkish.

The notes on grammar which follow make no pretence to completeness, but I believe that they touch on all the more important peculiarities of the dialect. For the Sinasos dialect the reader is referred to Archelaos' book, which is easily to be obtained in Athens.

*Grammatical Notes on the Dialect of the Pontak Orasi.*

*Phonetics.*

§ 41.—It is here that the greatest local differences exist. Final *i* and *u* if unaccented are dropped, and sometimes also in the middle of a word. *E.g.* σπít (σπίτι): το σπítι μ' (το σπítι μου), *my house*. This is found also in Pontic.

At Malakopi, as at Silli, unaccented *e* and *o*, especially in terminations, are weakened to *i* and *u*: *e.g.* ἀράτσα<sup>46</sup> του "Αγγλου τοῦ ἦρτιν σου σπít μας (ἐξήγησα τὸν "Αγγλον ποῦ ἦλθε 'ς τὸ σπítι μας), *I sought for the Englishman who came to our house*. This with the dropping of unaccented *i* and *u* brings the vowels, as far as final syllables are concerned, into the same condition as in the dialects of north Greece, and my servant from Macedonia at once recognized the resemblance to his native dialect.<sup>47</sup> The same weakening occurs, but less markedly, at Misti.

§ 42.—The Turkish vowel-harmony appears in the verbs formed from Turkish stems by adding -díζω. *E.g.* from Malakopi: βασλα-dίζου, -dίς, -dίς: -dίζουμι, -dίξιτι, -dίζνι, but düšüv-dύζου, -dús, -dús; -dύζουμι, -dύξιτι, -dύζνι; and aorist βασλάd-σα, -σις, -σι; -σαμι, -σιτι, -σαν, but düšüv-d-σα, -σüs, -σü; -σαμι, -σüτι, -σαν. I noticed the same at Axo. For the principle involved see § 8.<sup>48</sup>

§ 43.—The dropping of these final vowels affects the consonants, because

<sup>45</sup> Such as Σημβόλ (εἰς τὴν Πόλιν) for Constantinople, ἔην ἄλλ (τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν), and a few such phrases from Aravan (N.K.). The fem. art. also is used a little at Anakou. For the less corrupted language of the ballads see § 88. Another trace of the acc. forms of the article are the words beginning with prosthetic *v*, such as νευλή (αὐλή), etc.

<sup>46</sup> Aor. of ἀραδίζου (Turk. *aramay*), *I seek*.

<sup>47</sup> He was actually from Velvendós, the dialect of which is the subject of a study by Boundónas in 'Ἀρχαία τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, ii. Athens, 1892.

<sup>48</sup> Valavanis, probably from Aravan, gives (Μικρασιατικά, p. 29) γιαιπτιδίζω but ότουρδούζω; the difference plainly being due to this cause.

the Turkish principle by which certain letters (*b, j, d*), if they become final, are pronounced unvoiced (as *p, t, k*) if followed, and consonants which were originally voiced are pronounced unvoiced when brought in this way into the final position. Examples are *κρέβεις (γυρένεις)* but *κρέφ (γυρεύει)* from Axo; from Malakopi *βόθ*, pl. *βόδια (βόϊδι)* *ox*, and many others, for which see especially § 53 on declension. A final unvoiced consonant sometimes becomes voiced if a termination is added. This happens occasionally in the neut. decl. (see § 53), and regularly in the case of the agglutinative *-ia* plural of masculines, e.g. *διάκος*, pl. *διάκοζια*, *deacon* (§§ 55–62). The result is the voiced and unvoiced consonants tend to be used, irrespectively as to which is original, according as they are medial or final.

§ 44.—Initial *γ* at Malakopi is pronounced not as a spirant but as a spirant or possibly an aspirate following a stop. I have written it *κγ*. Examples are *κγάμους (γάμος)*; *κγουράζου (ἀγοράζω)*; *κγαμβρός (γαμβρός)*.<sup>49</sup>

§ 45.—*Θ* and *δ*.—From Malakopi and Phloïta northwards they have the usual sound of the unvoiced and voiced dental spirants. In the southern villages their treatment varies. As the second member of a group of two consonants I believe that they are always pronounced *t* and *d*. The local details are:—

At Delmeso (N.K.) *θ* and *δ* are pronounced as dental spirants.

At Ferteke *θ* → *τ*; *δ* → *d*. E.g. *do τύρα (ή θύρα)*; *είδα (είδον)*. *Δια-* is pronounced *ja-* as in *ιάσκαλος (διάσκαλος for διδάσκαλος)*, for which cf. the change of *di* at Delmeso, etc., below.

At Ghourzono *θ* → *χ* and internally also to *ρ*; *δ* → initially *d*, internally *ρ*. E.g. *κλωχάρα (κλωθάρα)*, *spindle*; *χάχη (ἐχάθη)*; *φοβήχα* or *φοβήρα* <sup>50</sup> (*ἐφοβήθη*); *βώρ (βόϊδι)*, *ox*; *δένω (δένω)*, *I bind*.

At Aravan as at Ghourzono, except that the change of internal *θ* to *ρ* is regular in certain words (e.g. *καρίζω = καθίζω*) and in the categories of the aorist passive and of nouns in *-άθι*. E.g. *κοιμήρα (ἐκοιμήθη)*; *λύρα (ἐλύθη)*; *καλάρ (καλάθι)* *basket*; *Χεός (Θεός)*; *χύρα (θύρα)*; *ὀρνίχ (ὄρνις)* for *ὀρνίθι*.

At Oulagatsh (N.K.) the aor. pass. ending is *-χα (λύχα = ἐλύθη)*, and the *-άδι* nouns end in *-άχι*.<sup>51</sup> The only phonetic conclusion which it is safe to draw is that *θ* changes to *χ*, as the change of the *-άδι* ending is probably morphological as at Misti, where it coexists with the phonetic change of *δ* to *d*.

At Axo and Misti *θ* → *χ*; *δ* → *d*. E.g. from Misti: *δὲ στάχα (ἐν ἐστάθην)*; *δώδεκα: πεχερός (πενθερός)*. From Axo: *Χεγός (Θεός)*; *ἀδελφή*. The *-ίδι* nouns form a category by themselves, and their change to *-ίγι* is

<sup>49</sup> This sound I at first wrote as *κ*. I believe it to be the Turkish *qaf*.

<sup>50</sup> The pass. aor. in *-ρα* (for *-θα, -θη*) probably belongs to Aravan, and the type in *-χα* to

Ghourzono. The villages are only a quarter of an hour apart.

<sup>51</sup> No doubt *-άγι* before the possessive, *-άγι μ'*, etc., and otherwise in *-άχ*.



older than the pronunciation of  $\delta$  as  $d$ . When this began these nouns had already passed into the  $-i\gamma i$  form. See § 53.

Trocho (N.K.) with  $\theta \rightarrow \chi$ ,  $\delta \rightarrow d$  and the  $-i\delta i$  nouns to  $i\gamma i$ , is, as might be expected, in the same condition as Misti and Axo.

At Semendere (N.K.) the pass. aorist in  $-\chi a$  points to the usual change of  $\theta \rightarrow \chi$ , but  $\phi\acute{\iota}z$  ( $\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta i$ ,  $\delta\phi i s$ ) and  $\psi a\lambda\acute{\iota}z a$  ( $\psi a\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta a$ ), shew medial  $\delta \rightarrow z$ . This is paralleled by the pronunciation of  $\delta$  as  $\zeta$  in certain words;  $\epsilon\acute{\zeta}o\acute{v}$  ( $\epsilon\acute{\delta}\omega$ ) at Misti;  $\zeta\acute{o}n\tau\sigma i$  (N.K.), pronounce  $\zeta\acute{o}n\tau i$  ( $\delta\acute{o}n\tau i$ ), *tooth* at Aravan;  $\Gamma\acute{o}\upsilon\rho\zeta o\nu o$  for the Turkish *Kayr Dunus*; cf.  $\zeta o\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota} a$  ( $\delta o\upsilon\lambda e\acute{\iota} a$ ) at Silli.

Besides this irregularity we have a few words in which  $\theta$  is pronounced as  $\tau$  contrary to the rule. Thus at Misti,  $\tau\acute{u}r a$  ( $\theta\acute{u}r a$ );  $\tau\upsilon\mu\eta\acute{\iota} a\mu a$  ( $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota} a\mu a$ );  $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota} a$  ( $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota} a$ ), and at Axo,  $\tau\upsilon\mu\eta\iota a\tau\acute{o}$ , *censer*. Compare the words at Silli where  $\delta$  is pronounced  $d$  instead of  $r$ , and  $\zeta o\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota} a$  ( $\delta o\upsilon\lambda e\acute{\iota} a$ ). See § 12.

This avoidance of the dental spirants is explained locally by the fact that these sounds do not exist in Turkish and that therefore Turkish speakers have a difficulty in pronouncing them. This view is supported by the pronunciation of  $\theta$  as  $t$  (or  $d$  or  $s$ ) and of  $\delta$  as  $d$  in the dialect of the Terra d'Otranto, where again Greek is under the influence of a language which does not possess these sounds.<sup>52</sup> The relation of Greek to the surrounding Italian in south Italy is in fact precisely that of Greek to Turkish in Asia Minor. Also the variety of substitutions,  $ch$ ,  $t$ ,  $d$ ,  $r$ ,  $z$ , looks like the results of failures in different directions to pronounce the different sounds. It would seem from these considerations that Greek, although now losing ground, was at one time talked at least to some extent both by Italians and Turks.<sup>53</sup>

§ 46.— $Ti$  and  $vd i$  (anc.  $\nu\delta$ ,  $\nu\tau$ ) are pronounced at Delmeso, Ghourzono, and Aravan, as  $\acute{e}i$  and  $\nu\acute{j}i$ . *E.g.* Ghourzono:  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\epsilon}n\eta s$ , but pl.  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\tau e$ ;  $\phi o\nu\acute{j}\acute{\nu}\lambda$  ( $\sigma\phi o\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda i o\nu$ ]. Aravan:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\lambda i\gamma\acute{\alpha}r$  (connected with  $\tau\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma o\omega$ ), *spider*. Delmeso:  $\acute{\epsilon}i s$  ( $\tau\acute{\iota} s$ ). At Ghourzono and Aravan this  $\acute{\epsilon}$  cannot stand as a final, but changes to  $\acute{\varsigma}$ : *e.g.*  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\varsigma}$  ( $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau i$ ), *eye*, and pl.  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\varsigma} a$  ( $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau i a$ ). The resemblance in this point, and in  $\delta \rightarrow \rho$ , of these western villages to Silli is curious and perhaps significant.

§ 47.— $\Sigma i$ ,  $\zeta i$  are pronounced  $\acute{\sigma}i$ ,  $\acute{\zeta}i$ , and  $\sigma\kappa$ ,  $\sigma\tau$  incline to  $\acute{\sigma}\kappa$ ,  $\acute{\sigma}\tau$ . At Axo  $\acute{\sigma}\kappa$ ,  $\acute{\sigma}\tau$  are very marked; at Phlořta  $\acute{\sigma}\kappa$ ; at Fertek the impf. ending is always  $-i\acute{\sigma}\kappa a$ , and at Aravan (N.K.), where  $\sigma\kappa a$ ,  $\sigma\kappa o$  are kept as opposed to  $\acute{\sigma}\kappa e$  and  $\acute{\sigma}\kappa i$ , the ending  $-\sigma\kappa o\omega$  is always  $\acute{\sigma}\kappa o\omega$ . This  $\acute{\varsigma}$  is not found at Silata (N.K.), but south of this is recorded for almost every village.

§ 48.— $X$  is often pronounced  $\acute{\varsigma}$  before a forward vowel. The details are:—

<sup>52</sup> Morosi, *Studi sui Dialecti Greci della Terra d'Otranto*, Lecce, 1870, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>53</sup> I do not believe in the possibility of the  $t$  and  $d$  being relics of ancient pronunciation.

$\theta$  and  $\delta$  were certainly pronounced as spirants here as elsewhere. The spirantal sounds substituted for them,  $\kappa^h$ ,  $s$ ,  $r$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\acute{\zeta}$ , would alone prove it.

At Ferteke and Malakopi  $\chi e, \chi i \rightarrow \sigma e, \sigma i$ , but at Malakopi the velar or only slightly palatal  $\chi$  is kept by analogy all through paradigms; e.g.  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\chi a$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\chi i s$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\chi i\nu$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\chi a\mu i$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\chi i\tau i$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\chi a\nu$ . This extends to  $\gamma$ , which in tenses keeps its velar pronunciation before a forward vowel ( $gh$  and not the English  $g$ ); e.g.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$  ( $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\omega$ ),  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\chi s$ ,  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ :  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu i$ ,  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma i\tau i$ ,  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu i$ , where all the  $\chi$ s and  $\gamma$ s have as nearly as possible the same back pronunciation.

At Phloïta and Anakou  $\chi i \rightarrow \sigma i$ , but before  $e$   $\chi$  remains with only the usual Mod. Greek palatalisation.

At Misti and Axo  $\chi$  never becomes  $\sigma$ . At Silata (N.K.)  $\chi i \rightarrow \sigma i$ . At Ghourzono?

§ 49.— $\sigma\phi$  is variously pronounced. At Ferteke and Aravan as  $\phi$ ; at Delmeso, Oulagatsh (N.K.), Misti and Anakou as  $\sigma$ : at Phloïta as  $\phi\sigma$ ; at Axos  $\sigma\phi$  is kept. Malakopi? E.g. Ferteke,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda$  *do túra* ( $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda i s e$  *tēn thýran*); Aravan,  $\phi\acute{o}\nu\upsilon\lambda o$  ( $\sigma\phi\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda i o\nu$ ). This variety, like the sounds given to  $\theta$  and  $\delta$ , seems to reflect a Tourkophone's difficulty with the double consonant.<sup>54</sup>

$\lambda\phi$  is preserved and not, as in the common language, changed to  $\rho\phi$ . E.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\eta}$  as against Mod. Gr.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ .

§ 50.—At Axo intervocalic spirants are often only very weakly pronounced or even dropped altogether. Examples are:  $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}o s$  ( $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon o s$ );  $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\nu a o\acute{\upsilon}\mu$  ( $\acute{\alpha}s \acute{\alpha}\nu a\beta o\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$ ), *let us go up*;  $\pi a\pi\acute{\alpha}e$  ( $\pi a\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta e s$ );  $\pi e(\chi)\epsilon\rho\acute{o}s$  ( $\pi e\nu\theta e\rho\acute{o}s$ ):  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\omicron\upsilon\mu e\sigma\tau e$  ( $\kappa a\theta\acute{o}\mu e\theta a$ );  $\pi\acute{\eta}a\mu$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\eta}\gamma a\mu\epsilon\nu$ ), *we went*. Initial  $\beta$  is hardly heard in  $\beta\rho o\chi\acute{o}s$ , *rain*, and  $\beta\rho a\kappa o\zeta\acute{o}\nu$ , *belt*. Note also  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho o\upsilon\mu a i$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi o\mu a i$ ), Misti and Axos;  $\rho a\nu\acute{\omega}$  ( $\tau\rho a\nu\acute{\omega}$ ), *I see*, Misti; and  $\acute{\alpha}\rho a\beta o s$  at Misti and  $\acute{\alpha}\rho o\pi o s$  at Aravan for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho o\pi o s$ .

#### Declensions.

§ 51.—*Article*. The article is not used at all in the genitive, nor in the nom. with proper names and words used as such (*i.e.* names of persons), but regularly with things in the nom. and always in the acc. The restriction in its use is the same therefore as at Silli, but does not go quite so far. There is no distinction of gender;  $\tau o$  (Ferteke, *do*) for the sg., and  $\tau a$  (Ferteke, *da*) for the pl. are the only forms used, and before nouns of all genders.<sup>55</sup>

As in Pontic the prep.  $\epsilon i s$  combines with the article into  $\sigma o$  ( $\epsilon i s \tau\acute{o}$ ) and  $\sigma a$  ( $\epsilon i s \tau\acute{\alpha}$ ). This change of  $\sigma\tau$  to  $\sigma$  appears not to be a general phonetic law.

#### Declension of Substantives.

##### § 52.—*Neuter Substantives*.

Except a few words in *-o*, pl. *-a*, and those which follow  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu a$ ,<sup>56</sup> all the neuters are of the type derived from the old diminutives in *-i o n* and *-i o n*.

<sup>54</sup> The group  $\sigma\phi$  is preserved in Mod. Greek except in Kythera, Mani, Ikaria, and Pontos, where it is pronounced  $\sigma\pi$ .

<sup>55</sup> For a few phrases preserving m. and f. forms see § 49.

<sup>56</sup> Declined generally like  $\chi\acute{\omega}\mu a$ , gen.  $\chi\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau$  (for  $\chi\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau o\upsilon$ ), pl.  $\chi\acute{\omega}\mu a\tau a$ . At Ferteke, where agglutination has gone very far, there is the *-i o\acute{\upsilon}* genitive; e.g.  $\kappa\acute{o}\nu i s\mu a$ , gen.  $\kappa\acute{o}\nu i s\mu a\gamma i\omicron\acute{\upsilon}$  ( $\tau a \phi\epsilon\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa a i\nu a$ , p. 63).

The endings are, except the G. Pl., as in Mod. Greek with the vowel-dropping:—

Sg. N.A. —, <i>ι</i> .	Pl. — <i>ια</i> , <i>ιά</i> .
Gen. — <i>ιοῦ</i> .	Gen. — <i>ιοῦν</i> (rare).

*E.g.* From Ferteke; *μέτ*, Pl. *μέτια* (*ίμάτιον*), *shirt*.  
*φτί*, Pl. *φτιά* (*αὐτί*), *car*.

The first type is by far the commoner, and to it belong most of the innumerable names of things borrowed from Turkish, *e.g.* *γουζού*, pl. *γουζούγια* (*quzu*), *lamb*. Thus *-ια* for the pl. and *-ιοῦ* for the gen. sg. have become accepted endings, and the agglutinative part which they play in the masc. and fem. decl. is seen below.<sup>57</sup>

Before the possessive these words keep the *-ι*, and the preceding consonant is treated as a medial: *e.g.* from Aravan, *μάς*, *eye* but *μάς* *μ*, *my eye*, *μάς* *ς*, *μάς* *τ*. Mod. Greek *μάτι* (*ὀμμάτιον*).

§ 53.—The most interesting of these diminutives are those in *-φι*, *-βι*, *-θι*, *-δι*, *-χι*, and *-γι*. Other stems do not vary much from the normal, but these are subject to changes arising from the following causes.

1. As a voiced consonant, if it becomes final, loses its voice, so the dropping of the *-ι* in the sg. reduces the types *-δι*, pl. *-δια*, *-γι*, pl. *-για*, *-βι*, pl. *-βια* to *-θ*, pl. *-θα*, etc., *e.g.* at Malakopi *ἀπίδι* (*ἀπίδιον*) has become *ἀπίθ*, pl. *ἀπίθα*.

2. Further the tendency to voice an originally unvoiced consonant, if its medial is brought into contrast with its final position, *e.g.* *βερκός* (*βερικόκκιον*), *apricot*, pl. *βερκόγια* at Misti, tends to bring the unvoiced types in *-θι*, pl. *-θια*, etc., over to the same pattern in *-θ*, pl. *-θα*, etc. Thus a confusion arises between nouns with unvoiced and nouns with voiced stems.

Examples are:—

(a) with originally voiced stems:

From Axos: *ρόφ*, pl. *ρόβια* (*ὀρόβιον*).  
*καταφύχ*, pl. *καταφύγια* (*καταφύγιον*).  
 From Malokopi: *ἀπίθ*, pl. *ἀπίδια* (*ἀπίδιον*).  
 From Aravan: *καλίχ*, pl. *καλίγια* (*καλίγι*), *shoe*.<sup>58</sup>

(b) with originally unvoiced stems:

From Axos: *ἐαρούχ*, pl. *ἐαρούγια* (Mod. Gr. *τσαρούχι*), *a kind of shoe*.  
 From Misti: *βερκός*, pl. *βερκόγια* (*βερικόκκιον*), *apricot*.  
 From Aravan: *ὀρνίχ*, gen. *ὀρνιγιῶν*, pl. *ὀρνίγια*, gen. *ὀρνιγιῶν* (*ὄρνις*) N.K.

3. The change of *θ* → *χ* carries over the words in *-θ*, to the type in *-χ*, pl. *-για*, thus confusing the dental and guttural stems. The common Greek change of *δι* to *γι*, which I believe to be prior to these local changes, may

<sup>57</sup> After a vowel I write *-για*, etc.; after a consonant *-ια*. In both cases the sound is the English *ya*.

<sup>58</sup> For this Latin loan-word see Meyer, *Neugr. Stud.* iii. p. 23.

have helped this. Examples are, naturally from the places where  $\theta$  becomes  $\chi$ :

From Axo:	$\delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\chi, \delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\delta\rho\nu\iota\varsigma$ ). $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi, \kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ( $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\iota}$ ), <i>key</i> .
From Misti:	$\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\chi, \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ).
From Oulagatsh (N.K.):	$\pi\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\chi, \pi\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$ ), <i>spring</i> .
From Aravan (N.K.):	$\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi, \kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota$ ), <i>walnut</i> . $\kappa\rho\omicron\mu\mu\acute{\upsilon}\chi, \kappa\rho\omicron\mu\mu\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\kappa\rho\omicron\mu\mu\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ). $\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\chi, \pi\rho\alpha\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\alpha$ (* $\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ dim. of $\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ) <i>gynleu-bed</i> .

The normal type of  $-\delta\iota$  and  $-\theta\iota$  nouns, however, at Ghourzono and Aravan results solely from the change of  $\delta$  and  $\theta$  to  $\rho$  and we have from Ghourzono  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\rho$ , pl.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\alpha$ ;  $\delta\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$  ( $\delta\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ), *snake*, pl.  $\delta\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\alpha$ , etc.

At Ferteke the normal type has  $-\tau$  in sg. ( $\delta$  changing to  $\delta$  and finally to  $t$ ) and  $-\gamma\iota\alpha$  for the pl., due either to the old change of  $\delta\iota$  to  $\gamma\iota$  or to the outside influence of the  $-\gamma\iota\alpha$  pl. in use elsewhere. Thus:—

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\tau, \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ), <i>pear</i> .
$\phi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau, \phi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\phi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota, \delta\phi\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ ), <i>eye-brow</i> .
$\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau, \kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ( $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota$ ), <i>walnut</i> .
$\delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\tau$ (pl. $\delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\alpha$ ), ( $\delta\rho\nu\iota\varsigma$ ).

At Malakopi the preservation of the sounds of  $\theta$  and  $\delta$  has made the category  $-\theta$ , pl.  $-\delta\iota\alpha$  so common that it has attracted the  $\gamma$  noun  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ , and it has become  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\theta, \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$  like  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta, \lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha$  ( $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota$ ), *flower*.

§ 54.—Feminines in  $-\eta$ , with the loss of the fem. article become indistinguishable from these dim. neuters, and confusions have arisen. At Malakopi  $\tau\omicron \nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi$  ( $\eta \nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\eta$ ) has its pl.  $\tau\alpha \nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\iota\alpha$  instead of  $\tau\alpha \nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\iota\varsigma$ , and from Aravan N.K. gives  $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\acute{\varsigma}$  ( $\eta \sigma\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ), with gen.  $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ .

#### § 55.—Masculine Substantives.

These include (a) the old 2nd decl., (b) the modern imparisyllabic decl., of which  $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , pl.  $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  is the type. Their chief deviations from normal Mod. Greek are due to (a) the vowel dropping and weakening, (b) the influence of the neut. decl. in  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  (§ 53), (c) a tendency to make a distinction between living persons and inanimate objects. The details are most conveniently arranged locally.

Before the possessive ( $\mu', \sigma', \tau'$ ;  $\mu\alpha\varsigma, \sigma\alpha\varsigma, \tau\upsilon\epsilon$ ), the ending  $-\varsigma$  is sometimes dropped,<sup>59</sup> or a vowel is developed after it and the  $\varsigma$  becoming medial is voiced to  $\zeta$ . *E.g.* from Axo:  $\tau' \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon \mu\alpha\varsigma$ , *our carriages*, but  $\tau' \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\zeta \omicron\upsilon\mu$  *my carriages*, and with  $\beta\alpha\acute{\sigma}\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma$  (pl. of  $\beta\alpha\acute{\sigma}\acute{\alpha}$ , Turk. *paşá*, with meaning of *elder brother*) we have:—

<sup>59</sup> I believe that there is a tendency to drop the final  $\varsigma$  in nouns. Of this the class of  $-\omicron$  masculines at Ferteke is an extreme example.

τα βασάεζ ουμ, <i>my</i>	} elder brothers.
τα βασάεζ ους, <i>thy</i>	
τα βασάεζ ουτ, <i>his</i>	
τα βασάε μας, <i>our</i>	
τα βασάε ζας, <i>your</i>	
τα βασάε τνε, <i>their</i>	

There are no doubt many local differences of detail.

§ 56.—Malakopi. Names of animate beings of the 2nd decl. run thus:—

Sg. N. διάβουλους.	Pl. N. διαβόλ.
A. διάβουλου(ν).	A. διαβόλ or διαβολιούς,
G. διαβόλ or διαβολιού.	

which is the usual decl. with gen. sg. and acc. pl. remodelled after the *-ιον* decl., and the use of the nom. pl. for the acc. as in many other dialects.

Inanimate nouns are treated differently:—

Sg. N. A. σειμός (χειμών).	Pl. N. A. σειμούς or σειμόζια.
A. σειμό(ν).	

And the plurals of old Greek γάμος and φόβος are κγάμς or κγάμοζια and φόβοζια. Here σειμούς and κγάμς are old 2nd. decl. acc. plurals, used for the nom. on the principle of making inanimate objects inherit the conditions of the old neuter nouns. The plurals σειμόζια, etc are derived from the nouns in unaccented and therefore dropped *-ι*, το σειμός being treated like a neuter with a final *-ι* dropped. It is in fact an agglutinative use of *-ια* as a standard pl. ending, as *-ιου* for the gen. The *-ς* is voiced in the pl. because it becomes internal, like the *ç* (κ) in βερκόç, pl. βερκίζια.

The imparisyllables are declined thus:—

Sg. N. παπάς.	Pl. N. παπαδι.
A. παπά.	A. παπάδι or παπάδας.
G. παπαδιού.	

A type which has invaded some *-ος* nouns:—

καμβρός, pl. καμβρίδι. The N. A. pl. ending *-δι* is the Mod. Greek *-δες* with the *-ς* dropped.

§ 57.—Anakou. The *-ος* nouns have no separate form for the acc. pl. *E.g.* N. sg. δάσκαλος, pl. N. A. δασκάλ.

Inanimate things of the *-ος* declension have only the *-ους* plural. *E.g.* σειμός, γάμος, μύλος. Pl. N. A. σειμούς, γάμους, μύλους.

Such plurals were also used at Sinasos.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> As they occur also in Pontic their appearance in this North Cappadocian region is of interest as a possible local link. It will be

noticed that at Ferteke they are not found at all but they are in use at Delmeso.

§ 58.—Αχο. The 2nd decl. for persons is as at Malakopi, but always with a separate acc. pl. *E.g.* διάσκαλος (διδάσκαλος) and βιστικός (πιστικός), *shepherd*.

Sg. N. διάσκαλος, βιστικός	Pl. N. διασκάλ, βιστικοί.
A. διάσκαλο(ν, βιστικό(ν).	A. διασκαλιούς, βιστικιούς.
G. διασκάλ, βιστικοῦ.	
or διασκαλιού.	

For inanimates the *-ους* forms are not used, but only the *-οζια* (*e.g.* το φόβος, τα φόβοζια), which are even used for persons. The only example I could get of this rare use was το διάκος, τα διάκοζια.

There is an allied form in *-άγια*, used for *-ο* nouns; το κοϊκονό, *the cock*, τα κοικονάγια. It arises from the agglutination of *-για*, felt as the natural pl. of anything not human, to the original ending in *-α*.

The diminutive forms have sometimes invaded the nom. pl.; ἀδελφός, gen. ἀδελφιού, pl. ἀδέλφια.

The imparisyllabic decl. runs:

Sg. N. πάπας.	Pl. N. παπάες.
A. παπά.	A. παπάγias.
G. παπαγιού.	

The disappearance of the *d* in παπάες has facilitated the formation of the gen. sg., which is made by adding *-ιού*, felt as the gen. ending to the stem. Cf. ναίκα, ναικαγιού, at Ferteke.

§ 59.—Misti. Some animates in *-ος* are declined like ἄραβος<sup>61</sup> (ἄνθρωπος).

Sg. N. ἄραβος.	Pl. N. ἄρώπ.
A. ἄραβο(ν).	A. ἄραπιούς.
G. ἄραπιού.	

But most animates have the same plural as some inanimates, in *-ογια*, *e.g.* πεχερός (πενθερός), ἀελφός, μέταπο (*forehead*); pl. πεχερόγια, ἀελφόγια, μέταπογια. Just as the *-οζια* pl. is formed by adding *-ια* to the *-ος* nom., so this is formed from the acc. or nom. without *-ς*. Cf. the *-ογια* pl. at Ferteke (§ 62).

There are also plurals of inanimates in *-ους* and *-οζια*.

Of imparisyllabic nouns I have only the N. pl. in *-άι*; *e.g.* παπάς, παπάι.

§ 60. Ghourzono.—The agglutinative pl. in *-οζια* is used regularly, but for animates I believe generally in the acc. only; *e.g.*

Sg. N. γιάσκαλος (διδάσκαλος).	Pl. N. γιασκάλ.
A. γιάσκαλο.	A. γιάσκαλοζια
Gen. γιασκαλοζιού.	or γιασκάλ.

But μύλος, Pl. N. A. μύλοζια.

<sup>61</sup> The π in the N.A. sg. is voiced to β, because it is internal as opposed to the final π in the

N. pl. ἄρώπ. The ω when unaccented is assimilated to the accented initial α.

The failure to distinguish the nom. and acc. is pronounced. It appears in *e.g.* σκοριπιός, *scorpiōn*, and Τοῦρκος, pl. Ν. Α. Τοῦρκοι.

Sg. Ν. Α. σκοριπιός. Pl. Ν. Α. σκοριπιοί.  
Gen. σκοριπιοζιοῦ.

Some inanimates have the -ους pl. *e.g.*

Sg. Ν. Α. τόπος, χρόνος. Pl. Ν. Α. τόπους, χρόνους.

There are also a few plurals in -ορία. *E.g.* φυτό, *vineyard*, gen. φυτοριού, pl. φυτόρια. Σκόλιο, *school*, pl. σκόλιορια. The number of neuters in -ρ (= δι) must account for this form, and the δ (→ ρ) of the imparisyllabic decl. following.

The imparisyllabic nouns have the pl. in ρε (= δεσ). *E.g.* κανδηλάφης, *lamp-lighter*.

Sg. Ν. Α. κανδηλάφης. Pl. Ν. Α. κανδηλάφηρε.  
Α. κανδηλάφη.  
Gen. κανδηλάφηριον.

The type ἐργάτης, pl. ἐργάτε is common.

§ 61.—Aravan (Ν. Κ.). Here the distinction of nom. and acc. is rarer, and the -οζία pl. commoner. Only a few words distinguish the acc. in the sg., and none in the pl. The acc. sg. if distinguished ends in -ονα or -ο(ν), the nom. generally in -ος. The pl. in -οι and the gen. sg. in -ου of the normal language are rare.

Words exhibiting these are ἄρωπος (ἄνθρωπος), γιάσκαλος (διδύσκαλος), πονζικός (ποντικός), *mouise*.

Sg. Ν. Α. ἄρωπος.	γιάσκαλος.	πονζικός.
Α. ἄρωπονα and ἄρωπο(ν).	γιάσκαλο(ν).	πονζικός.
Gen. ἀρώπ and ἄρωποζιου.	γιάσκαλ.	πονζικοῦ.
Pl. Ν. Α. ἀρώπ and ἄρωποζια.	γιάσκαλ.	πονζικοί.

The standard type is, however:—

Sg. Ν. Α. λαγός (*hare*). Pl. Ν. Α. λαγόζια.  
Gen. λαγοζιοῦ.

Here the old decl. has been completely destroyed by the two innovations, the agglutinative use of -ζια and -ζιου, and the failure to distinguish the nom. and acc.

As at Ghourzono the decl. in -ορία sometimes occurs. *E.g.* νεφαλό (ὀμφαλός):—

Sg. Ν. Α. νεφαλό. Pl. Ν. Α. νεφαλόρια.  
Gen. νεφαλοριού.

§ 62.—Fertek. The -ος nouns here fall into two types. An example of the first is γέρος (ὁ γέρων), *old man*.

Sg. Ν. Α. γέρος. Pl. Ν. Α. γέροζια.  
Gen. γεροζιοῦ,

and of the second, ἀδελφό (ὁ ἀδελφός).

Sg. N.A. ἀδελφό.

Pl. N.A. ἀδελφόγια.

Gen. ἀδελφογιού.

This second type occurs also at Misti (§ 59).

Thus the agglutinative decl. and the disappearance of the special acc. are complete. The type with -ος, οζία is much the commoner: *e.g.* σπόρος, σταυρός, φόβος, τείχος, etc. It is plain that the -ος masculines are the base of the type in -ος, -οζία, and the -ον neuters of the type in -ο, -ογία or the nom. in -ο(ς) with the *ς* dropped. Cf. § 55.

There are a very few exceptions, and these mostly the same as at Aravan, with the old declension. Σερνικός, *male*, pl. σερνικοί; Τοῦρκος, pl. Τοῦρκα, and a few nouns with diminutive endings; *e.g.* ἄθρωπος, gen. ἀτρώπιού, pl. ἀτρώπια (ἄνθρωπος).

The imparisyllabic decl. has the same agglutinative type.

Sg. N.A. παπάς.

Pl. N.A. παπάζια.

Gen. παπαζιού.

It may be noted that wherever the agglutinative gen. is found, it is doubtful if the accent remains on the stem or passes to the ending. *E.g.* from Ghourzono, γιάσκαλοζιου or γιασκαλοζιού. Probably the ending has a secondary stress, γιάσκαλοζιού.

### § 63.—Feminine Substantives.

These have the usual decl., *e.g.* ναίκα (γυνή), G. ναίκας, Pl. ναίκες, but at Ferteke there is a type with an agglutinative genitive:—

Sg. N.A. ναίκα.

Pl. N.A. ναίκες.

Gen. ναικαγιού.

Gen. ναικεξιού.

For confusions with the neut. decl. see § 54 above.

These forms thus traced from north to south shew a connected chain and increasing corruption. In the south at Ferteke the new -οζία and -ογία plurals cover nearly the whole field, and the principle of agglutination reaches its climax in such a declension as ναίκα, gen. ναικαγιού. As we go north these agglutinative forms grow rarer, and at Anakou there seem to be no new formations at all. The principle of distinction between animate and inanimate objects on the other hand grows more marked in the north.

§ 64.—Adjectives. Like the article these shew no distinction of gender nor any separate form for the genitive. *E.g.* from Aravan: το καλὸ ναίκα, *the good woman*; pl. τα καλὰ ναίκες, καλὸ ναίκας τα παιρτιά, *the children of the good woman*.

As in Turkish the comparative has no special form. Archelaos gives from Sinasos ἐτὸς ἐν ᾧ ἐμὲν μέγας or περὶ μέγας, *he is bigger than me*.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Σιν. p. 150.



§ 65.—*Pronouns.* Here again there is no distinction of gender.

*Personal.* The remarkable forms are ὀγώ or γώ for ἐγώ, and the N. pl. 2nd pers. ἐσσεῖτ instead of ἐσεῖς. The acc. is ἐσᾶς. Ἐσσεῖτ is used at Fertek, Ghourzono, Aravan, Phloῖta, and (N.K.) Misti. The final -τ seems to be due to assimilation to the form of the 2nd pl. of the verb.

§ 66.—*Demonstrative.* The usual demonstr. pron. is sg. ἐτό or ἐτά without distinction of gender, pl. ἐτιά. At Malakopi ἰτό, etc. Genitives of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος are used for the emphatic possessive of the third person. Forms are:—

	<i>From οὗτος.</i>		<i>From ἐκεῖνος.</i>	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Fertek:	τῦτῦτ.	τῦτᾶροῦ.	τῖκῖν.	τῖκῖνᾶροῦ.
Gourzono:	τουτοῦτ.	τουτουניῶ.	τουκοῦν.	τουκουνιῶ.
Axo:	τουτοῦτ.	νεῖτοῦτα.	τουκοῦν.	νεῖκεῖνα.
Malakopi:			τικινιά.	τικινιᾶροῦ.

Nom. forms of these pronouns are, I believe, also used, but are not common; Fertek: sg. ἐκεῖνο, pl. ἐκεῖνῖα.

§ 67.—The relative is the invariable τό (at Malakopi τού), used like the usual Mod. Gr. ποῦ.

§ 68.—Besides the usual possessives, μ', σ', τ': μας, σας, τνε (μου, of me, σου, of thee, etc), there exist for the emphatic or substantival possessive (Mod. Gr. ὁ ἰδικός μου, κ.τ.λ.) forms derived from the ancient ἐμός, σός and ἡμέτερος with a second person σέτερος, formed like ἐσεῖς for ὑμεῖς. Used adjectivally these forms are followed by the article, e.g. το μὸν το σπίτ, my own house.<sup>63</sup> There is of course no distinction of gender. They vary everywhere; the least corrupted form is from Ghourzono and runs:—

1st Pers. Sg. το μόν, το μέτερ.	Pl. τα μόν, τα μέτερ.
2nd Pers. Sg. το σόν, το σέτερ.	Pl. τα σόν, τα σέτερ.

As the forms of the 2nd person always follow exactly those of the 1st, it is unnecessary to repeat them.

The forms from Axo are similar:—

Sg. το μόν, τα μέτερ.	Pl. τα μόν, τα μέτερ.
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At Aravan the ο of ἐμός has passed into the corresponding syllable of ἡμέτερος, and we get:—

Sg. το μόν, το μόντουρ.	Pl. τα μόν, τα μόντουρ.
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The same at Fertek, where the pl. forms are used with both sg. and pl. nouns, and the old sg. form has disappeared. Thus:—

Sg. and Pl. τα μόν, τα μόντουρ.

E.g. τα μόν do φυλλάδα, my own book.

<sup>63</sup> Except before proper names, where the article is not used (§ 51).

In another type *ἡμέτερος* has produced by vowel-assimilation *τ'έμέτερ* *vel. sim.*, and as this serves for both sg. and pl. nouns the *έμός* form used with it is generally unaltered. Thus:—

Malakopi: Sg. and Pl. *του μό, τ'έμέτρου.*

*E.g.* *τ' έσέτρου του σπít, your house; τ' έσέτρου τα σπítια, your houses; του μὸ τα σπítια, my houses.*

Phloita: Sg. and Pl. *το μό, τ' έμέτ.*

Misti: Sg. and Pl. *το μό, τ' έμέτορ.*

*Καρ.* (p. 164) gives *μέορ, σέορ*, forms due to the strong tendency to drop consonants at Misti.

Besides the forms above Axo has *d' έμέδερ*, and Ghourzono *τ' έμέτερ.*

From Delmeso N.K. gives *τὸ μόνα, τὸ μέτερ*, and from Trocho *τα μέτερα* without further remark.

From Sinasos Archelaos gives (p. 151) *τὸ μόν, τὸ μέτερο, τὰ μόνα, τὰ μέτερα.* They do not vary with the gender, and this he notes as a Turkism.<sup>64</sup>

For substantival use there are alternative forms from *έαυτοῦ*, used also for the 1st and 2nd persons. *E.g.* (from Fertek), *τα μότηορ δὸ σόπα ἂπ' γιαιτοῦ σας καλό νε, our own store is better than yours.*

#### *The Verb.*

§ 69.—The forms do not shew any very marked local differences.

*Present.* A typical paradigm is from Fertek of *γράφω (γυρεύω)*<sup>65</sup>:—

Sg. *γράφω, γράβεις, γρέφ.*

Pl. *γράφουμ, γρέβητ, γρέβουν.*

The 3rd sg. ends in *φ*, not *β*, because the *β* becoming final through the dropping of the ending *-ει* is unvoiced.

In the 2nd sg. *s* or *z* at the end of the stem is dropped by dissimilation, and often (? by analogy) in the 2nd pl. also;<sup>66</sup> *e.g.* from Ghourzono and Fertek:—

Sg. *παίζω, παίεις, παίς.*

Pl. *παίζουμ, παίητ, παίζουν.*

These 2nd persons often contract, and the 2nd sg. differs from the 3rd only by ending in *-ς* and not *ς̣*, the final of the stem (*σ* or unvoiced *ς̣*) changed to *ς̣* before the dropped *-ει*. *E.g.* from Malakopi:—

Sg. *παίζου, παίς, παίς̣.*

Pl. *παίζουμι, παίζητι, παίζνι.*

<sup>64</sup> The only other dialect in which these forms are preserved is Pontic.

<sup>65</sup> Used everywhere instead of *θέλω*. For a dialect word I prefer the spelling in *-έβω* to the literary *-εύω*.

<sup>66</sup> This dropping of *s* (see for Silli § 25) is found also in the dialects of Epeiros, Thessaly,

Lokris, Aitolia, Macedonia, Chios, Zakonia Calabria, and Pontos. For a full treatment on the theory of dissimilation see Pernot, *Revue des Études Grecques*, xviii. p. 253, and also for the North Greek cases Kretschmer, *Der heutige Lesbische Dialekt*, p. 81.

In this paradigm we have the local vowel-weakening ( $\omega, o \rightarrow ou, \epsilon \rightarrow i$ ). The  $\dot{z}$  of the 3rd pl. may be on the model of the  $\dot{s}$  of the 3rd sg.

At least in the verb  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ <sup>67</sup> at Ghourzono the hiatus is filled by  $\gamma$ :—

Sg.  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega, \zeta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \zeta\acute{\alpha}\dot{s}$ .

Pl.  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\mu, \zeta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau, \zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\nu$ .

§ 70.—*Imperfect*. The characteristic endings are for uncontracted verbs  $-ισκα$  or  $-ισκα$ , and for contracta  $-ανα$  or  $-ινα$ ,<sup>68</sup> with a tendency to restrict the latter to  $-έω$  verbs.

At Malakopi there are besides  $-ισκα$  endings in  $-ιξα, -ιγα$ ,<sup>69</sup> and  $-ια$ , used indifferently. *E.g.*  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\omega$  ( $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ ), impf.  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\iota\sigmaκα, \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\iota\chiα, \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\iota\gammaα$  or  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\iota\alpha$ . Examples of contracta are  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\piανα, \rho\acute{\omega}\tauανα, \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iotaνα$  or  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iotaνα$ .

Misti.—*E.g.*  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tauανα$  ( $\piατ\acute{\omega}$ );  $\rho\acute{\omega}\tauανα$ ;  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\nuανα$  ( $\rhoαν\acute{\omega}$  for  $\tauραν\acute{\omega}$ , *I see*);  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\iotaνα$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\gammaαπ\acute{\omega}$ ).

Axo.— $\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\iota\sigmaκα$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ );  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigmaκα$ ;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigmaκα$  (from  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\omega$ , Mod. Gr.  $\piαγαίνω$ , *go*);  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigmaκα$  ( $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ );  $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\sigmaκα$ . Contracta  $\rho\acute{\omega}\tauανα$ :  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\piανα$ ;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iotaνα$ ;  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iotaνα$  ( $\lambdaαλ\acute{\omega}$ ). A few contracta have  $-ισκα$ : *e.g.*  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\iota\sigmaκα$  ( $\tauαβρ\acute{\omega}$ , Mod. Gr.  $\tauραβ\acute{\omega}$ );  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\sigmaκα$  ( $\tauραν\acute{\omega}$ , *I see*).

Ghourzono.—Non-contracta have  $-ισκα$ , and all contracta  $-ινα$ : *e.g.*  $\tau\rhoαγ\acute{\omicron}\rho\iotaνα$  ( $\tauραγορ\acute{\omega}$ , Mod. Gr.  $\tauραγουδ\acute{\omega}$ );  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\iotaνα$ ;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iotaνα$  ( $\piατ\acute{\omega}$ )  $\rho\acute{\omega}\acute{\epsilon}\iotaνα$  ( $\rhoωτ\acute{\omega}$ );  $\chi\iota\acute{\omega}\rho\iotaνα$  ( $\chiιωρ\acute{\omega}$ , Mod. Gr.  $\thetaεωρ\acute{\omega}$ , *I see*).

Aravan (N.K.).—As at Ghourzono, but verbs in  $-ώνω, -ζω$ , and  $-εύω$  have the impf. in  $-ωνα$ , etc. *E.g.*  $\acute{\alpha}\gammaορ\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega, \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rhoαζα$ ;  $\delta\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  ( $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ ),  $\delta\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\upsilonα$ , forms which are doubtless used elsewhere also. The  $-ισκα$  is often carried over to the present; *e.g.*  $\beta\gammaαλ\acute{\iota}\sigmaκα\omega$ , impf.  $\beta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigmaκα$ .

Fertek.—The non-contracta have  $-ισκα$ , which sometimes passes to the present (*e.g.*  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigmaκα\omega$  for  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omega$ , impf.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigmaκα$ ) and the contracta  $-ινισκα$ : *e.g.*  $\delta\rhoαν\acute{\omega}$ , *I see*,  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\iota\sigmaκα$ ;  $\rhoωτ\acute{\omega}$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\rhoωτ\acute{\omega}$ )  $\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\iota\sigmaκα$ ;  $\lambdaαλ\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\iota\sigmaκα$ ;  $\piαρλαδ\acute{\omega}$  (Turkish *parlamaq*), *I shine*,  $\piαρλαδ\acute{\iota}\iota\iota\sigmaκα$ , or  $-ινα$ : *e.g.*  $\piορπ\acute{\alpha}\tau\iotaνα$ .

The endings are sg.  $-α, -ες, -ε$ , pl.  $-αμ, -ητ, -αν$ , but Malakopi,  $-α, -ις, -ι$ , pl.  $-αμ, -ητ, -αν$ :—

Sg.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigmaκα, -ες, -ε$ .

Pl.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigmaκαμ, -ητ, -αν$ .

§ 71.—*Aorist*. The most important point is the frequent dropping of the  $i$  in the ending  $-ισα$  ( $-ισα, -ησα$ ). *E.g.*  $\lambdaαλ\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigmaα$ , etc. As at Silli, the  $\sigma$  of the tense stem is dropped in the 2nd sg. of the subj., and also in the 2nd pl. An example from Aravan (N.K.) is from  $\acute{\alpha}\lambdaων\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , aor.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\sigmaα$ :

<sup>67</sup>  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , *I do*, used like  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ . *E.g.*  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota} \zeta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ;  $=\tau\acute{\iota} \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ; *How are you?* Derivation?

<sup>68</sup> Similar forms with  $\nu$  carried through all the persons occur in Pontos and Leivisi, where a connexion is probable, as also at Silli (§ 24). They have arisen independently, always from

the  $\nu$  of the 1st sg. and 3rd pl., in Terra d'Otranto and in Laconia (district of Chrysapha).

<sup>69</sup> Similar forms are quoted from the Lazic settlements in the Ak Dagħ.

Fut. Sg. *να ἀλωνίσου, να ἀλωνίῃς, να ἀλωνίῃς*,  
Pl. *να ἀλωνίσουν, να ἀλωνίητ, να ἀλωνίσουν*.

§ 72.—The future is formed always with *να* and the subi., instead of with *θα*.

§ 73.—*Present deponent*. As in the usual Mod. Greek. *E.g.* from Ghourzono :—

Sg. *ἔρχομαι, ἔρχεσαι, ἔρχεται*,  
Pl. *ἔρχομεστε, ἔρχεστε, ἔρχονται*.

§ 74.—*Imperfect deponent*. The form at Ghourzono and Aravan is of a common type. *E.g.* from *ἔρχομαι*, at Ghourzono :—

Sg. *ἐρχό-μουν, -σουν, -τουν*,  
*ἐρχό-μεστε, -στε, -νδουν*,

and at Aravan the pls. run (N.K.) :—

*ἐρχόμεστε, ἐρχόσεστε, ἐρχόσαν*.

The other villages have a very curious form. The examples are all from *ἔρχομαι*.

Misti: Sg. *ἐρόδομαι, ἐρόδοσαι, ἐρόδοναι*,  
Pl. *ἐρόδομιστι, ἐρόδοστε, ἐρόδαν*.  
Malakopi: Sg. *ἐρχόταμι, ἐρχότασι, ἐρχότανι*,  
Pl. *ἐρχόταμιστι, ἐρχόταστι, ἐρχόσανι*.  
Fertek: Sg. *ἐρχότομαι*, etc.  
Anakou: Sg. *ἐρχούταμαι*, etc.  
Axo: Sg. *ἐρούδονμαι, ἐρούδονσαι, ἐρούδοναι*.  
Pl. *ἐρούδονμεστε, ἐρούδονστε, ἐρούδανε*.

This Axo paradigm gives the clue to these forms. As the *e* (*ε, αι*) ending is often elided, the 3rd sg. becomes *ἐρούδον*, and on this as a base the other persons are built up by adding the endings *-μαι, -σαι, —*, pl. *-μεστε, -στε*, whilst the 3rd pl. has like the 3rd sg. a common Greek form.<sup>70</sup> In the other villages the *-ν-* is assimilated, and *ἐρόδομαι*, etc. result. The agglutinative nature of the formation appears from a comparison with the Turkish verb, which in the same way has no ending in the 3rd sg., and builds up the other persons on this as a base. *E.g. veririm, verirsin, verir, I give*, etc.

§ 75.—*Aorist passive*. The endings are (Fertek, Ghourzono, Aravan, Misti), sg. *-α, -ης, -ην*, pl. *-αμ, -ητ, -αν*. Thus only the 2nd and 3rd sg. and the 2nd pl. have the old endings; the rest have taken those of the aorist active. Examples are :—

Misti: Sg. *φοβήχα (ἐφοβήθην), φοβήῃς, φοβήχην*,  
Pl. *φοβήχαμ, φοβήῃτ, φοβήχαν*.

<sup>70</sup> The same explanation is given by Chatzidhakis ('Αθηνά, xii. p. 477), without, however, the comparison with Turkish.

Fertek: Sg. *κάγα* (ἐκ<sup>α</sup>ήν), κ<sup>α</sup>ής, κ<sup>α</sup>ήν.  
Pl. *κάγαμ, κάγητ, κάγαν*.

At Axo all the act. endings have been taken. *E.g.*:—

Sg. *φοβήχα, φοβήες, φοβίεν*.  
Pl. *φοβήχαμ, φοβήετ, φοβήχαν*.

§ 76.—At Malakopi and Axo the 1st pl. act. (and this includes the aor. pass. with its act. endings) may take the pass. termination in *-μεστε* in all tenses. *E.g.* from Malakopi:—

Present. *τρανοῦμ* or *τρανούμιστι*.

Imperfect. *παίνιξαμ* or *παίνιξαμιστι*, from *παίνω* (Mod. Greek *παγαίνω*), *I go*, representing ancient *ὑπάγω*.

Aorist active. *πήγαμ* or *πήγαμιστι*, from the same verb.

Aorist passive. *γενήθαμ* or *γενήθαμιστι* (Mod. Greek *γεννηθήκαμεν*), from *γεννῶ*.

N.K. gives *πγιούμεστε* (ἐπίομεν), from a now obsolete song from Ghourzono in honour of St. Basil, and records such forms (*λέμεστε* = *λέγομεν*) from Trocho near Axo.

The only parallel which I can find to this use of pass endings in the act. is the 1st sg. impf. act. of contracta, which in some islands has the pass. ending in *-ουμουν*, or derivatives of it. It is found in Sikinos and Pholegandros (*ἐμίλιουμουν*, from anc. *ὀμιλέω*), Naxos (*ἐγαπούμουνε*), Paros (*ἐγάπημ*)<sup>71</sup> and Kretschmer gives similar forms from Lesbos (*ρότμνε, αγάρμνε*) and from Lemnos (*ρότμνε, i.e.* the north Greek form of *ἐρώτουμουνε*).<sup>72</sup>

§ 77.—At Phloita (N.K.) and at the neighbouring Malakopi all the act. pl. terminations end in *ε* (*ι* at Malakopi with its local vowel-change of unaccented *ε* to *ι*). *E.g.* from Phloita: *λύνουμε, λύνετε, λύνουνε* (N.K.), and from Malakopi: *μάζου, μάς, μάς; μάζουμ, μάζιτι, μάζνι*.<sup>73</sup>

§ 78.—*Substantive verb*. As at Silli this is generally enclitic after a noun, and the absolute forms are not common. At Fertek the present is<sup>74</sup>:—

Sg. *ἔνμαι, ἔνσαι, ἔν*.  
Pl. *ἔνμεστε, ἔνστε, ἔν*.

The impf. follows exactly the dep. verbs. Thus at Fertek, *ἦτομαι, ἦτοσαι*, etc., and at Axo, *ἔδουμαι, ἔδουσαι*, etc.

Examples follow of the enclitic forms combined with *ἀστενάρ*; pl. *ἀστενάρια* (*ἀσθενής*).

<sup>71</sup> From unpublished notes.

<sup>72</sup> *Der heut. Lesb. Dial.* p. 328.

<sup>73</sup> *Μάζου, I put in*, is the Modern Greek

*ἐμβάζω*, ancient *ἐμβάλλω*.

<sup>74</sup> From *Κρινόπουλος, Τὰ Φερτάκαινα*, p. 38.

Aravan: Pres. Sg. ἀσθενάρ -μαι, ἀσθενάρ -σαι, -ναι.

Pl. ἀσθενάριameστε or ἀσθενάρμεστε,  
ἀσθενάριαστε or ἀσθενάρστε,  
ἀσθενάριανδαι.

Fertek: Impf. Sg. ἀσθενάρτο -μαι, -σαι, -ναι.

Pl. ἀσθενάρ(ι)α -τομεστε, -τοσσε, -τανε.

And after a vowel, Sg. 1. καλότομαι.

Pl. 1. καλάτομεστε.

The Ghourzono impf. is: ἀσθενάρμουν, etc.

The pl. sometimes keeps the adj. in its sg. form as in ἀσθενάρμεστε by the side of ἀσθενάριameστε, and for Fertek Alektoridhis<sup>75</sup> gives τυφλό-νται (*they are blind*) and Krinopoulos<sup>76</sup> τυφλά-νται.

§ 79.—*Pluperfect*. A new tense has been formed exactly as at Silli (§ 28) on the Turkish model. I give examples from ἔρχομαι, παίνω (πηγαίνω), *I go*, and λύνω (λύω).

Fertek: Sg. πήγα ἦτον, πήγες τον, πήγε ἦτον.

Pl. πήγαμ τονε, πήγет τονε, πήγαν τονε.<sup>77</sup>

Ghourzono: Sg. πήγαχ τουν, πήγες τουν, πήγεχ τουν.

πήγαμ τουν, πήгет τουν, πήγαν τουν.

The αχ in the 1st and 3rd sg. from the diphthong αι has parallels: e.g. Ἀναστάχς (Ἀναστάσις → Ἀναστάις → Ἀναστάχς) from the Πιστικοχώρια in Bithynia.

Aravan (N.K.): λύρα ἦτουν, etc. (λύρα = ἐλύθην).

Malakopi: ἦρτα ἦτανι, etc.

Axo: ἦρτα ἔδον, etc.

Misti: ἦρτα ἦδον, etc.

Anakou: ἦρτα ἦτανε, etc.

### *Syntax.*

§ 80.—As at Silli the poss. gen. precedes the noun upon which it depends.

§ 81.—At Fertek and Sinasos, and so probably generally, κείμαι is used to form a phrase in the same way as κάσουμι at Silli.

§ 82.—Reported speech is introduced by κι. E.g. from Malakopi:—

Κι Θόδουρους λέ μι κι, 'Να κγουράσουμι ἄαγλά.' Κι ἐγὼ λέον κι, 'Ἐαγλά σου σπὶτ ἔχουμι.'

And Theodore says, 'Let us buy apricots'. And I say, 'We have apricots at home.'

<sup>75</sup> Δελτ. i. p. 489.

<sup>76</sup> Τὰ Φερτάκαινα, p. 39. Forms from Delmeso

(ἀσθενάρμαι, τυφλὸ εἶμαι) are in Καρ. p. 170.

<sup>77</sup> Not πήγαμ done, etc.

§ 83.—*Vocabulary.* This bears a great resemblance to that of Silli. The glossaries published, especially that in 'Συνασός,' give a good idea of the peculiar local words. It must, however, be remembered that they all of set purpose omit the Turkish loan-words, and so give to some extent a false idea of the language as it is spoken. With the decay of Greek the number of these is naturally increasing.

§ 84.—The verb, as at Silli (§ 56), is sometimes enclitic after the strongly accented negative. *E.g.* from Malakopi: *τρανῶ, I see*, but *δὲν τρανω*, *I do not see*; *πορῶ, I can*, but *δέμ βορω* or *δόμ βορω, I cannot*.

§ 85.—*An account of the Village of Aravan in the Local Dialect.*<sup>78</sup>

Τὰ ὀμβροζινικὰ καὶ λέγισκαν ἐροῦ σὸ 'Αραβανὶ ὀμβρὸ σὰ παλιγιὰ σπῖῶα καρόσαν, σόγρᾱ ἔχρισαν καλὰ σπῖῶα. \**As* τὰ πένδε ἔκσι προσώπατα κ' ὀμβρὸ ἐρχόσαν Μανιῶτε, καὶ ἄς τὸ φόβοξ μας κρυβιζόμεστε σὸ 'Αγι Νικόλα καὶ ἀπ' ἀπέσω ἄς δειρμέν-δασοῦ τὸ τυρπὶ πέταναμ τυφένγι καὶ σκότωναμ τὰ Τοῦρκοι. 'Ομβρὸν κ' ὀμβρὸν 'Αραβανιῶτε ζεβζιῆρε ἦσαν. 'Εκατὸ χρόνους περσό 'νε τὸ πῆγαν σὸ Σημβόλ. Σὸ Σημβόλ 'Αραβανιῶτε τὰ πολλὰ καϊφεῖῆρε ἦσαν. Γουρζονιῶτε σαπωνῆρε ἦσαν. Καρόσαν ἐκεῖ πένδε δέκα χρόνους, καὶ ἐρχόσαν, καρόσαν ἐροῦ ἕνα χρόνος, δικιόσαν, παίνισκαν πάλ' σὸ Σημβόλ, καρόσαν πάλ' λίγα χρόνια, πάλ' ἐρχόσαν, ζάιῶσαν τὸ σεφέρι τουν. Δεργιὰ γειτριδίζουν τὰ πολλὰ τὸ ναῖκα τουν σὸ Σημβόλ, καὶ οὔῶα δεργιὰ ζάζουν ναῖκες σεφέρ. Γιαβὰς γιαβὰς τὰ ζεργίνια νὰ ταβρηροῦν σὸ Σημβόλ καὶ σὲ ἄλλα τόπους.

Τὸ νηκσά μας ἀφῶς χέιῶση ἐβδομηῆνδα χρόνους ἔννε, καὶ τὰ σκόλιονια ἦσαν, ἄμα εἰκοσι χρόνους ὀμβρὸ πολὺ δὲ μαραίνισκαν, λίγο ψάλσιμο καὶ λίγο γράπσιμο μαναχό. Ψάλισκαν 'Οχτάηχος, ψαλτήρ καὶ 'Απόστολος.

\**As* τὸ παίουν ναῖκες σὸ Σημβόλ οὔλλα ἔνναν ἀλαφράγγα· ἀνομβρὸ φόρεναν ἵπᾱ, δεργιὰ οὔλλα φορένουν φυστάν· μαναχὸ ἀκούμ οὔλλα κουρούλες δὲν ζάζουν, τὰ βάξι ζάζουν. Τὰ πολλὰ ἀκούμ φορένουν γιαζμά, ἄμμα λίγο νὰ φορέσουν καὶ σάφκα βιλέ.

Δεργιὰ 'Αραβανιῶτε ἔπει ζεργίνιανδαι· οὔλλα λίγο πολὺ ἔχουν ἱραῖ. Σὸ 'Αραβανὶ Τοῦρκοι δὲν 'δαι· οὔλλα Ρωμηοί νδαι· καλὰ ἀρώπ οὐνδαι, καὶ ἄς τὸ κάρουνδαι πολὺ σὸ Σημβόλ μεδενιέλεισαν.

*Translation.*

Our predecessors used to say here at Aravan formerly they lived in the old houses, afterwards they built good houses. Formerly, too, Turks used to come five or six at a time, and from our fear of them we used to hide at St. Nicolas, and from inside we used to shoot with a gun through the hole in the mill-stone and kill the Turks. Formerly long ago the Aravan people were tillers of the soil; it is more than a hundred years that they have

<sup>78</sup> This specimen of the dialect was very kindly given to me by Mr. Kechayópoulos, who also supplied the material for the notes. I use the conventional system of accentuation.

been going to Stamboul. At Stamboul most of the Aravan people kept coffee-houses. The people of Ghourzono were soap-sellers. They used to remain there five or ten years, and used to come and remain here a year, marry, go back again to Stamboul, and remain there a few years more, come here again, and thus make their journeys. Now most of them bring their wife to Stamboul, and thus now the women travel. Gradually the rich will go away to Stamboul and other places.

It is seventy years since our church was built, and there were schools also, but twenty years ago they used not to learn much; a little reading and a little writing only. They used to read the *Oktoëchos*, the psalter, and the 'Apostle.'

Since women have been going to Stamboul, everything has become *à la Franca*. Formerly they used to wear the *jipó*, now all wear skirts. Only as yet they do not all dress their hair in modern style, but some do. Most of them still wear the *yazmá*, but gradually they will even wear hats.

Now the Aravan people are fairly rich; all have some substance, little or much. At Aravan there are no Turks, all are *Romaioi*. They are good folk, and from living much at Stamboul have become civilized.

#### § 86.—Notes.

Τὰ ὀμβροῖνικὰ: οἱ ἐμπροσθινοί.

λέγισκαν: λέγω, 3rd pl. impf.

ἐροῦ: ἐδῶ.

παλιγὰ: παλαιά.

προσώπατα: pl. of πρόσωπον.

ἐρχόσαν: ἤρχοντο.

Μανῶτε: pl. of Μανιώτης. Cf. below Γουρζουνιῶτε and Ἀραβανιῶτε.

Ἅγι Νικόλα: a large catacomb below a house in Aravan, which contains a sacred well (ἁγίασμα). The mill-stone mentioned below is the great stone disc (τροχί) which can be rolled forward from a recess in the side of the narrow passage of the catacomb, and serves as a door (see Fig. 4). In the centre of the disc is a hole, through which a gun can be fired when the passage is thus blocked. The sketch in the Figure shows the arrangement in plan, with the disc blocking the passage (marked A), and its rolled back position in dotted lines (B). The side passage serves for pushing the disc forward and so closing the passage of the catacomb from the inside. All the villages from Fertek to Anakou have these catacombs, some, especially at Malakopi, being very deep and reaching down to the level at which water is found, which at Malakopi is some seventy feet. They are cut in the soft volcanic rock. This one at Aravan has two disc-doors in succession; I went into one at Malakopi, and passed four doors, and was assured that there were yet more further down. In some villages at all events the catacombs, the entrances of which are always inside the houses, used to communicate with one another. Now the connexions have been closed, and each house has its own separate catacomb, the upper parts of which are used as cellars for



storage. Their original purpose as places of refuge in time of danger is preserved by their name *καταφύγια*, and when the news came of the recent massacres at Adana, a great part of the population at Axo took refuge in the catacombs, and for some nights did not venture to sleep above ground.

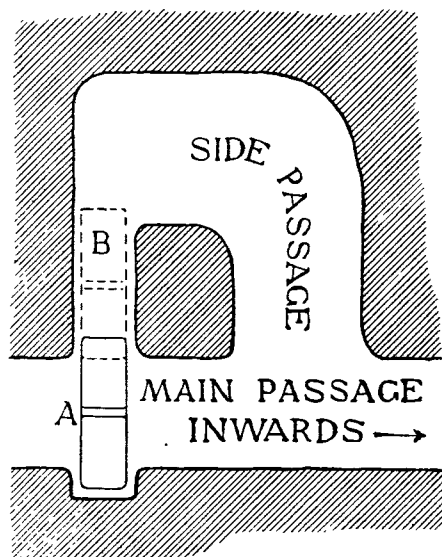


FIG. 4.—DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN OF STONE DOOR IN A CATACOMB IN CAPPADOCIA.

*δείρμὲν daσού*: mill-stone; Turk. *dejirmen*, mill; *taş*, stone. It is the final *ν* of *δείρμὲν* which changes the *τ* to *δ*.

*τυρπι*: *τρύπα*.

*πέταναμ*: *πετώ*, 1st pl. impf.

*τύφενγι*: *gun*; Turk. *tufenk*.

*σκότοναμ*: *σκοτόνω*, 1st pl. impf.

*ζεβζιήρε*: *κηπουροί*.

*τὸ*: here a conj. *since, that*. It is the indecl. relative used like Mod. Greek *ποῦ*.

*ῤημβόλ*: Stamboul (*εἰς τὴν Πόλιν*).

*καῖφεϊήρε*: *καφετζήδες*.

*σαπωνήρε*: *soap-sellers*.

*καρόσαν*: *ἐκάθοντο*.

*δικιόσαν*: the pres. (at Sinasos) is *δικιοῦμαι*; *νυμφεύομαι* (*Σιν.* p. 234).

*παίνιῤκαν*: *παίνω* (Mod. Gr. *πηγαίνω*), 3rd pl. impf.

*ζάιῤκαν*: *ζάζω*, *make, do*, 3rd pl. impf., aor. *ἔπκα*.

*γετιρδίζουν*; Turk. *getirmek*.

*σεφέρ*: *journey*; Turk. *sefer*.

*γιαβάς*, *gradually*: Turk. *yavaş*.

*τὰ ζεργίγια*: *οἱ πλούσιοι*; Turk. *zengin*.

νὰ ταβρηροῦν: ταβρῶ (Mod. Gr. τραβῶ, *draw*), 3rd pl. fut. pass. Ταβρηρῶ (3rd pl. -ροῦν) is the subj. of the pass. aor. ταβρήρα (= ταβρήθα). Mod. Gr. τραβήχτηκα.

νηκῶ: ἐκκλ(η)σία. The initial *ν* is, as often in Mod. Greek, from the article. These words in Cappadocia date from a time when the article was not so much broken down as at present and had masc. and fem. forms. Krinopoulos gives ναγέλ (ἀγέλη), νάκρα, νεκκλησά, νευλή, (αὐλή), νισιά (ἐστία) and νουγγιά, *ounce* (Φερτ. p. 56).

χῦίσθη: ἐχτίστη. The church of Ghourzono was built in 1846-8, and every village has a large church built at about this time, when the Sultan gave the necessary permission. Before this time the Christians had only small concealed churches, looking outside like dwelling-houses, and often half or even entirely underground. These are now in use as *parekklesia*. The school is generally close to the large church, and the whole surrounded by a high wall with solid doors, so as to form a place of refuge.

μαραίνισκαν: μαραινίσκω (μανθάνω), 3rd pl. impf., aor. ἔμαρα or ἔμαχα (ἔμαθον).

ψάλισκαν: for ψάλλω, *I read*, cf. § 5, note.

ένναν: ἔγειναν.

ἵπιά: a sort of girded dressing-gown opening in front and split some way up the sides. It is worn by women and by men also at Misti and places where the men do not wear European dress. Turks generally wear it.

κουρούλες: the modern style of dressing the hair.

τὰ βάζι: translated by *τινες*. Turkish!

γιαζμά: Turk. *yaşmaq*. The older Christian women often keep their mouth covered, which is all that the Turkish country women do.

σάφκα: hat; Turk. *şubqa*.

билé: *even*; Turk. *bile*.

ἐπει: translated by ἀρκετά: Turk. *cepi*.

ἶρας: εἰσόδημα; Turk. *irs*.

κάρουνδαι: κάθονται.

μεδενιέτλεισαν: 3rd pl. aor.; Turkish. *medeniyet*, *civilization*.

§ 87.—*Turkisms*. A resumptive list of the points in which Turkish influence appears is here added.

(a) Common to Silli and the Poutak Ovasi:—

- (1) The presence of a numerous and increasing quantity of Turkish loan-words.
- (2) The position of the possessive genitive always before its noun.
- (3) The enclitic final position of the substantive verb.
- (4) The new pluperfect of the *πῆγα ἦτον* type.
- (5) The representation of the Turkish type *geliyorum* by a special phrase with *κάσουμι* at Silli (and *κείμει* in Cappadocia).
- (6) The use of the Turkish interrogative particle *mî*.
- (7) The influence of the Turkish vowel-harmony.

(b) Found only at Silli:—

(8) The addition of *-ni:* to the 1st and 2nd pl. of the pres. deponent.

(c) Found only in the Poutak Ovasi:—

(9) The disuse of gender.

(10) The disuse of any inflexion of adjectives except a form for the plural.

(11) The agglutinative use of terminations in both noun and verb.

(12) The Turkish principle of unvoicing a voiced consonant at the end of words.

(13) The absence of any special form for the comparative of adjectives.

§ 88—The traditional ballads preserved in the villages of the Poutak Ovasi contribute a little to the difficult question of chronology. Most of these belong to the ballad-cycle of Digenis Akritas, the Byzantine hero who flourished on the eastern border of the empire in the twelfth century, and are thus identical in subject, and often verbally, with many of the folk-songs from the rest of the Greek world, and especially the southern and eastern islands. In common with the Pontic songs, they are the most definitely Akritic of all the ballads, often preserving the name of the hero, where it is lost in other versions. By this subject-matter and their connexion with the general *corpus* of Greek folk-song, these ballads are dated back into at any rate pre-Turkish times. Several collections have been published,<sup>79</sup> and it is noticeable that in all these versions the extreme corruptions of the language, which I have above regarded on separate grounds as Turkisms, are not found, but they do shew, in proportion as they are well recorded, the local phonetic peculiarities and the especial Cappadocian vocabulary. This is not due to any carelessness or desire on the part of the recorders to purify the language; I noticed the same thing in a fragment of a song which I heard from an old woman at Malakopi. Pachtíkos also has noticed this divergence of the language of the songs from the local dialect, though his regard for the songs as a mark of Hellenic national consciousness leads him to set it down to a popular desire to give the language of the national muse a greater purity and a more generally Panhellenic and less purely local character.<sup>80</sup> Of the fact itself, however, there is no doubt.

These traditional songs therefore have preserved linguistic features, such as the distinction of genders, now lost except for a few traces in the spoken language. It is unlikely, however, that features so easily altered should be retained orally through many centuries, and it therefore seems

<sup>79</sup> Books containing songs are: Lagarde, *Neugriech. aus Kleinasien*, forty-four songs collected by Karolídhis; Παχτίκος, 260 Δημώδη Έλλ. Αἴσματα κ.τ.λ., ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1905, thirty-four songs with music, mostly from Malakopi

and Sinasos; Ἀλεκτορίδης, Δελτίον, i. pp. 712-728; Ἀρχέλαος, Συνασός, pp. 156-171, twelve songs; Φαρασόπουλος, Τὰ Σύλατα, pp. 103-111, six songs. See also bibliography in § 3.

<sup>80</sup> 260 δημώδη Έλλ. ἄσματα, σ. κζ'.

probable that the extreme corruptions in the language due to Turkish pressure are of comparatively recent date, and form a part of the process marked by the increase in so many villages of the Turkish element and in a few places by the total disappearance of Greek.

These songs are now generally forgotten, or known only in a fragmentary state by old women. This is much to be regretted, but the recurrence of the same song in several published series makes it unlikely that much of importance has been lost. I could hear of no songs at Silli, except the widely spread ballad of the woman immured in the foundation of the bridge, generally known as the song of the Bridge of Arta. I owe a corrupt but full version of this to the kindness of the schoolmaster Mr. George Chondalidhis. At Pharasa according to Karolidhis no folk-songs are preserved.<sup>81</sup>

§ 89.—Certain considerations point to the changes and disappearance of unaccented vowels being later than the appearance of Turkish. At Silli the changes of  $\tau i$  to  $\epsilon i$  and of  $\sigma i$  to  $\delta i$  are older than the change of unaccented  $e$  to  $i$ , and had ceased to operate as sound-laws before the latter began, since  $\tau$  and  $\sigma$  are only affected before an original  $i$ , and are unchanged before the  $i$  which results from an unaccented  $e$ . In the same way the change of  $\sigma i$  to  $\delta i$  had ceased to be active before the change of  $\theta$  to  $\sigma$  began, because the  $\sigma$  which represents an old  $\theta$  is not affected by a following  $i$ . The change of  $\sigma i$  to  $\delta i$  being common to Silli and the whole of the Cappadocian dialects may claim from its wide area to be the oldest of these changes, and, as this area is now broken into two by Turkish speakers, to date from pre-Turkish times. The changes of  $\theta$  to  $\sigma$  and  $\delta$  to  $\rho$  have been already (§ 45) suggested as dating from the appearance of the Turkish element, and the change of  $\tau i$  to  $\epsilon i$ , as it affects Turkish loan-words, was in operation when these were entering or had already entered the dialect. The resemblance of Silli to Delmeso, Aravan, and Ghourzono, the nearest of the Cappadocian communities, marked by the common changes of  $\delta$  to  $\rho$  and  $\tau i$  to  $\epsilon i$ , suggests that when these two laws were working there were still connecting links of Greek-speakers, and they, together with the change of  $\theta$  to  $\sigma$  and the other substitutions for  $\delta$  and  $\theta$ , may therefore be dated to early in the Turkish period. The explanation of the various substitutions for the usual pronunciations of  $\delta$  and  $\theta$  given above (§ 45) involves the supposition that at some time Turks to some extent spoke Greek, and this time would most naturally be when they first made their appearance and had not yet entirely isolated Silli from the Cappadocian region. Just as this phonetic evidence agrees with the historical probability that the changes of  $\delta$  and  $\theta$  took place early in the Turkish period, so a late date is indicated for the corruption of the grammar both from the evidence of the language of the popular ballads, and because it may reasonably be associated with the increase of diglossy and the loss of Greek due to the recent proportional increase of the Moslem population. Thus in its phonetic changes Greek shews signs of having been at some time adopted by Turkish speakers, whilst its recent grammatical decay reflects its losing battle with Turkish in bilingual communities.

<sup>81</sup> Lagarde, *Neugr. Kleinasien*, p. 4.

The succession of sound-laws at Silli dates the vowel-changes clearly later than these changes of the consonants, and this relative lateness is confirmed by the wide difference in the treatment of the vowels between Silli, with its vowel-weakening but with no dropped vowels, and the Cappadocian dialects, which preserve *e* and *o* but drop unaccented *i* and *u*, a difference which is due to these changes having come about after the areas had been separated by the progress of Turkish in the intervening district. The weakening of unaccented *e* and *o* at Malakopi in the middle of a district where such a phenomenon is unknown, must be quite a recent independent development.

The liquid pronunciation of  $\lambda$  and  $\nu$  at Silli must be later than the change of *e* to *i*, since it occurs before every *i*-sound, irrespective of its origin.

§ 90.—The general conclusions which may be drawn are:—

(1) The most marked feature of these dialects is the corruption of the very structure of the language under the influence of Turkish.

(2) This influence is strongest in the Pontak Ovasi villages from Axo southwards, excepting Delmeso, and it is precisely in this region that Greek has quite recently gone under altogether in several villages.

(3) This extreme corruption is not of very old date.

(4) The Pontak Ovasi villages have points in common with Pontic. These are especially numerous in the northern villages and Sinasos.

(5) Three of the villages in the south-west (Delmeso, Ghourzono, and Aravan) have a phonetic resemblance to the dialect of Silli ( $\tau\epsilon \rightarrow \dot{\epsilon}\epsilon$  and  $\delta \rightarrow \rho$ ).

(6) There are resemblances between the dialects of Silli and of Leivisi in Lycia. See §§ 7 and 14.

(7) The dropping of unaccented *i* and *u* and the change of unaccented *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* give all these Asian dialects a point in common with the dialects of Northern Greece. This, however, should not be pressed. In Asia these changes hardly extend beyond endings, whilst in the North Greek area they affect both stems and endings impartially, and we have also seen that the appearance of these phenomena must be dated to a period later than the isolation of the dialects by the Turkish invasions both from the rest of the Greek world and from one another.

(8) The preservation of ancient forms unknown outside Asia (notably the old possessive pronouns) shews that it is right to assign to these dialects a very long period of independent development apart from the rest of the Greek-speaking world, a period dating in fact from the swamping of Hellenism in Asia Minor and the consequent isolation of these communities by the Turkish invasions.

My best thanks are due to all the Greek communities for their kindness and ready help. Without this and their lively interest in their own language, it would have been impossible for me to collect the information for this paper. To Stephanos Erisalis of Silli, who taught me the dialect and dictated the folk-tales after his day's labour in the carpet factory, to Mr. George Chondalidhis, the schoolmaster of Silli, who gave me my first notions of the dialect in a flying visit the previous winter, to Mr. Tsongas, the schoolmaster of Fertek, who allowed me to interrupt his lessons by questioning his pupils, to Mr. Nikolaos Kechayopoulos of Aravan, to the blind singer in the church of Malakopi, to the keeper of the village shop at Misti, and to many others I am especially indebted for assistance in studying this latest branch of their ancestral language.

R. M. DAWKINS.

#### NOTE.

A second journey in Cappadocia this summer (1910), when I visited also Semendere, Oulagatsh, Dila, Silata, Potamia, and Pharasa, enables me to add some important points. The rest of my new material with texts and translations I hope to publish later.

§ 2 (a)—Monsieur Grégoire kindly tells me that the name Nikopolis commonly given by Greeks to Shabin-Kara-Hisar is incorrect, and that Purkh near Enderes is really Nikopolis. I owe to Grégoire (*B.C.H.* 33, p. 39) the name of another Greek-speaking place, Shar-Yeri (*Kiepert*, Sharjerije), the ancient Magalessos, S.W. of Shabin-Kara-Hisar and just N. of the Halys.

§§ 33, 81; 87, 5.—The phrases with *κάσουμι* and *κείμαι* not only translate the Turkish present of the *geliyorum* type, but are also literal translations of the Turkish idiom of the participle followed by *durmaq*: e.g. *έρχουμι κὶ κάσουμι* represents *gelip duriyor*. Many other Turkish idioms are taken over thus.

§§ 56-62.—The acc. in *-ον* of masculine nouns in *-ος* is used only after the definite article. Otherwise the acc. as well as the nom. ends in *-ος*: e.g. from Silata, *Πῆγαν σο βόλεμο*, *they went to the war*, but *Ποῖκαν πόλεμος*, *they made war*. I noted this at Potamia, Silata, Misti, Malakopi, and Delmeso. At Fertek, Aravan, Oulagatsh, and Semendere the language is so much broken down as to have almost lost all formal distinction between the nom. and acc. The separate acc. form at Ghourzono I suspect is only used after the article.

§ 90.—The dialect of Delmeso, although the village is only half an hour's walk from Fertek where the Greek is very corrupt, is almost as pure as that of Potamia and Sinasos, which it greatly resembles. It is in this type that we must recognize the old dialect of Cappadocia before Turkish had made its most serious inroads. At Semendere and Oulagatsh on the other hand the grammar reaches its deepest corruption, and the number of Turkish loan-words is greater than anywhere else. At these two villages Greek will soon be extinct.

R. M. D.

## THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE.

IN antiquity Apollodorus wrote a work upon the Greek Catalogue, Demetrius of Scepsis one, in thirty books, on the Trojan; both were used by Strabo, who surpassed, fortunately, either in judgment. Titles of similar works are ascribed to the logographer Damastes and the rhetor Polus. Its literary merits are extolled by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp. Verb.* 102, and though a considerable number of MSS. omit it,<sup>1</sup> Tribonianus of Side in the Byzantine period was found to execute a special metaphrase of it.

In modern times the latest work dealing with the Catalogue apart appears to be the short treatise of Benedikt Niese,<sup>2</sup> *Der homerische Schiffskatalog als historische Quelle betrachtet*, Kiel, 1873. Written at the blackest moment of Homeric and historical science, before the first light from archaeology had begun to illumine the gloom of Higher Criticism, before even Wilamowitz had lit his corpse-candle, the book naturally cannot influence our opinion now, and would not have needed mention but for the singular uis inertiae owing to which it is still currently cited. Niese's principal conclusions were: the Catalogue involves late political circumstances, contains geographical inaccuracies, especially in regard to Thessaly, and is the result of the contamination of an old geographical document or periegesis dating from 770-740 with names of heroes and peoples taken from the Cypria: the Trojan Catalogue is made out of the Trojan Catalogue again in the Cypria with additions from the body of the Iliad; and the editor of both may be found in a Milesian of 630-600.

These statements, sufficiently laughable in themselves, will be best met by a comparison of the *διάκοσμος* with independent historical evidence.<sup>3</sup>

### I.

The Catalogue purports to give the names of the commanders and the number of each commander's ships (*ἀρχοὺς αὖ νηῶν νῆάς τε προπάσας*) that came to Troy. The enumeration is made on the occasion of Agamemnon

<sup>1</sup> To the list in ed. 2 of the Oxford Iliad I may now add Matritensis 4560, where, as in M 10, the Catalogue is added at the end. No tradition exists of the omission, and the reason for it is conjectural.

<sup>2</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Κατάπλοι Rh. Mus.* lx. 161 sq. develops Niese's ideas to still more

amusing excesses (the Trojan catalogue was made by the Dorians of Rhodes!).

<sup>3</sup> On the Homeric side I have no acknowledgments to make. Among geographers and explorers, Monsieur V. Bérard, Mr. Hogarth, and Professor Garstang have supplied me with ideas and information.

leading his host into battle after his quarrel with Achilles. The series of peoples has nothing to do with the arrangement of the Naustathmos or camp on the Trojan shore, about which we have information elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> nor is it stated that the sequence corresponds to the position held by the units at Aulis: in fact the contrary results from the local, doubtless Aulidan, indications 526, 558, 587. The Catalogue is the list of the forces assembled at Aulis, but in the order of their position on the face of the earth. The order is geographical; the writer considers the whole Greek world, in zones, and how the separate races lie within each. This appears from the following abstract.

I. vv. 494-558. 1 Boeotians, 2 Orchomenians, 3 Phocians, 4 Locrians (of Opus), 5 Euboeans, 6 Athenians, 7 Salaminians.

The writer begins with central Greece, between the isthmus and Oeta, Euboea, and Phocis. Perhaps because the armament which he details was for the first time collected at Aulis. He starts from the part of Greece where the fleet found itself and from the race to which Aulis belonged. He must have begun somewhere: in an international matter he gave a complimentary priority to the local authority. (I have sought to explain *U.R.* 1906, 195 the meeting of the fleet at Aulis from practical reasons.)<sup>5</sup> This seems more probable than that the Catalogue hailed from a 'Boeotian school' of poets, who dealt in catalogue-literature and glorified their country. The Boeotian Muses and school of poets are so far as we know a post-Dorian growth. There were none such in the heroic age. Helicon as well as Pieria is Dorian. Catalogues certainly were beloved of the Hesiodaeans and the Peloponnesian epopoei; but the thing is a property of epos generally.

Within the district the order is a kind of circle, W.N.E.S.W.

II. vv. 559-624. 8 Argos, 9 Mycenae and Corinth, 10 Lacedaemon, 11 Pylos, 12 Arcadia, 13 Elis.

Peloponnesus, complete: no particular order, but we begin at the E. and end in the N.W., which affords a bridge to the islands.

III. 14 Dulichium and Echinae, 15 Cephallenian islands, 16 Aetolians.

The islands are divided into two groups; Dulichium under Meges, the Cephallenes under Ulysses.

IV. vv. 645-680. 17 Crete: 18 Rhodes: 19 Syme: 20 Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos, Cos, Calydnæ.

From N.W. Greece we are taken to the Aegean. Four groups of islands, of very different importance, are found.

<sup>4</sup> *ε* 222, *Δ* 5, 805 *sq.* Ajax and Achilles were at the wings, Ulysses in the middle; in the middle were the altars and the *ἀγορά*. The Epipoleis (*Δ* 250) gives the order in the field.

<sup>5</sup> Similar practical reasons may account also for the inhabitants of the old Ionic dodecapolis in N. Peloponnesus taking ship at Athens.



V. vv. 681-759. 21 Pelasgic Argos (Achilles): 22 Iton, etc. (Protesilaus): 23 Pherae (Eumelus): 24 Methone, etc. (Philoctetes): 25 Tricca-Oechalia (Podalirius): 26 Ormenion, etc. (Eurypylus): 27 Argissa-Oloosson (Polypoetes): 28 Cyphus, Enienes, Dodona (Gouneus): 29 Magnetes (Prothoos).

From the Carian coast we are taken to Greece north of Oeta. The writer follows the coast from the mouth of the Spercheus round the Gulf of Volo (the district known to the ancients as Phthia), then inland in no particular order, and winds up on the coast again with the Magnesians.

The divisions are clearly geographical: Greece north of Oeta, Greece between Oeta and the Isthmus: Greece south of the Isthmus: islands in the west sea: islands in the Aegean. The only exception is that the Aetolians are put with the Western islanders, instead of in division I. with the Phocians. Greece N. of Oeta corresponds to the historical Thessaly. The northern boundary was the same as it has always been. In later times Hesiod (fr. 96 ed. Rzach 1908) admitted Megara to the Catalogue (under Ajax), and in Dictys' list (i. 17) we find Thebes, Acarnania, the Cyclades, and even Colophon.

## II.

Not only the commanders of the ships are given, but how many ships each brought. Thucydides, it is well known (i. 10), endeavoured to strike an average and estimate the strength of the armada. I do not wish to raise this question, or the probability of the total, or, even less, to draw any inference to the population of Greece or of the separate states. I think on the other hand the figures allow a conclusion to the *relative* size and importance of the states. This is suggested by the plausibility of the numbers, especially, as will appear, in the case of places which had been forgotten, like Pylos and Dulichium. Some attempts were made to tamper with the figures, but they did not affect the vulgate.<sup>6</sup> I give the forces in a table.

- 100 Agamemnon.
- 90 Nestor.
- 80 Crete (90 Diodorus, v. 79), Argos.
- 60 Sparta, Arcadia.
- 50 Boeotians, Athenians, Pelasgic Argos.
- 40 Phocians, Locrians (of Opus), Euboeans, Eleans, Dulichians, Aetolians, Iton, etc. (Protesilaus), Ormenion, etc. (Eurypylus), Oloosson, etc. (Polypoetes), Magnesians.
- 30 Orchomenus; Nisyrus, Cos, etc.; Tricca-Oechalia.

<sup>6</sup> The catalogue of the *Iph. Aul.* gives the Argives 50 ships, the Athenians 60, Gouneus 12 instead of 22 in which Pap. Oxyrynchus 22

agrees, Ajax in some accounts brought 13 not 12; *C.R.* 1901, 346 *sq.* Diodorus v. 79, raises the Cretan contingent to 90.

- 22 Cyphus, etc. (12 according to others).
- 12 Salamis (13 others), Cephallenæ.
- 11 Phærae (Eumelus).
- 9 Rhodes.
- 7 Methone (Philoctetes).
- 3 Syme.

Twenty-nine contingents in all.

In this list the striking features are the great power of Pylos (slightly stronger than Argos, and materially stronger than Sparta or Arcadia, it is the second state in Peloponnesus; Nestor's prominence in the *Iliad* is not entirely due to his age and eloquence); the even balance of power between the peoples of central Greece, 50-40-30; the accurate differentiation between the islands, Syme, Rhodes, and the Coan archipelago; and the political insignificance of such prominent heroes as Ulysses and the Telamonian Ajax. As Euboea to Ajax, so is Dulichium to Ulysses.

I proceed to notice some sections in particular.

### III.

1. *Boeotia*. Thuc. i. 12 says Βοιωτοί . . . ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν . . . τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν . . . ᾤκησαν, whence, as the Boeotians are in Boeotia in Homer, it has been inferred that this part of the Catalogue is post-Dorian. Thucydides was probably misled by the nomenclature. Some races certainly carried their names south with them, the Hellenes, Enienes, Phlegyæ, Achæi, whom we can see moving; others took the name of the country which they occupied, and this seems generally true of the Dorians, who became in Argos Ἀργεῖοι, in Lacedæmon Λακεδαιμόνιοι, in Elis Ἡλεῖοι, and similarly probably in Boeotia Βοιωτοί. There is no evidence that the name Βοιωτοί was ever borne by anyone north of Oeta. The Dorians in general took their name, according to their own tradition, from Δωρίς; or according to Herodotus from Dryopis; they were not called Dorians till they arrived in Peloponnesus; when therefore we find a place called Δῶριον in Peloponnesus it is a simple case of the same place-name recurring in Greece, like Ephyræ, Oechalia, Orchomenus, Thebæ, and has nothing to do with race.<sup>7</sup>—Homer knows of no Muses in Boeotia, though Thespiæ exists. What the poet means by Ὑποθήβαι is not clear; Thebes fell in this generation, as Sthenelus tells Agamemnon Δ 406.

Ἀρνη in Homer, here and in the war between it and Arcadia H 9, 137, is Boeotian. In Hesiod *Scut.* 381, 475 it is apparently in Phthiotis, on the road between Pagasæ and the Μυρμιδόνων πόλις or Trachis (*C.R.* 1906, 199 sq.).

I mean that Δωρίς and Δῶριον were both known by these names before the Return of the Heraclidae. What the root meant I venture to think is unknown: the derivation from δρῦς. δολος etc. (Fick, *B.B.* 24. 299, Kretschmer,

*K.Z.* 36, 267, *Glotta* i. 15), does not seem more convincing than that produced by Mr. Murray (*Rise of Greek Epic*, p. 40) I do not know from where, which connects the word with the latter part of ἐκκαιδεκάδωρα, etc.

Homer does not mention it in his list of Protesilaus' towns; on the other hand, Hesiod says nothing about Iton or Itonia, where the later accounts placed the encounter of Heracles and Cygnus. Are Arne and Iton one, and are they Mr. Wace's Zerelia? In any case it seems needless to transport Arne to Kierion, with Strabo. To Thucydides the Crocian plain was 'Thessaly.' The way in which Part I. ends with Attica and Salamis, leaving unaccounted for the coast between Athens and the Isthmus, lends some colour to the modern idea that Νῆσα may be Nisaea, *i.e.* Megara. Still, it is curious that Homer should have coupled the north and south extremities of Boeotia in one line, and that Hereas and Dieuchidas neglected the opening instead of inventing Νισαίης in their version of 558.

4. Locrians. When of their chief Ajax it is said ἐγγεῖη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς it is plain both these proper names are to be understood locally, since Ajax though a stout hero did not excel with the spear Diomedes, Achilles, or his greater namesake. Ἀχαιοί is used as in the phrase Ἄργος ἀν' ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιίδα καλλιγύναικα not of the Greeks as a whole, but of a district; and probably of that to which it clung in history, Phthiotis. (So it is used in the account of Peleus' kingdom, v. 684.) The writer would have saved his credit by pointing out that Achilles was a Myrmidon.

The Hellenes, whom Ajax surpassed, all of them, demand separate consideration. They are a portion of Peleus' subjects, as Ἑλλάς is part of his territory. The Locrians from this passage have a *prima facie* right to the name. Now Phoenix I 447 *sq.* lived originally in Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα, his father was Amyntor Ormenides; when he defiled his father's bed he fled δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο and came to Phthia, where he supplicated Peleus. Hellas therefore though near Phthia was not the same place. Now Amyntor Ormenides lost a hat, πῖλος, which was taken ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος by Autolycus, who lived on Parnassus, and given to a person at the safe distance of Cythera. Hellas therefore contained Eleon. The only known Eleon is the Boeotian one B 500 (Paus. i. 29. 6). It would appear therefore that the Homeric and prae-Homeric Hellas was a district to the south of the Spercheus, not the north; and extended through Locris to Boeotia and was in fact a kind of prolongation of Oeta.

9. Agamemnon. To my arguments for the correctness of the account of his kingdom, Mycenae-Aegium, given *C.Q.* 1909, 81 *sq.*, I may add that of the story Δ 370 *sq.* Agamemnon speaking to Diomedes recalls the first Theban war. Tydeus and Polynices were collecting assistance:—

ἦτοι μὲν γὰρ ἄτερ πολέμου εἰσῆλθε Μυκῆνας  
ξείνος ἄμ' ἀντιθέω Πολυνείκεϊ λαὸν ἀγείρων.

That is to say, in the generation before the actual one Argos and Mycenae were in different hands and Argos sent an embassy to Mycenae. Thus the whole view of Mycenae in Homer coincides with the Catalogue. I may add that the epithet Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον is further confirmed by the

mare Aege, which Echepolos of Sicyon gave Agamemnon as the price of staying at home, Ψ 295 *sq.*; and I conjecture that Arion, Adrestus' horse, *ib.* 347, hailed from Sicyon, not Argos. The Thyestes-Aegisthus barony was more probably on the East coast (Monemvasia) than in the bay of Messenia (as I suggested *ib.* p. 90), since Agamemnon disposes of the towns on that bay, and on this voyage Agamemnon is blown *bark* from Malea till the wind changed. Cythera, too, where the ancients made him refuge, belonged to, or was inhabited by, Amphidamas at Scandeia K 266 *sq.*<sup>8</sup> An echo of Agamemnon's conquest of the *αἰγιαλός* (Herod. i. 145) tells how the Ionians (Mycenaeans) were driven into Helice and Aegium and six more towns across the border, where, as none of these towns belongs to Elis in the Catalogue, they may have existed in independence with no name but Iones; but the historians (Herod. vii. 94, Strabo 383, Paus. vii. 1) postdate the movement to the Dorian age, though Pausanias contrives to keep the three strata, Iones, Achaei, Dorians, distinct.

The fact that in the American excavations at Corinth nothing Mycenaean has been found will hardly be considered to disprove the existence of a heroic Corinth. Until the other day a heroic Sparta might have been denied on as good grounds. Nor is the account affected by the uncertainty whether Ephyra was an older name for Corinth or a separate site.

10. Menelaus. The latest achievement of English excavation is to give us the Homeric Σπάρτη, opposite the Dorian town. It will be convenient to pass to Nestor's kingdom at once.

11. 591 Οἱ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινὴν  
καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον καὶ εὐκτιτον Αἰπύ,  
καὶ Κυπαρισσέηντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν ἔναιον,  
καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἔλος καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι  
ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς,  
Οἰχαλίηθεν ἰόντα παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος . . .  
τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε γερῆνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ,  
τῷ δ' ἐνεμήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.

No more striking example of the endurance and indestructibility of canonical tradition has ever been afforded than by this section. The historical Greeks, while they respected the letter of the Catalogue, had lost the clue to its meaning. There were three Pyloses, said the oracle: the Elean and Messenian both claimed to be the home of Nestor. The claim of the first may fairly be called grotesque, since we know from Nestor's own lips that his country was often at war with Elis. The claim of Messenia was accepted by Hellanicus fr. 64, Pherecydes fr. 56, and Pausanias, and may be called the vulgate opinion of antiquity. The lonely bay of Navarino, unknown had not Pothos or Phthonos or some other of Mr. Cornford's demons

<sup>8</sup> Thyreae, and ἡ μέγρι Μαλεέων πρὸς ἐσπέρην, was separate from Sparta in the early post-

Dorian period, as were Cythera and 'the other islands,' Herod. i. 82

impelled Demosthenes to land there, and Eris in later days sanctified the spot with a notable duel, was assigned to Nestor for his capital and Hermes (in the hymn) to store his cows. In antiquity Strabo by a more attentive reading of Homer rejected the Elean and the Messenian Pylos, and fixed Nestor's capital at 30 stadia from Samicum in Triphylia. This was brilliantly supported by Bérard upon a consideration of topography, tides, etc. (it is the most substantial part of his book), and demonstrated by Dörpfeld, who has unearthed Mycenaean remains at the required sites.<sup>9</sup>

Archaeology thus allows us to appreciate the entry in the Catalogue. With 90 ships Nestor is the second power in the Morea; slightly stronger than Argos, a third stronger than Sparta or Arcadia, more than twice as strong as Elis. This agrees with the sites mentioned, which run from Thryon the ford of the Alpheus to Cyparissiae. The towns specified are either on the coast (Thryon, Arene, Pylos) or on the hills which command it. That 'Pylos' stretched further inland and held or claimed the whole course of the Alpheus appears from the stories of the wars between the barons of Pherae, belonging to the house of Diocles-Orsilochus, and the Arcadians, E 542, H 9, 135. In E 542 *sq.* Diocles, father of Crethon and Orsilochus, is living at Φηρή, and is son of the river Alpheus, ὅς τ' εὐρὺν ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης, and this Φηρή or Φεραι was within a day's drive of Pylos, γ 488, in the day of the grandson Diocles. In Nestor's youth, H 132 *sq.*, the Pylians and Arcadians fought

Φειᾶς παρ τεύχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα (135),

at a place also described as ἐπ' ὠκυρόφ Κελάδοντι.

The only known Φειά is a sea coast place in Elis N. of the Alpheus, which Telemachus passed on his way home from Pylos (ο 297). The Arcadians had nothing to do here: the place for which they and Nestor fought must have been on the joint border. When Nestor went north he fought the Eleans, not the Arcadians. Hence in H 135 we should clearly read Φηρᾶς for Φειᾶς with Didymus after Pherecydes; the corruptions in these names—Φειά, Φερία, Φεραι, Φηραί, are constant.<sup>10</sup> Pherae, then, was on the upper waters of the Alpheus, and the Ἰάρδανος and the Κελάδων, which are only known from this passage, must be feeders of the Alpheus.

Where this place Pherae was, which Nestor helped his vassal to defend against the Arcadians, and whither Pisistratus and Telemachus drove in one day from Pylos, is unknown. Bérard's identification of it with Aliphera is clearly wrong and based on the similarity of name. Aliphera, notorious for its mosquitoes, leads nowhere and is on no road; its name has nothing to do either with Pherae or Alpheus, and is no doubt the same as Αἰγλέφειρα in Eretria (Hoffmann, *Ionian Dialect*, pp. 13, 14), as Fick has suggested. Dörpfeld, while he accepts Bérard's view that the two young men made for the central thoroughfare which led by the waters of Eurotas and Alpheus

<sup>9</sup> V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, i. pp. 61 *sqq.* W. Dörpfeld, *Atth. Mitt.* 1907, vi. xvi. 1908, 295 *sq.* and 320 *sq.*

<sup>10</sup> To the vv. ll. in my note on ο 297 add Galen xvii. pt. 2. 38 K. and Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 30 where φείας is a necessary emendation for σφείας.

from Sparta to the Ionian Sea, puts the intermediate stage and home of Diocles near the modern Leondari and the upper Alpheus (*Leukas*, 1905, p. v). That the place was somewhere in these parts admits of no doubt: its name was lost in historical times. So was *Φορίεια*, an Arcadian *κώμη* mentioned by Ephorus, fr. 97. The latter name is not far from *Φερία*, *Φεραί*. Cf. also *Νοστία*, *Νεστανία* Ephorus 58, another Arcadian village. Dörpfeld holds that Telemachus' route was along the Neda, past Phigalea. But the valley of the Cyparissius, further south, is as likely: this is the line of the modern railway, and passes the traditional site of *Δώριον* and across the plain of Stenyclarus. This route is favoured by the story *φ* 15 *sq.*, of which the evidence is unfortunately not quite certain.

Speaking of the bow and arrows which Penelope brought out for the suitors to try, the poet says *φ* 13

δῶρα τά οἱ ξείνος Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε τυχήσας  
 Ἴφίτος Εὐρυτίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 τῷ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοιν  
 οἴκῳ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο δαΐφρονος. ἦτοι Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἦλθε μετὰ χρεῖος, τό ρά οἱ πᾶς δῆμος ὄφελλεν  
 μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες ἄειραν  
 νηυσὶ πολυκλήισι τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομῆας.  
 τῶν ἔνεκ' ἐξεσίην πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἦλθεν Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 παιδνὸς ἐών' πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε πατὴρ ἄλλοι τε γέροντες.  
 Ἴφίτος αὖθ' ἵππους διζήμενος, αἳ οἱ ὄλοντο  
 δῶδεκα θήλειαι, ὑπὸ δ' ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοί.

This passage would decide important questions, if its evidence were clear. In the first place what is the *οἶκος Ὀρτιλόχοιο* v. 16? Is Ortilochus one of the Diocles-Ortilochus-Diocles dynasty? Ancient opinion said yes (*ἐν Φεραῖς* schol. 16); and as the other Ortilochi in Homer are (i) a fictitious Cretan invented by Ulysses *ο* 260 and (ii) a Trojan *Θ* 274, it looks as though the writer did intend Pherae. Now the *οἶκος Ὀρτιλόχοιο* is here equated with *Μεσσήνη* (15). Therefore the Alphean Pherae is equivalent to the heroic Messene. (This is the only place where Messene and Messenians occur in Homer.) Now in history we know nothing of Messenians on the Eurotas or on the Alpheus: they are separated from either river-system by the N.W. continuation of Taygetus. If then the Alphean Pherae is in Messenia, it must at least be on one of the extreme upper feeders of the Alpheus, and on the west side of the valley: so a Messenian town might claim the valley at its feet, as the Grand-duchy of Tuscany stretched far down the N.E. slope of the Apennines into Romagna. It would seem to result that the heroic *Μεσσήνιοι* inhabited the plain of Stenyclarus, where we find them in history, and claimed also the upper valley of the Alpheus, commanding which their baron lived in a castle at Pherae. Therefore Pherae was further south than Leondari; and Telemachus' route lay up the Cyparisseis-valley and not along the Neda. It may seem strange that the Messenians could raid Ithaca. Evidently they had access to the sea, and the whole

valley including Dorion home of the Muses must have been in their hands. It is strange that they could lift Iphitus' horses from Oechalia near Tricca in Thessaly; but the stories of Melampus' raid (from Pereia to Pylos), and Hermes' (from Pieria to Pylos), and how Heracles raided Geryones' oxen from Ambracia and Amphilochia (Hecataeus 349) show that heroic Greece was liable to pillage from end to end. On the other hand, the absurdity of the identification of the Homeric Oechalia with a site (Andania) in Messenia is apparent; Eurytus of Oechalia in Messenia, robbed by Messenians, comes to Messenia to recover!

The heroic Messenians then were vassals of Nestor, and therefore are not mentioned in the Catalogue; their towns *Κυπαρισσῆεις* and *Δῶριον* represent them. As Agamemnon can offer Achilles (I 292-5) a string of coast-towns beginning where Menelaus' kingdom left off and stretching along the whole bay of Kalamata round to Methone (if the ancient identifications are correct), it is plain that Agamemnon possessed the plain of the Pamisus and the southern half of the historical Messenia. To the north of this came the Messenians, a part of Pylos, as is clearly indicated by the poet in his definition I 295 *νέαται Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος*, 'bordering on sandy Pylos,' *i.e.* on Nestor's sandy coast, not the lonely bay of Navarino.

All this, however, depends on the interpretation we give to verses 13-16: Iphitus gave him the bow at Lacedaemon where he met him; they fell in with one another in Messene in the house of Ortilochus.' If the two places, Lacedaemon and Messene-Phrae, are to be kept apart, Iphitus and Ulysses met at Messene-Phrae, where each had business; they then proceeded (as Telemachus did) to Sparta (to their *ξένοι*, as Iphitus on his return visited his *ξένος* Heracles, who killed him). At Sparta Iphitus gave his new friend the bow. This is not unnatural, but those who do not wish to separate the reference of *τυχίσας* and *ξυμβλήτην* must take 'the house of Ortilochus' to refer to some unknown Spartan. The apparent arrival of Eurytus and Ulysses at Sparta to complain of the action of Messenians might seem a sign of post-Dorian interpolation, and is assumed to be so without question by the Kirchhoffian school. But it is an obscure way of asserting the Spartan claim to Messenia, and involves the identification of the 'house of Ortilochus' with Phrae-Kalamata. But this was never *Λακεδαίμων*.

If we accept the passage as evidence, we gain a good idea of the size of Nestor's kingdom. From the mouth of the Alpheus it stretched to an unnamed point between Cyparisseis and Methone. The Alpheus was the frontier between it and Elis, and the frontier, though a disputed one, between it and Arcadia on the east. In Telemachus' journey there is no mention of Arcadia, which must have lain more to the north and east than in history. Ortilochus was Warden of the Marches, and maintained the communication between the Alpheus and the Eurotas. A kingdom of these dimensions might well be the second power in Peloponnesus and send ninety ships to Troy. The Dorian invasion changed everything, and everything was forgotten. The Catalogue, intangible, was entirely misread. Only Strabo by an

attentive study of Homer resisted the rival and equally absurd claims of Elis and Navarino to be Pylos. But he preached in the desert, till one day, when Bérard, to whom the utmost credit is due, recovered the facts.

The Dorian change is shewn, amongst other things, in the difficulty of identifying Nestor's towns. Seven lists of Pylian villages are extant. The first four, which are epic, are fairly uniform, but with the historians they change completely, and *Αἶπυ* if—which is quite doubtful—it is the same as *Αἶπιον* or *Ἔπιον* is the only name which persists.

B 591 Pylos, Arene, Thryon, Aepy, Cyparisseis, Amphigeneia, Pteleos, Helos, Dorion.

Λ 722 Pylos, Arene on the *ποταμός Μινυήϊος*, Thryon.

ο 297 Pylos, Cruni, Chalcis.

h. Apoll. 422 *sqq.* Arene, Argyrphaea, Cruni, Chalcis.

Herod. iv. 148. *Λέπρεον, Μακίστιον, Φρίξαι, Πύργος, Ἔπιον, Νούδιον.*

Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 21 *sqq.* *Αὐλών, Λεπρεᾶται, Μακίστιοι, Ἐπιταλιεῖς, Λετρίνοι, Ἀμφίδολοι, Μαργανεῖς, Ἀκρωρεῖοι, Λασίων ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἀντιλεγόμενος, Ἡπειος ἢ μεταξὺ πόλις Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου, Ἡραία.*

Polyb. iv. 77–80 *Σαμικόν, Λέπρεον, Ὑπανα, Τυπανεᾶι, Πύργος, Αἶπιον, Βόλαξ (= Αὐλαξ), Στυλάγγιον, Φρίξα.*<sup>10a</sup>

One of these towns, *Δώριον*, enjoys a singular distinction. Here 'the Muses met Thamyras the Thracian and stayed him from his song, as he came from Oechalia<sup>11</sup> from Eurytus of Oechalia; he had sworn to conquer even if the Muses sang. So they were wroth and made him blind and took his song from him and made him forget his music.' It is not plain whether by 'the Muses' we are to understand a centre or school,<sup>12</sup> some institution like the *συνθύται Μουσῶν Ἡσιοδείων* at Thespiæ in later times, or merely the local talent at some *ἀγών*. At all events we hear of no other poetical centre in Mycenaean or Achaean times. Pieria and Helicon are of the next age: the Homeric Muses are Olympian only in so far as they are divine.

In this story we see a musician from Thrace, who had apparently found favour with one of the most northerly Greek barons, Eurytus at Oechalia. (The patron was of the same disposition: θ 224 he challenged Apollo with the bow and perished.) He descends into Peloponnesus with his new art. The Muses treated him much as Apollo treated Marsyas. Such is the fate of the innovator. The first performance of Wagner in Paris produced a riot. Who Thamyras was I would not say, but in the next age, after the invasion of Thamyras' friends, we find the Muses at Thespiæ and on Helicon. They established themselves north of the Isthmus.

Dorion was placed by Pausanias iv. 33. 7 across the river Electra, on the way to Cyparissiae. Homer knows no Oechalia except that which

<sup>10a</sup> Ptolemy iii. 14. 39 has *Κορόνη* or *Κορήνη* (?), *Ὑπάνεια, Λέπρεον, Τυπάνεια* as inland towns.

<sup>11</sup> Again, how absurd it is to make Thamyras come from Andania, a few miles up the valley from Dorion, and in the barony of Diocles!

<sup>12</sup> Schools of poetry in the heroic age seem implied by Phemius' statement χ 347, *αἰτωδιδάκτος δ' εἰμί*. The others were *ἀλλοδιόκτοι*, premiers prix.



with Tricca and Ithome formed the barony of Podalirius and Machaon. In later days Pausanias found the site at *Εὐρύτιον*, a *χωρίον ἔρημον*. There were other Oechalias in Greece, at least there was one certain site in Euboea, as there were more than one Aegae, Anticyra, Argos, Asopus, Athenae, Ephyra, Orchomenus, Oropus, Pylos, and Thebes, and when the Triccan Oechalia lost its name (Hesiod, Pindar, Herodotus do not mention it), the others put in a claim. Hence the confusion from Pherecydes and Demetrius of Scepsis (who identified Oechalia with Andania, as egregious a misinterpretation as the Eleans' claim to Pylos) to Mr. Leaf. When *Δῶριον* again was forgotten other sites seized the inheritance: if Hesiod really said (fr. 246 on the authority of Orus) that the blinding took place in the Dotian plain, he may have moved Thamyras a little east from Oechalia, and made the local talent of Dotion enough to blind him; or was the name *Δῶριον* already lost, like Pylos, by about 700 B.C., and *Δῶτιον* a clerical correction? <sup>12a</sup>

It is so strange to find Phigalia ignored in the Homeric list of towns that I am tempted to see *ἄμ Φιγάλειαν* in *Ἀμφιγένειαν* 593. Nestor's epithet *γερήμιος* surely = *γέρων*: the nearest, and rather doubtful, *Γερυρία* is a village in S.E. Messenia, where Nestor had nothing to do. Pylos was a centre of prophecy no less than of poetry, 225 *sqq.* The tribe-name also *Καύκωνες*, who gave kings to Colophon, Herod. i. 147, does not occur.

13. Nestor had fought not only against Arcadia but against Elis, *Λ* 607 *sqq.* He pushed one raid as far north as Buprasium. Elis is interesting for two reasons: the predecessors of the Olympian games took place there. *Λ* 690 Neleus going to race in Elis, his team was seized by Augeias. Prae-Dorian and prae-geometric remains have been found by Dörpfeld below the surface at Olympia.<sup>13</sup> Secondly Elis was a peraea unto the Cephallenian islands. Ulysses and other Ithacans kept their cattle here.<sup>14</sup> Acarnania as we shall see was in other hands. The entry is scanty, and omits all the six 'Ionian' towns which fell within the province (Herod. i. 145).

Elis, where Ulysses and Noemon kept their cattle, takes us to the third division of the Catalogue, the north-western peoples. Homer divides them into three: Dulichium, the Cephallenians, the Actolians. We may take the second first.

15. The Catalogue gives *Κεφαλλῆνες* as the generic name of the inhabitants of three places, Ithaca, Zacynthus, and Samos (*Same* Zenodotus, unmetrically, unless he altered the line). The name recurs *Δ* 330 as the title of Ulysses' whole force, and *ω* 378 of the troops whom Laertes led against Nericos; *ω* 355 it applies to the islands other than Ithaca. Of the three islands inhabited by this race, Zacynthus is Zante; as Same was in historical times (and Samo is now) a name of a town in Cefalonia, it may fairly be supposed to have connoted the island in the heroic period.

<sup>12a</sup> See note p. 322.

<sup>13</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 1908, 185 *sqq.* 'Olympia in prahistorischer Zeit.'

<sup>14</sup> They had a kind of *ἐπινομία*, on which Seymour, p. 240 is instructive.

There is left Ithaca, which appears *prima facie* to be continued in the modern Thiaki. The name Ἰθάκη resembles Βαϊάκη, Μαλθάκη, Φαιακία, forms frequent in N.W. Greece (Kretschmer, *Einkleitung*, pp. 280 *sqq.* I have added Μαλθάκη, the islet N.W. of Corfù). It is not the only Adriatic name in the Odyssey. Steph. Byz. Μέντορες ἔθνος πρὸς τοῖς Λιβυρνοῖς. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ (fr. 62) seems to substantiate the Taphian Mentēs (a 179 *sq.*) who sails to Temesa to exchange iron for copper. The Temesans are ἀλλόθροοι, *i.e.* of foreign speech, like the Milesians, βαρβαρόφωνοι and the Sinties, ἀγριόφωνοι. These epithets are all the result of commercial or colonising relations. Therefore Temesa is in Italy, not in Cyprus, whose inhabitants' speech would have been understood. We seem to see iron on its way south, in this case by water. Mentēs, the Mentores, and the Taphians were carriers between Noricum (with which it is most tempting to identify νόροπα in νόροπα χαλκόν) and the south. Again a 259 Mentor the Taphian entertained Ulysses after his pilgrimage to Dodona, after he had left Ephyra-Cichyrus. The Greek geographers will have been wrong in finding Taphos in the Dulichium-Cephallenēs archipelago: piracy, the Taphian quality, could hardly exist in these waters. If Taphos was an island at all it may have been Paxos. Further, when we find O 530 *sq.*, Phyleus the Epean, father of Meges the baron of Dulichium, bringing a cuirass from Ephyra ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος, the Adriatic metal trade and the West Greek situation of the personages together suggest that Ephyra the port for Dodona is meant, and in that case the river Σελλήεις will be one of those which in the next age were baptised Acheron and Cocytus. If the Elean Ephyra (Strabo 338) ever existed and were not, like the Messenian Oechalia, an inference from a misinterpretation of Homer, it is impossible here in the case of an Elean. Another Adriatic potentate was Ἐχετος, σ 84. Epos does not admit types and allegories; this slave dealer must have lived in Dalmatia or Italy. The names Πευκέτιοι or Πευκετεῖς, and Ἐπέτιον near Salona, Ptol. ii. 16, are slightly similar. I hardly like to suggest Ἐνετός. Italian trade is implied ω 304, if Ἀλύβας is rightly identified with Metapontum. The real evidence for this trade is given in the concluding chapters of Mr. Peet's book (*Stone and Bronze Age in Italy*, pp. 490, 491), and reduces the argument for the lateness of the last books of the Odyssey on the ground of the mentions of Sicily to the same lamentable grotesqueness as the inference that the Odyssey is later than the Iliad because the Iliad does not mention figs (justly stigmatised by Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitth.* 1907, p. xiv).

The geographical terms then in the Odyssey appear substantial.<sup>15</sup> The name Ithaca has belonged to the same island as far as we can trace name and island back in history. It is only in our day that the identity of the heroic and the historical Ithaca has been doubted.<sup>16</sup> The question as now

<sup>15</sup> The tombs of the Mycenaean Cephallenians have been recently discovered, *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 357. Mycenaean objects in Cefalonia, *Rec.*

*Archéol.* 38, 123.

<sup>16</sup> A considerable literature not all of equal importance is in existence on the subject. I

debated turns on the situation of Dulichium, to which we come directly. As to Ithaca itself, the objection that the description in Homer is inconsistent with the actual conditions is well met on the whole by Bérard, but not much weight in one sense or another can be placed on correspondences between detailed natural features and descriptions of landscape in literature. There is nothing to prevent the king of the group residing on the smallest island.<sup>17</sup> The absence of remains is natural in so shallow a soil; and at best adduces only the argument from silence. On the other hand I must admit (with Wilamowitz) that the poet regards Ithaca as the most westerly of the group. No allowance for primitive astronomy, and no adjusting of the points of the compass to suit it can get Dulichium, Zacynthus, and Same 'away to the dawn and the sun' of Ithaca. It was an error, that Ithaca was a lonely rock out at sea (*πανυπερτάτη*),<sup>18</sup> cherished to heighten the discrepancy between Ulysses' personal prowess and his distant islet, the last thing in Greek waters. Ithaca was the ancient St. Helena.

Ulysses brings a small force, 12 ships. The number is constant. He left Troy with twelve (ι 159). At Troy they acted with the Athenians, not independently, as the Telamonian Ajax with the same number attached himself to his Locrian namesake. It is not plain if we are to understand that Same and Zacynthus were scantily populated (the suitors it should be remembered were reinforced from Dulichium), or that the Cephallenes did not respond largely to Agamemnon's call. We remember Ulysses' own reluctance. In any case the numbers are higher than the Rhodian contingent (9), or Philoctetes' ships from Magnesia (7).

14. Dulichium and 'the islands the Echinae across the sea over against Elis' <sup>19</sup> sent 40 ships to Troy under Meges son of Phyleus who had migrated from Elis to Dulichium.

Meges is an important hero of the second class. He is found acting with the Epeans of Elis from whom the settlement had taken place (N 692, O 519): his father Phyleus was well remembered, as of Nestor's time (Ψ 637). Dulichium sent 52 suitors to besiege Penelope, as against 24 from Same, 20 from Zacynthus, and 12 from Ithaca. It is called *πολύπυρος, ποιήεις*, in contrast to the epithets given to Ithaca (Same receives no attribute,

mention what I have read: Dorpfeld, 'Das homerische Ithaka' in the *Mélanges Perrot*, 1903, p. 79: the same reprinted with a reply to Wilamowitz as 'Leukas: zwei Aufsätze über das homerische Ithaka,' 1905: V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* ii. pp. 405 sq.: H. Michael, *Das homerische und das heutige Ithaka*, 1902, *Die Heimat des Odysseus*, 1905: P. Gossler *Leukas-Ithaka*, 1904: J. Gröschel *Dorpfelds Leukas-Ithaka Hypothese*, 1907 (this gives the literature to date): Von Marées 'Die Ithakallegende auf Thiaki' *Neue Jahrb.* 1906, xvii. 233 sq. Vollgraff, 'Fouilles d'Ithaque' *B.C.H.* 1905 145-168, 'Dulichium—Leukas' *Neue*

*Jahrb.* 1907. A good sketch is to be found in the late T. D. Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age*, pp. 45 sq.

<sup>17</sup> The smallness is not only recognised but insisted upon. Menelaus δ 174 offers Ulysses, one town in Lacedaemon as an equivalent for his 'royaume.'

<sup>18</sup> *Πανυπερτάτη* does not denote a point of the compass, it means 'furthest out to sea.' As *Syrie* ο 404 is *Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν* 'off Ortygia, au large de l'Ortygie,' Ithaca is 'furthest out,' which is plainly contrary to fact.

<sup>19</sup> Elis also serves to define the position of Cefalonia and Zante φ 347.

Zacynthus is 'wooded'). It is the important place in these parts. The coasting-trade was between it and Thesprotia (§ 334, 5). Therefore Ulysses (in character) wishes to be landed on it § 397, presumably for its facilities for travel by land and water. Still in this story also Homer seems wrong: he puts Ithaca *between* Thesprotia and Dulichium, not indeed on the coast, but somewhere out to sea N.W. of Dulichium (*πρὸς ζόφον*).

Laertes ω 377 leads the Cephallenians to the sack of Nericos (which as we shall see was in Dulichian territory). There is no connexion, in origin or polity, between Dulichium and the Cephallenian islands. They are neighbours only.

On the historical Greek map there was no Dulichium. It had disappeared as completely as Pylos. As in the case of Pylos various attempts were made to appropriate it: Pherecydes (Strabo 450) equated it with Pale in Cephallenia, Hellanicus (fr. 138) with Cephallenia in general, Andron (*F.H.G.* ii. p. 350, fr. 6) with part of Cephallenia. Their procedure is obvious: Ithaca and Zacynthus having kept their names, Cephallenia or the non-Samos part of Cephallenia was all that was available. Strabo himself, who saw that Samos was Cephallenia, made with less than his usual judgment Dulichium *one* of the Echinades. As though one of the Echinades, or all the Echinades together, could send forty ships to Troy, and fifty-two princes to court Penelope! To what language the name belongs and what it may mean is unknown. There is not the slightest reason to connect it with *δολιχός*, though the resemblance misled both Strabo and some moderns. The etymologists have neglected the word: it is presumably Illyrian, and is not wholly unlike *Δυρράχιον*.<sup>20</sup> As it disappeared from the Greek map, its place was no doubt taken by another name: and Dörpfeld's and Bérard's attempts to identify it with Ithaca and Taphos respectively are in so far justified. But the arguments of both are nullified by their obstinate neglect of the Homeric evidence: to both Dulichium belongs to Ulysses. (I do not know when this *idée fixe* began. To Niese, p. 38, Meges occupies an 'auffallende Stellung'; but there is nothing in it in the least surprising.) The data are that Dulichium was separate, and a much more important place. Forty ships is the contingent sent by Euboea among islands, and by Aetolia and Elis among land-powers.

If we allow the traditional identification of Zante, Cefalonia, and Thiaki—which account for the whole of Ulysses' kingdom—the only place in the N.-W. Greek world which suits the Homeric data is Leucas, the modern Sta. Maura. The ancient antiquarians were debarred from drawing this conclusion by the same persuasion which appealed to Bérard, namely that Leucas was a promontory and not an island. But the contrary, on this point, is maintained by Dörpfeld and with perfect success. A piece of land, surrounded by the shallowest lagoon, though the lagoon be covered only

<sup>20</sup> Not wholly unlike either *Δάλμιον*, *Δέλμιον*, *Δελμίνιον*, *Δαλμάται*, *Δελματείς*, *Οὐλκίνιον*, Doclea, Dalluntum. In the case of

place-names passing through several languages these distant *rapprochements* seem permissible.

twice a day, is an island. Venice, even after the construction of the railway bridge, is an island: Comacchio, at the end of a bank of earth, is a dependance of Ferrara. Dörpfeld (*Leukas*, p. 24) offers Wilamowitz for the sake of argument this solution; but no one that I am aware of has made the identification except Sir Edward Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 1883, i. pp. 69, 70. I am glad to be anticipated by an impartial specialist, unfettered by the baseless presumptions of scientific history.<sup>21</sup> Sta. Maura is a fertile island, with deep valleys, and as Dörpfeld's excavations have shewn, was inhabited in the prehistoric period. Its neighbourhood to the continent and the shallowness of its lagoon made it both natural and necessary that it should take possession of the epeiros opposite. If the Cephallenian group, though separated by deep sea from the continent, had apparently an arrangement with Elis for the pasturage of their cattle, we may be certain that civilised inhabitants of Leucas acquired the mainland to which they were so close. Mycenaean remains are found at Coronta in the later Acarnania (Dawkins, *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 355) and opposite Leucas at Palairos (Dörpfeld, *Leukas*, map). Leucas and the Echinades together screened off the land behind them: hence perhaps the Cephallenians had to have recourse to Elis; hence also we have no Acarnania in Homer. Since the first people we hear of to the North, in Ulysses' real or false movements, are the Thesproti at Ephyra-Cichyrus, and on the other hand the Aetolian towns in the Catalogue are all to the East of the Achelous, it looks as though the Dulichian territory covered the ground between Actium and the Achelous. The author of the *Alcmaeonis* fr. 5 made Alyzeus and *Leucadius* reign in Acarnania. Hence they could send forty ships, as Euboea and Aetolia did, to Troy. This is consistent with  $\omega$  377, where Laertes at the head of his Cephallenians takes *Νήρικον . . . ἐνκτίμενον πολίεθρον|ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο*. Nericus (an Adriatic name, Kretschmer *Einleitung*, pp. 280 *sq.*) appears again in the Peloponnesian war: Thuc. iii. 7 *πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήρικον ποιησάμενος*. These words do not imply the island Leucas, the Leucadian territory would suffice. In Homer an *ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο* is not an island, indeed it is the contrary. Nericus therefore was some small place like Astacus on the mainland. Dörpfeld in fact identifies it with Palairos.

Dulichium, like so many Greek place-names, passed out of existence and was supplanted by Leucas. But there is one place even in the *Odyssey* where the later name occurs. The souls of the suitors,  $\omega$  11 *sq.*, on their way to the asphodel field go by the 'streams of Ocean, the rock Leucas, the gates of the Sun and the Land of Dreams.' The latter part of the *Odyssey* is unoriginal, on many grounds but especially on account of the two recapitulations,  $\psi$  310-41 and  $\omega$  121 *sq.*, 149 *sq.* Tradition said that

<sup>21</sup> My conclusion had been arrived at, and this article completed before (May 21, 1910) I read the article 'Dulichium-Leukas' by Wilhelm Vollgraff in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*. 1907, a journal which owing to its changed shape is somewhat hard to

find in our libraries. I hasten to give Herr Vollgraff his place between Bunbury and myself. I am heartily glad that conclusions which seem to me almost self-evident have occurred to an experienced excavator who is conversant with the localities.

Eugammon, who wound up the history of Ulysses in the Telegonia, drew from 'Musaeus' in the *Θεσπρωτία*. It looks as though these two recapitulations were taken from a post-colonial poet who served the local interests of these parts, and who required the verses to introduce his poem. Ephyra in Thesprotia, which in Homer is only the port of access to Dodona on the west side, in history was furnished with an Acheron, a Cocytus, and an adit to Hell. The second Nekyia was designed to illustrate this centre: the ghosts of the Suitors take the sea, and pass the *Λευκάς πέτρη* on their way thither. Already the new name is in vogue. Hence possibly Laertes in the same book mentions Nericus without naming Dulichium.

This seems a probable combination of archaeological discovery with the data of the Catalogue: the kingdom of Pylos is a certain instance.

#### IV.

We are next taken to the Aegean. Why the poet left the N.E. Greeks to the last is not plain.

17. The Catalogue makes no distinction of race in Crete. This is done in the well-known passage τ 170 *sq.* (from which and its 90 cities Diodorus' 90 ships v. 79 seem to be taken). One of these races are *Δωριέες*. Mr. Myres has supplied an explanation of their presence, *J.H.S.* 1907, pp. 177, 178. I will confine myself to saying that such a mention of Dorians is not the way of a conquering race eager to give itself an heraldic past. If the passage in τ were post-Dorian, the Dorians would have been the sole or dominant race in Crete, and the rest helots or penestae. The rôle of Crete in Homer is effaced: she relies on her past, Minos, Rhadamanthys, Ariadne, the hundred cities. Idomeneus is the faintest first-class hero, apologies are actually made for his age and slowness, N 361, 512. Nestor is much more important: political power, in the poems, is in Peloponnesus, and this is confirmed by archaeology. Hence Mr. Burrows' connexion of epos and Crete seems unlikely (*Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 206 *sq.*).

18, 19, 20. The other islands demand close attention. They form a bridge from Crete to Asia in a N.E. direction, Casos, Carpathos, Rhodes; they then spread north along the coast, Syme, Nisyros, Cos, and Calydnæ or Calymna, Calydnæ the northernmost. They seem a kind of projection of Crete, and suggest that Mycenaean-Achaean colonisation took this line. That Mycenaean or Achaean settlements on the islands of the Aegean did take place I presume I may take as proved, and need spend no time over the old view, in Niese and many others, that this part of the Catalogue is a reflection backwards of the Dorian settlements centuries later.<sup>22</sup> I may refer in general to Mr. Hogarth's *Ionian and the East*, e.g. p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> I may note that it seems a curious canon of historical criticism, the equating of 'Heracles' and 'Dorian.' If the Dorians are Sons of

Heracles, it might be hence inferred that Heracles was *prae*-Dorian. In Homer the word generally connotes '*prae*-Achaean.'

Not a word is said about Asia, but the Achaean islands imply that the coast from Rhodes to Calydnæ was more or less Achaean, and the remains at Assarlik confirm this. The islands are divided into groups according to their settlement: (18) Rhodes, settled in the actual generation by Tlepolemus son of Heracles (from Tiryns according to the same story in Pindar, *Ol.* 7). Tlepolemus falls in battle with his Asiatic neighbour, Sarpedon from Lycia. (19) Syme under Nireus; (20) the most substantial group, Nisyros, Crapathos, Cos, the Calydnæ, with thirty ships under grandsons of Heracles, *i.e.* in the third generation of settlers. In the case of Rhodes 'foreshortening' clearly is at work; 'Heracles' was more than one generation back. Still relatively Nisyros, etc., may be an older settlement than Rhodes (which sent a small contingent for so large an island). According to the story Cos was settled by Heracles after the First Trojan War ( $\Xi$  250 E 638 O 26). This is natural enough. Colonisation depended on the weakening of Asiatic coast-power. Advantage was taken of a success against Troy, the principal Asiatic power near the sea, to found these islands, a long way from it and protected by Crete. The second Trojan War, the war of the Iliad, was undertaken for the same purpose—to open Asia and the islands—and had the immediate result of colonisation at large. This, and not the need of a trade-route<sup>23</sup> was why Agamemnon besieged, took, and destroyed Troy. At least when we find before an event a region slightly and tentatively colonised and largely in native hands, and directly after the event the same region colonised from north to south, the inference is clear that the event in question removed the obstacle to colonisation.<sup>24</sup>

Colonisation was the reason for the Trojan War without necessarily being the occasion. When the mediaeval historian contemplates the colonisation of Syria, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the Venetian Pisan and Genoese trade, and the other political and economic results of that other international enterprise the Crusades, he is inclined to see in these consequences the occasion of the undertaking. We know of course that it was the preaching of Urban, Peter, and Bernard which sent Europeans to recover the Holy Sepulchre.

The Achaeans did not even colonise. The army which took Troy returned, and had no ambition but to return. The occasion which called distant and as we see reluctant contingents from Leucas and Dodona must therefore have been moral—the wiping out of some injury. So we need not disbelieve in Helen.

The islands stop with Calydnæ: immediately beyond are the foreign-speaking Carians of Miletus. A question here is unavoidable: how did the Catalogue-writer conceive the other islands, in particular the Cyclades? Samos,

<sup>23</sup> Bérard i. 82 and Murray following him think Troy commanded a trade-route. But was there any trade with the Euxine at this time, or until the Milesian factories were established centuries later? Asiatic trade, *e.g.* in silver and

mules, would come overland. Hence perhaps in the Trojan Catalogue the omission of any reference to the Bosphorus, a new sea (the Pontus) or Bithynia.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hogarth, *Ionia*, p. 59.

Chios, Lesbos no doubt were Asian.<sup>25</sup> Lesbos was plundered by the Achaeans. The northern islands, especially the Sintian Lemnos, were neutral but friendly. Scyrus required to be reduced. About the rest there is a blank. Ulysses touched at Delos, where Apollo had an altar (a Mycenaean stratum has been found at Delos); Agamemnon says Θ 238 he had passed no altar of Zeus on his way without sacrifice. Syrie or Syra<sup>26</sup> is the home of Eumaeus, 'off Ortygia,' which may or may not be Rheneia (according to Strabo 487) but cannot be Delos, from which it is explicitly distinguished h. Apoll. 16. Dia λ 325 in the story of Ariadne, between Crete and Athens, is said to be Naxos. The others are not mentioned. What was Melos doing? Are they included in the πολλῶν νήσοισι? Perhaps they supplied crews and boats, as Herodotus i. 171 imagines the island-Carians did for Minos.

The later catalogues (*c.g.* Dictys') simply add them in.

## V.

*Greece North of Oeta.*

21. Pelasgicon Argos. On this I have little to add to what I have written *C.R.* 1906, 193 *sq.*, *C.Q.* 1909, 88, etc. The total, 50 ships, is repeated Π 168 *sq.* with further details. Three districts are included in the kingdom, Pelasgicon Argos, Phthia, Hellas, and three peoples, Myrmidons, Achaeans, Hellenes. Districts and peoples apparently coincide. Hellas was to the south, as we have seen p. 296; Phthia certainly was to the north, and seems to have denoted the coast-district from the mouth of the Spercheus to Sepias, if N 685 *sq.* the name Φθῖοι applies to both Protesilaus' and Philoctetes' men. It covered the mountains behind the Crocian plain (I 484 of Phoenix, ναίων δ' ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσω ἀνάσσων), but how far back is not plain. It is not proved that it applied to any part of the Peneus-basin, but it may have done so.

Whether Peleus' kingdom—a meeting of races—spread out of the Spercheus valley to North or South, there is still no evidence. If the Πηρεῖς, conterminous with Melitaea, cf. *C.I.G.* ix. ii. 205 (and Addenda pp. x, *sq.*) are the same as Eumelus' Πηρεΐη (see below p. 310), the likelihood that it did so is less. If we could connect Βούδειον Π 572 with a river Βουλεύς in the same district (and inscription), this would be another reason for limiting the district. Epeigeus Π 572 once ruled ἐν Βουδείῳ, then having slain a man he came a suppliant to Peleus and Thetis, and now was οὔτι κάκιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι. Schol. T remarks with unusual penetration πῶς

<sup>25</sup> Hogarth, *l.c.* p. 47 'the other great islands near the Ionian coast, Samos, Chios, and Mytilene have yet to produce a single well-attested Aegean object.'

<sup>26</sup> The coincidence of the τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο of Syrie with Pherecydes' ἡλιοτρόπιον in Syra

(Diog. Laert. I. ii) is enough to assure the identification. A cave (Eust. 1787. 15) accidentally provided a dial on its floor, as may be seen in some mediaeval cathedrals. Pherecydes embodied the principle in an instrument.



δ' ἂν ἰκέτευε τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως; Epeigeus then was a foreigner, and if Βούδειος or Βούδειον were Βουλεύς, the Melitaea-Xyniae district would be foreign. To identify them, however, we must assume a very early error in the Homeric text (Βουδείφ for Βουλείφ), as the phonetic change of λ and δ is rare within the Greek tongue. Cf. Βούλις in S. Phocis, and perhaps the river Εὐλειός (gen.) in Antimachus fr. 57.

However this may be, with the Phthians to the N., Hellenes to the S., the remaining tribe the Dolopes whom Phoenix was set to govern must have been to the W., up the valley, where as Mr. Wace tells me habitation stopped no great distance beyond Hypata, and on the N. side.

The remaining divisions of Homeric north-east Greece have been set in a new light by the excavations and observations of MM. A. J. B. Wace, Droop, and Thompson. I will not anticipate their forthcoming book on Northern Greece, but will note a few points suggested by the Catalogue or by Mr. Wace's lecture given in Oxford in October 1909.

22. Protesilaus' barony, 40 ships strong, is given no name in the Catalogue. In N 685 *sq.*, a passage where several political entities are alluded to by their race-name (Athenians as Iaones, Eleans and Dulichians as Epeioi, Magnetes as Phthioi) his men are called Phthioi. It is hard to suppose, given the land-name Phthia and the neighbouring Achaeans in the Pelasgicon Argos, that the heroic name of the country was other than 'Achaean Phthia'; but it is noticeable how Homer does not bestow the Achaean name on the two districts to which it was attached in history, the Crocian plain and the N. coast of Peloponnesus.

23. Eumelus at Pherae, Glaphyrae, and Iolcus, on Lake Boebeis. His contingent is small, 9 ships, but he is an important second-class hero. Mr. Wace pointed out to me the strength of his position, the stronghold of Jason, Alexander, and Lycophron. To me it seems that he must have given the other Thessalian potentates passage to Iolcus, and supplied them with ships, as Agamemnon did to the Arcadians: for whether any navigation went on at the mouth of the Peneus may be doubted.

Further, if Πηρεΐη<sup>27</sup> in which Apollo tended Eumelus' horses (766) is the district of the Πηρεῖς, neighbours of Melitaea (ante p. 309), Eumelus must have held a good deal of the pastureland looking down on the right bank of the Enipeus. His territory would be increased but not his population. On these banks wandered Tyro λ 235 *sqq.*, and the country even then belonged to the dynasty of Iolcus. Tyro's granddaughter Πηρώ may bear the same name. Her price was to consist of oxen from this country. In one version of Hermes' cattlelifting (Ant. Lib. 23) Apollo's cows are grazed here and not in Pieria. Phylace λ 290 is interpreted by Pherecydes of the Phthiotid Phylace. Again the conclusion is suggested that Peleus' kingdom was bounded by Othrys and Oeta.

<sup>27</sup> The right form, as it is now proved to be, lasted in a few MSS. and in Stephanus. The Homeric vulgate altered it either to suit Φεραί

(Φηρή Macrobius and four minuscule MSS. including Escorial Ω i. 12 or ludicrously in the direction of Πιερία.

24. Philoctetes with 7 ships from Methone, Thaumacie, Meliboea, and Olizon. No collective name is given them, as none is given to Protesilaus' force, but like Protesilaus' men they are called *Φθίοι* in N. In historical times their country came under the head of Magnesia. The total seems small for so large an area, but the identification of the sites is uncertain, and the people were fishermen and archers, perhaps remnants of the Centaurs.

The remainder of 'Thessaly' is divided by Homer into five baronies, four of which are clear in Mr. Wace's account. The confusion imputed to the Catalogue lies at the door of the later Greek antiquaries. West Thessaly, the basin drained by the Peneus, Pamisus, Apidanus, and Enipeus, falls into two parts: (25) the upper Peneus; Tricca, Ithome, Oechalia. Mr. Wace will I hope identify the last. On the Greek ignorance of this site see ante pp. 301, 2. (26) The eastern and southern portion; Ormenion, the spring Hyperea, Asterion Titanos. The extraordinary confusion into which Greek history fell here, interpolating Ormenion into Eumelus' barony, is due as I noticed *C. Q.* 1909, 94 to Strabo's obstinacy in identifying Hyperea with a fountain of the same name at Pherae. It is a common noun, 'Upwater.' (27) Argissa-Gyrton-Orthe-Elone-Oloosson, under Poly-poetes son of Pirithous. No name is given to this people either, but when the same chieftains are mentioned M 128 they are called 'sons of the Lapithae,' and their forces *Λαπίθαι* *ib.* 181. These people are pinned to the valley of the historical Europus by the mention of Oloosson, the modern Elassona or Alassona. The possession of Oloosson on an affluent implies that of the main valley. The other sites as identified by Strabo (439) cover the country on either side of the lower course of this river, and none of them are placed south of the Peneus. When therefore Pirithous cleared Pelion of the 'hairy beasts,' the Centaurs, he must have crossed the Peneus to do so. His fellow commander is Leonteus, son of Coronus, son of Caeneus. His ancestors, as we know from the stories about Coronis, lived on the Dotian argos, exposed to the hillmen. We may perhaps infer that the Dotian baron had migrated for security across the Peneus, whence he returned with Lapithae to extirpate his enemies. The historical Gyrton, Phalanna, and Gonnus are not mentioned. (29) The Magnetes, forty ships strong, who lived *περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πύλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον*. They are farther north than where we find them later (and in so far resemble the Hellenes, Phlegyae, and Enienes); Pelion also goes farther north than usual (and perhaps is meant to cover the whole range. We have Ossa in the Odyssey, in its usual place). The district left for the Magnetes seems to extend from the Vale of Tempe and the right bank of the Peneus south to a point where they met Eumelus, somewhere about Lake Boebeis. Homer's failure to note any towns, or Lake Nessonis, may be due, as Strabo thinks, to the floods. But a population able to send forty ships cannot be limited to the fishing villages of Pelion.

The only 'barony' whose situation offers difficulties is (28) that of Gouneus, who on twenty-two ships from *Κῶφος* brought (a) Enienes, (b) Perrhaebians from wintry Dodona, (c) men

οἷ τ' ἀμφ' ἰμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργα νέμοντο  
 ὅς ρ' ἐς Πηνειὸν προίει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ,  
 οὐδ' ὅγε Πηνειῶ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίνῃ.  
 ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἡύτ' ἔλαιον  
 ὄρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.

The Enienes are always found to the west; in later times they moved south. The Perrhaebians from Dodona came over the pass of Metzovo at the head of the Peneus, which Gouneus commanded. This Mr. Wace tells me is open in summer: Dodona was accessible by this route from the E., from the W. by the road from Ephyra-Cichyrus. (There is no need to follow the ancients in inventing a *second* Dodona, surely the most absurd of figments. If the Hyperboreans travelled from Dodona to Euboea via Trachis, Herod. iv. 33, soldiers might well cover the ground from Dodona to Iolcus.) His third contingent, however, the men from Titaresius, land us in insuperable difficulties, if we accept Strabo's identification of this river with the Europus. He bases it on the similarity of Mt. Titarius, which appears on the maps at the head of the Europus. But, as we have seen, the Europus, its affluents and its banks belong to the Lapithae and to extend a small command like that of Gouneus from the pass of Metzovo through two distinct baronies into the middle of a third is preposterous. The river Titaresius must be one of the higher affluents of the Peneus, probably that one (called Ion in Kiepert, anonymous in Grundy) which descends from 'Cyphus Mons' (according to our maps) and falls into the Peneus a little E. of Long. 21° 31'. I do not know whether the phenomenon of its water not mixing with the Peneus has been observed, but its Stygian origin seems to agree with the terrifying scenery of Meteora.<sup>25</sup> Still wilder than Strabo's identification is the shot made by Stephanus of Byzantium (*in v. Γόννος*<sup>26</sup>), or his source, at connecting Γουνεύς and Γόννος or Γόννοι. If this place existed under this name in the heroic age (cf. Γονέσσα in Achaia), it belonged to the Lapithae. Gouneus has as good claim to be an individual as Peleus, Neleus, Achilles, Epeigeus. The vagueness and extension of the name Περραιβία in later times had a good deal to do with these confusions. Gouneus' scattered barony covered the upper waters of the Peneus and its affluents, sat on the saddle of the Zygos and stretched as far west as Dodona, from which wild country it drew men enough to fill 22 of Eumelus' ships.

#### *The Trojan Catalogue.*

The Trojan Catalogue is scantier than the Greek. In particular the size of the contingents is not given. Apparently, as there were no ships (Iphidamas had twelve A 228 which conveyed him across the Hellespont)

<sup>25</sup> 'We have . . . the junction of the Salamyria [Peneus] with a stream of almost equal magnitude flowing from the Northward, and from the Trikaline sub-district of Krätzova.' Leake, *Northern Greece* i. p. 418. It is called

Mourgani on the map in Muray's Greece.

<sup>26</sup> The article is very confused, and the statement ἀπὸ Γουνέως . . . τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κύφου οὕτως φησὶν Ὀμηρος is a gross misapprehension of ἐκ Κύφου.

and reckoning was made in ships, there were no data. This peculiarity suggests that the Trojan like the Greek Catalogue is unaltered, and represents the knowledge of Asia possessed by the Achaeans of the heroic age. In the body of the poem, the work of a Chian colonist, considerable acquaintance with Asia is betrayed,<sup>30</sup> but the roll of Trojans and allies is left unmodernised.

In one respect the question of the Trojan catalogue differs from that of the Greek. There was a second catalogue of Trojans and their allies, at the end of the Cypria. The relation between the two we shall never know, as papyrus refuses to yield any of the Cycle. But it is probable that the view of sensible critics<sup>31</sup> is correct, that the Cyprian catalogue was intended to amplify the Iliadic. Both catalogues I conceive in the 'chronicle' found their place at the beginning of the war; the Greek at Aulis, the Trojan more or less soon after the landing at Troy: Homer took the Greek Catalogue into his Iliad, and the Cypria poet did not dare to rival it; vested interests, the descendants of the Crusaders, had made it sacred: but when the Cypria poet came to the Trojan catalogue in the Chronicle he accepted it and gave it a version of his own intended presumably to give a fuller account of the Asiatic forces in the light of 8th century colonial knowledge. How he did this we may guess if we consider his contemporary Magnes, who celebrated the exploits of the Lydians against the Amazons, the unnamed rhapsode of the hymn to Aphrodite who distinguished between the languages of the Phrygians and Trojans: and the additions made to the Homeric Catalogue by Euripides and others.

It is a list of the Trojan forces, native and foreign, viewed according to their homes not their encampment at Troy (which was quite different, K 428-431). They fall into four groups: I. the Trojans and neighbouring peoples; II. the European allies: III. East Asian allies: IV. South Asian allies.

## I.

1. Trojans proper under Hector. No towns or details. 2. Dardanians under Aeneas, Archelochus, and Acamas. No towns. [Apparently inland.] 3. Other Trojans under Pandarus, from Zeleia under Ida on the river Aesepus. This is the most easterly point in the division; the writer turns back to (4) Adresteia, Apaisus, Pityeia, and Mt. Tereie, under Adrestus and Amphius, and to (5) Percote, Praction, Sestos, Abydos,<sup>32</sup> and Arisbe on the river Selleis, under Asios son of Hyrtacus. We are going down the Hellespont

<sup>30</sup> Rivers of Maeonia τ 385, 'Niobe' on Sipylus Ω 615, the Chimaera Z 179 π 328, volcano εἰν' Ἀρίμοις B 783; Asian meadow B 461, details of Troad Ξ 285; small towns on south of Aeolic peninsula (Thebe, Lyrnessus, Pedasos) B 689, π 153, T 60, τ 92, 191; Leleges and Caucones K 429, φ 86.

<sup>31</sup> *c.g.* D. B. Monro, *Odyssey* xiii.-xxiv.

p. 351.

<sup>32</sup> Sestos and Abydos between them commanded the strait and the commerce, if there was any. It is worth while to notice Niese's reckless conclusion, Sestos 'must' have belonged to the Thracians, because Mr. Leaf reproduces it. On as good grounds Calais can never have belonged to the English.

westwards. The next contingent therefore (6) *Πελασγοί* from *Λάρισα* under Hippothous and Pylaens son of Lethos son of Teutamias (the last two Asiatic names) must be hereabouts; namely between Abydos and Ilium, or opposite. I do not follow Mr. Myres *J.H.S.* xxvii. 172 *sq.* in thinking that the writer passes at this point over to Europe; he passed over with Sestos but he came back with Abydos and Arisbe. I confess I find it difficult to understand how, in the middle of this small district, anyone can transport himself in mind to Thessaly, Pelasgiotis, and the Larissae in continental Greece. Since, however, the iterative *ναιετάσκειν* v. 841 is still used to support this strange view, I must point out as a grammarian that the form in *-σκειν* is a metrical equivalent for the normal imperfect of contemporaneous fact: cf. 824 *ἔναιον*, 828 *εἶχον*, 835 etc. *ἀμφενέμοντο*, 539 *ναιετάσκειν* (compared by Myres); not only so but aorists (750) and pluperfects (530) are absolutely equivalent and are determined by the verse or the forms of the verb in question in use.

This small Trojan district does not include islands, nor any territory south of Ida. On Propontis it stops short of the historical Cyzicus. It is the same district designated more loosely Ω 544 by the boundaries Lesbos (S.W.), Phrygia (E.), Hellespont (N.). The order of the enumeration is somewhat concentric: E., N.E., W., S.W.

## II.

The European allies. (1) Thracians under Acamas and Peiroos, defined as *ὄσσοις Ἑλλησποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἑέργει*, an expression which compared with the same phrase about Elis B 617 seems to mean that they came right down to the shore. No other details are given, but Δ 520 *Ἄϊνος*, the modern Enos, is the home of Peiroos, and Λ 221 *sq.* we hear of an alliance between Antenor and a Thracian princess. (2) Cicones under Euphemus. Again no details, but P 73 another leader, Mentès, is mentioned, and a town *Ἰσμάρος* ι 40, with a vintage and a worship of Apollo. (3) Paeones under Pyraechmes, *τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺν ρέοντος*. The town was lost by Strabo's day, but the river, the western boundary, as the Achelous of the Aetolians, leaves a wide gap between the Paeones and the Achaeans at Oloosson, which Mr. Myres, *J.H.S.* xvii. 177 *sq.*, fills with the Dorians. [The familiar names *Πιερία*, *Ἡμαθία* and *Ἀθῶς* occur Ξ 226 in the account of Hera's journey from Olympus to Lemnos and Ida. The Muses are Pierian in Hesiod, and Pieria is found in the Hymn to Hermes, perhaps an unoriginal substitute for Pereia; Emathia in neither author, Matthiae was wrong to insert it in h. Apoll. 217.]

No islands are mentioned in this and the last section. Lemnos under Jason's son Euneus was half-Achaeanised and friendly (H 457): Tenedos was used as a base: Scyros and Lesbos required reduction. Commerce proceeded apace during the war from these places and Thrace (I 71, 72). The Trojans and their allies had no ships to speak of, the Greek fleet was drawn up on land. Hence perhaps the sea was neutral.

From the Axios we return to Asia.

## III.

(1) Paphlagonians under Pylaemenes, ἐξ Ἑνετῶν, the country of wild asses: they inhabit Cytorus, Sesamus (= Amastris), the river Parthenius, Cromna, Aegialus, Erythinoi. Cytorus (*Kidros*) is the most easterly of these places, most of which can be identified. The geographer Callisthenes wished to plant the Caucones of K 429 on the Parthenius and to insert them here, from what source is not plain. This was the sort of detail that the Cypria gave in its catalogue.

- (2) αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον,  
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

When Herodotus (i. 72 sq.) narrates Croesus' last campaign, in which he took Pteria, he gives us the names of the peoples living on the Halys. On the left or west bank the Phrygians and Paphlagonians, on the right the Matieni and Cappadocians 'called Syrians by the Greeks.' Hence, though Homer knows of no river, it is reasonable to suppose that the Halys was the boundary of Paphlagonia in the heroic age also, and that the next people, whose position at the extreme east is denoted by the word *τηλόθεν*, applied also to the Paiones at the extreme west, were across the Halys. They therefore occupied the position of the people whose capital Pteria Croesus sacked, and who were known to the historical Greeks as Syro-Cappadocians or White Syrians. These people are now known to have called themselves Hatti or Hittites.

The names applied to them by Homer, Ἀλίζωνες and Ἀλύβη, do not recur in Greek, and the ancient commentators influenced by the associations of Amazons and Chalybes endeavoured to amend them in various ways. The accuracy of the Catalogue is vindicated by Professor Sayce, who allows me to publish the following note:—

'Ἀλύβη, or rather Ἀλύβη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as Ἀρζύβ[η] corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khaliṭu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II. (B.C. 680), discovered by Lehmann and Belck,<sup>32a</sup> who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khaliṭu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.

The Homeric names of the Halizonian leaders are instructive:—"the wayfarer" and "the traveller." They seem to be translations of the Assyrian *damgaru* or "commercial traveller," who plays a conspicuous part in the cuneiform tablets from Kara Eyuk near Kaisariyeh (Cappadocia) about B.C. 2000. It was through the *damgari* that the metals of Asia Minor were carried to Assyria and Palestine.' (May 22, 1910)

<sup>32a</sup> Published by Lehmann, *Sbr. d. k. preuss. Ak.* 1900, xxix. p. 625.

The Cataloguer therefore knew this people only as dealers in precious metal, and by a name local to the district, which therefore survived hundreds of years later, after the final break-up of the Hittite power, as the designation of the old north-Hittite province. The colonial Homer knew a little more than this. He makes Priam say (Γ 184 *sq.*) that once he had assisted as an ally a vast host of Phrygians ἤματι τῷ ὅτε τ' ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειπαι, on the banks of the Sangarius. The Amazons, who so powerfully affected the Greek imagination, are now held to have been real military holy women—on the strength of one armed feminine figure on the gate of the second palace at Boghaz Keui (Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 372, note) and their constant localisation by the Greeks on or near Themiscyra or the Thermodon.<sup>33</sup> Now the first blow to the Hittite empire is held to have been given about 1200 by an invasion of the Μόσχοι or Phrygians, who in 1170 reached the Assyrian frontier, from which fifty years after they were repelled (Garstang, p. 368). If then, about a generation before the Trojan war we find Priam assisting these Phrygians, it must have been in this invasion: the Amazons withstood the joint army somewhere on the upper waters of the Sangarius, perhaps near Angora. In return for this assistance the Phrygians now helped Priam, and not only they but the Halizonians also. Political circumstances had changed; or perhaps the North Hittites acted now under Phrygian compulsion. The legend—first in Arctinus' Aethiopis but doubtless part of the original story—makes, as Priam's need grew greater, the Old Guard themselves appear, under Penthesilea. The other mention of Amazons—how Bellerophon was set by the King of Lycia (Z 186) to fight them—seems to refer to the earlier aggressive period of the Hatti empire, in days when Niobe was set up on Sipylus. In later days Magnes at the court of Gyges embalmed the traditions of the struggle of the Ἀνδοί against their masters.

In Agamemnon's day therefore the last people to the east of whom news had come through were these people called after their river (though the Achaeans were unaware of the fact) and who dealt in silver. These faint indications are correct. Fairyland, which Mr. Leaf thought he had found here, recedes still further. The importance too of the Trojan war is fairly shewn by the distance and power of these allies, unknown to Greek history or misrepresented by it.

(3) Next are the Μυσοί, under Chromis and Ennomas a bird-seer. No indication of place [because they were inland?]. (4) The Phrygians under Phorceys<sup>34</sup> and Ascanius, τῇλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης: Ascania recurs as their home N 793. This in historical times was the name of the lake upon which Isnik now stands. The writer has therefore come back from the East, and is on the Propontis, not far from Pandarus' Trojans at Zelea. No towns are given and therefore we do not know if we are to include Thynia and the Bosporus. In the passage just quoted Γ 185 their river the Sangarius is given: but the

<sup>33</sup> Pindar fr. 173, ap. Strab. 544 connects them with the Σύριοι (Σύριον εὐρυαίχμαν διέπον σαρπάρων): a passage I owe to Mr. Garstang.

<sup>34</sup> Kretschmer *Einleitung*, p. 229, Fick, *Beiträge z. Kunde d. indogermanischen Sprachen* xxix. 238, 'the Berecynian.'

writer had no conception of the extent of Phrygia and describes its western frontier only. The same passage contains the geographical names Otreus and Mygdon.

Dr. A. E. Cowley, who has given me much assistance over this article, allows me to publish his view that the Ascanian sea is the origin of the first Greek name for the Pontus, *Ἀξενος*, afterwards *Εὐξεινος*. To criticize this conjecture would be impertinence on my part; its attractiveness will be obvious to my readers.

(5) From Phrygia the writer passes overland, leaving the Trojan peninsula to the W., and arrives at the *Μήονες* under Mesthles and Antiphus sons of Talaemenes

τὼ Γυγαίη τέκε λίμνη  
οἱ καὶ Μήονας ἦγον ὑπὸ Τμώλῳ γεγαῶτας.

The Meiones or Maeones are held to have preceded the *Λυδοί*, Kretschmer *Einleitung*, pp. 385 sq. Tmolus and the lake sufficiently define the site of Sardis, which is not mentioned. *Τάρνη* is a Maeonian site, E 44, but the traditional identification with Sardis is palpably absurd. It is the later *Ἀταρνεύς* (*Ἀταρνα* and *Τάρνα*, Steph. Byz. in v. and in *Ἀπαισός*) on the coast, and therefore mentioned. More details of this famous site are given T 384 sq., the demos of *Ἵδη* and *Ἰδη* (and *Ἰλη* are variants) beneath snowy Tmolus, the lake, the rivers Hyllos and Hermos. Euripides inserted *Ἵδη* here, but the colonial poet, to whom the details are due, respected the Achæan catalogue. No reason can be given why the Maeonians should not have had a seaboard. (6) South of them are the Carians under Nastes and Amphimachus son of Nomion. They hold Miletus, the mountains of Ptheirot, the Maeander and Mycale. They speak a foreign tongue (*βαρβαρόφωνοι*), and if of all the Asiatics they are the only people<sup>35</sup> of whom it is mentioned, the reason must be that at this point the Greek and the Asiatic came into contact, and the colonists of Calymnos and Cos (*ante*, p. 308) put on record their surprise at the peculiarity. (7) Lycians under Sarpedon and Glaucus from the river Xanthus. No towns are given. Glaucus Z 150 sq. was of Greek descent.

There was another inhabitant of N.W. Asia, whom, as he did not himself assist Priam, the Catalogue does not mention: Telephus, whose son Eurypylus helped the Trojans at a late period in the war, *γυναῖον εἵνεκα δώρων*. Homer mentions him in the Odyssey λ 519 without place, but calls his people *Κήτριοι*. The Cypria placed him at Teuthrania in the Caicus valley. Gladstone long ago identified *Κήτριοι* with Khatti or Hittites, but the modern oracles are dumb. Telephus, if he was a Hittite, had been long cut off from his fatherland, and surrounded by Lydians, if we identify *Τάρνη* with *Ἀταρνεύς*. He must have been a potentate of some importance, if Agamemnon found it necessary to neutralise him before attacking Troy.

<sup>35</sup> It is a variant Ξ 512 of the *Μυσοί*. Equivalent is *ἀγριόφωνοι* of the Sinties or native population of Lemnos (their name persisted, Myres, *J.H.S.* xxvii. 205). The settlers under

Euneus were struck with their speech. The Italians α 183 are *ἀλλόθροοι* (p. 303). Herodotus uses *ἀλλόθροοι* and *ἀλλόγλωσσοι*.



## IV.

This is the account given by the national poem of Greece of the Greek and Asian forces present at the great race-war. Two questions must be asked with regard to it: its age and its source.

First as to its age. The Catalogue and the Homeric poems describe in entire agreement with one another a definite political supremacy, in the hands of a monarch who possesses Mycenae, Corinth, Sicyon, and the whole of the later Achaea as far as the Elean border. He has possessions in S. Peloponnese also covering the south coast of the historical Messenia, and 'many islands.' Argos is separated from him and includes Troezen, Epidaurus, and Aegina. The second power in Peloponnesus is the kingdom of Pylos, with a capital on the lagoons south of the Alpheus, and which extends from the Alpheus to the northern half of the later Messenia, and inland to the upper Alpheus. Zante, Cefalonia, and Ithaca are one community; the later Acarnania and the later Leucas appear to form another. In the north the valley and estuary of the Spercheus are an independent kingdom. The later Achaea Phthiotis is another. The district later known as Thessaly is divided into six 'baronies.' In the Aegean Crete and a string of islands as far as Calymnos are Achaeans. The other islands are left blank, Asia and Thrace are foreign. None of these circumstances, general or particular, ever recurred. It was never to the interest of anyone to invent them. They provided a title or pedigree to none. More than that the tradition of some of them was lost: the Homeric Pylos was a notorious riddle; Agamemnon's kingdom baffled comprehension, the Homeric Thessaly was completely falsified by the historical inhabitants and the logographi, and is misunderstood to-day. There is no trace of the Dorian world—fact, forecast, or prophecy; no foreshadowing of the colonisation of Asia, no consciousness of the future eminence of the Ionian race. Of the familiar places on the Greek map there is no mention of Messenia, Acarnania, the western Locrians, Megara, Phlius, Larissa, Pharsalus, Scotussa, Gomphi, Crannon, and other Thessalian towns, no prophecy and no ancestors of Scopadae or Aleuadae. There are no Cyclades as such. In Peloponnesus Sparta, Arcadia, and Elis alone occupy their historical position.

With this picture presented to us, and in view of the fact that later epos, Hesiod, the Cyclici, and the Peloponnesian genealogists, accommodated themselves to their age, the conclusion is clear that the Catalogue describes a period once existent in reality: namely the period to which it purports to belong, the prae-Dorian heroic age. I infer that the *διάκοσμος* is an historical document, and gives us a correct picture of Greece at the moment when war was declared upon Ilium.

The Trojan Catalogue tells the same tale.

In this the first thing that strikes us is that a large part of Europe—the whole Turkish coast from the Gulf of Therma to the Hellespont—is on the Trojan side. The post-heroic rhapsode or antiquary who invented this

political situation would really have deserved the bays. To us it appears to agree with the latest ethnological teaching.

The Asian part of the Catalogue depicts a remarkable situation. Knowledge of Asia—where tradition says Homer lived—is skin-deep. Past the coast nothing is known. In Troas there is no town but Troy. The Dardani and the Mysi are merely named. Along the Hellespont and in the Propontis there are a string of towns, which stop short of Cyzicus. Beyond them there is the lake Ascanie, and a river (undefined), the Sangarius. No Bosphorus and no new sea are noted; the list begins again with the Parthenius (*Bartan*) region and continues to Cyturus. Though the name of the next people is correctly given there is no mention of the Halys, and speaking generally no glimpse of the Euxine. To see therefore in the Catalogue a reflection of Ionian commerce (with Niese) is monstrous. Cyturus leads nowhere: there is no forecast of Sinope or Trebizond, no hint of a Tauric Chersonesus. The heroic poems actually written in Ionia utilise these discoveries: the Cypria sent Iphigenia to the Tauri, and the Milesian Arctinus in the Aethiopis spirits Achilles to Leuce off the mouths of the Danube. The tentative and inconclusive statements of the Catalogue speak the age of hearsay, not of business. In Western Asia the case is even more striking: from Ilium to Miletus the coast is a blank, it does not exist, with the exception of Tarne-Atarneus. The Maonians are defined by a mountain and a lake (both a few miles above Smyrna). Miletus is known. So is the river of Lycia. The whole picture resembles what the Middle Ages called a portulan, a chart of things observable from the sea, and that of a hostile country. Even the fuller details in the body of the Iliad are scanty: no hint is given of the great powers and civilisations of Asia: of colonial centres, in which Homer lived, there is no mention (as Greek or at all) of Smyrna. Chios, Samos, Cyme, Ephesus, Phocaea, Colophon; and among the neighbouring Asiatics of Sardis, Lydians, Pergamon. When we see that Magnes sang Lydian history and Arctinus and the author of the Cypria utilised the information of the colonisers how can we ascribe to the Trojan Catalogue a colonial origin? Rather it represents the knowledge of Asia current in Greece at the moment of the Trojan war: accurate only at the S.W. corner, where commerce had familiarised the settlers in Cos and Calymnos with the continent.

The two pictures, of Greece and of Asia, agree. The Catalogue served neither interest nor science, vanity nor curiosity. Other catalogues were framed, attempts were made to alter this one. The *διάκοσμος* must be accepted as the authentic picture of its age, preserved intact by vested interest until the genius of Homer fixed its outlines.

The second question, the account we give of the source, or origin, follows from the answer to the first. If the Catalogue dates from the Achæan period, it is a document, or part of a document, of that period. The Homeric poems themselves tell us that the national history of this period was in the possession of *αοιδοί*. This, without positing writing or archives, things which the future may reveal but which escape our ken

at present, is sufficient. The Catalogue was part of the substructure of epic, part of the verse chronicle of the Achaeans. Out of this chronicle Iliad and Odyssey and Cycle were alike constructed. The inventor of epos adapted with a free hand this material to create his two poems, but transmitted with religious scruple the list of men and ships. To hold, as historical criticism does, that a document of such venerability and such rigid truth first found a home in the Cypria, a poem of reduced dimensions of about 750–700, conditioned as to its subject by Homer and as to its outlook by its own age, was thence taken out at a still later period and inserted in our Iliad, will seem improbable.

I have now answered, directly or by implication, the conclusions stated by Nicse and generally accepted since. That the Catalogue portrays later political conditions and divisions is evidently untrue; the charge of geographical inaccuracy also is untrue, and arises as I have shewn from the errors and confusions of Greek historians in the effort to explain Homer and accommodate Homer to actual conditions. That either Catalogue first belonged to the Cycle and was thence taken into Homer, or that details in either were taken from the Cycle has appeared improbable, but may be more explicitly disproved here.

The Homeric Poems were affected by, and received accretions—greater and less in size, and more or less permanent—from the literature of every period through which they passed. Two important periods of the kind were the Cyclic, 750–600, and the Alexandrian. (I hope to return to this subject on another occasion.) But while we admit that variant readings and here and there additions of a line or lines may be traced to the Cycle, it is equally true that the Cycle is in no sense a source of the Iliad and Odyssey.<sup>36</sup> In the first place, the Cycle as distributed into its various poems posits and implies the existence of the Iliad and Odyssey of the same compass as that in which we have them. The Cypria runs from the Apple of Ate up to the very verge of the Iliad, the moment at which the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles begins. The Aethiopis takes up the story immediately after the funeral of Hector, and in fact the last line of the Iliad was adapted (and by whom if not by Arctinus?) to allow of the sequence of the latter poem, as the Hesiodic Theogony (1021) still shews the transition to the Catalogoi. The rest of the war is covered, on a very compressed scale, by the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς* and the *Ἰλίου πέποις*, and the return of all the heroes except Ulysses by the *Νόστωι*, which ends therefore with the situation described in the first four books of the Odyssey. Lastly, the Telegonia takes up the history of Ulysses at the moment where the Odyssey stops and finishes the account of the hero and his family. No clearer proof can be wanted that the Cyclic poems were suggested by the example and precedent of Homer, and that they were successively composed to fill the gaps in the cycle left by the master. The period during which this composition took place is defined by the date of Arctinus *ol.* 7, and the founding of Cyrene (640–31 B.C.), of which Eugammon

<sup>36</sup> For what follows cf. *C. G.* 1908, 85, *C. R.* 1907, 18.

was a native. These poems are firstly on a far smaller scale than Homer, and secondly reflect their age. Arctinus the Milesian sent Achilles to the island of Leuce in the Euxine, which had been opened by Milesian trade: the Cypria sent Iphigenia to Tauris, the author of the *Nostoi* introduced the foundation of Colophon. They did not resist the pressure of the age any more than the Hesiodic poet (fr. 96) could refrain from giving Megara an heroic existence.

Are we now to suppose that a document like the Catalogue, of considerable size and reflecting a forgotten period of the world, first saw the light in one of these poems, all of moderate extent and devoted to actual interests? Clearly such an hypothesis is in the highest degree artificial, and serves no purpose.

It served a purpose at one time; and this no doubt is the reason of its survival as a theory. It afforded a home, as one may say, for the Catalogue before it became part of Book II. of the *Iliad*, where clearly it was not in place originally. But when we realise that *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Cycle* alike had their origin in something which was none of them, but an account, or chronicle, doubtless in metre, of the Trojan war (a view I have expounded in the forthcoming number of the *J. Ph.*) we are relieved from the necessity of this violent expedient, and need no longer thrust this lengthy heroic document into one of a series of short anachronistic poems of the eighth to seventh centuries, only to take it out again. The hypothesis of a Chronicle further supplies a *motive* for the Catalogue which is wanting if we suppose (with Niese and Nilsson) its basis to be an old *periegesis*. It is hazardous to speak of the probabilities of a remote age, but it will be admitted that in simple practical periods *periegeses*, *periploi*, and *portulans* depict the unknown, or are the result of conquest (as is the case with our *Domesday Book*). We might conceive the Milesian princes ordering a map of the Euxine (but nothing is less like a commercial chart than the Trojan Catalogue), but we hardly see the Achæan or Mycenaean monarchs drawing up a survey or gazetteer of their own country. The oldest poem of such a class quoted is the Hesiodic *γῆς περίοδος* (fr. 54 Rzach ed. 1908), and the quotation deals with the Scythians. Disinterested scientific geography begins with the Ptolemies. But a chronicler, putting on record the peoples and princes who embark on a Crusade or a Conquest has both occasion and motive for such a compilation. Hence if, as I hope to have shewn, both Catalogues are Achæan, they precede the period of Greek *περίπλοι* and *periegeses*. Those who wish to found the Catalogue (or the two whole poems) on such literature must bring them down to a late post-colonial period (as Nilsson *l.c.*).

The idea of a contemporary heroic chronicle removes all need to connect the Catalogue with the *Cycle*. The abstract given by Proclus of the contents of the Cypria has not been convicted of any serious omission, and if we take his account as it stands we conclude with fair probability that the Cypria contained no Achæan Catalogue, because it was already where we now find it, in Book II. of the *Iliad*; speculation is still open upon the relation of the Cyprian Trojan Catalogue and the Catalogue of the same forces in the *Iliad*—is open and will be until the Cypria is restored to us.

The literary operations which nineteenth century criticism conceived as taking place in the sixth and seventh centuries are to be put back by several hundred years. If Homer foreshortened prae-Achaean history, a like fault was committed by historians who ascribed the editing or even the composition of the Homeric poems to the age of Pisistratus, and the composition of the Catalogue to a Milesian of 630 B.C. The Homeric poems were put together, and the Catalogue adapted and rounded off<sup>37</sup> four centuries before, by Homer. His School, at a respectful distance, did the rest.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> I use these expressions advisedly, since I do not hold that the list taken down at Aulis of princes, their homes, and their forces has passed *verbatim et litteratim* into the Iliad. That Homer respected the names, places, and numbers I maintain, but it is as plain that he added to the information, mainly by what we should call anecdotes. We may discern :

588-590 the feelings of Menelaus.

686-694 the feelings of Achilles and consequent attitude of his troops. This was long posterior to the muster at Aulis (ath. Zen.).

699-709 death of Protesilaus. Also posterior.

721-728 illness and absence of Philoctetes. The same remark applies. By these additions the poet qualified the Catalogue to take the place he gave it, *i.e.* in his Book II.

<sup>38</sup> I do not wish to treat all the questions

connected with the Catalogue, but I will remark that another so-called discrepancy, which has troubled the historians, is set at rest by this hypothesis. I mean the fact that of the chiefs enumerated in the Catalogue not all are mentioned in the body of the poem. It will I think be plain that in choosing a few days' events from the chronicle and adapting them to serve the glorification of Achilles Homer dealt well with the Greek generals: out of 43 on the roll he gave 35 a mention. More could hardly be demanded of an artist who had any regard for the probable. Eight only: Epistrophus, Agapenor, Thalpius, Polyxeinus, Nirus, Antiphilus, Gouneus and Prothoos failed to illustrate themselves during the brief duration of Achilles' Wrath.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 302.

<sup>12a</sup> The Thessalian Oechalia must have lost its name early, no doubt in consequence of the Dorian invasion, if we find the Oechaliae

Halosis, ascribed to Creophylus, who belonged to the Homeric family, 'supporting the claim of Euboea.' Paus. iv. 2. 3.

## A RARE VASE-TECHNIQUE.

### [PLATE XVII.]

*Cette figure, d'un beau dessin, est peinte en noir sur un fond blanc. Les traits de l'intérieur, au lieu d'être tracés à la pointe, le sont ici en relief noir, comme sur les figures rouges.*<sup>1</sup> This is the Duc de Luynes' description in 1840 of the technique of a lekythos, with a hoplite in black swinging his lance, wearing a helmet and holding a shield, in outline, and wounded by two arrows. It was then in his collection, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. This description, in which so distinguished an amateur can hardly have made a mistake, the object being in his own hands, is fully corroborated by Plate XVI. of his work, made as all those of this publication, not with a view to the subject, but in the intention of rendering the art. Here this design of black on black has been rendered by deeply bitten etched lines, standing out in velvet-black relief on an even tint of gray so dark that it looks black on the white paper. I need hardly add that a mechanical reproduction of this plate is impossible.

That this technique is not altogether unknown I shall soon show by a few examples.

Still a curious problem arises from the fact that nowadays not a trace is to be found of these lines in black relief, but that the vase is known as black-figured with incised lines. Thus Furtwängler<sup>2</sup> describes it, the first as far as I know, calling it *leicht graviert* and giving a rather bad zincotype after the photograph in the *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles*, Pl. 111. A. This is not altogether trustworthy, as it gives as incised lines the border of the shield on the hip and the arrow across the thigh, though both are in the ordinary black varnish of the whole work, that was never meant to show, and do not appear on the plate of de Luynes. Like this are also in black relief the lance, the rest of the shield border, the arrows and corrections at the sword sheath, all lines that cannot be called details (*traits de l'intérieur, Innenzeichnung*). The details are also called by Bosanquet<sup>3</sup> 'incised lines even finer than those in the Eros' (on a similar lekythos). Nor does de Ridder<sup>4</sup> gainsay it, nor Fairbanks,<sup>5</sup> though he strengthens the

<sup>1</sup> *Description de quelques Vases Peints*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Meisterwerke*, s. 280, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. (1896), p. 173, note 21 (5).

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 299.

<sup>5</sup> *Athenian White Lekythoi*, A. i. 6, p. 30.

Maybe there are a few more vases that might not less well be compared. I mention the lekythos with ΛΑΥΚΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ from Eretria, now at Athens.

published by Studniczka in 1887.<sup>6</sup> I have not seen it but must presume this from the description. Studniczka writes describing the black chlamys in which the youth is clad: *In dem ganz mit Firniss überzogenen Gewande waren die Falten mit erhobenen Firnisstrichen, welche ich schwarz, und mit Streifen einer ganz nachgedunkelten matten Farbe, Weiss oder Rot, welche ich durch ein helleres Grau wiedergegeben habe, angedeutet.* Fairbanks<sup>7</sup> puts it thus: 'On the black garment the brush was drawn in the direction of the folds, and the folds themselves (called by Studniczka Streifen) were added in purple (or white) lines of dull colour.' Not a word by either of incised lines, any more than in de Luynes' description, but evidently the same technique of black on black, whatever the original colour may have been.

This vase is of the more importance as it is pretty well dated by its inscription. It does not differ in style from the fragments we publish. Perhaps they once bore the same name. The only remaining letter V would well fit in to (ΛΛΑ)V(ΚΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ). In the British Museum catalogue they follow immediately on the famous Aphrodite riding a goose that bears the same inscription, and if Hartwig<sup>8</sup> interpolates four others, I think it is more the subjects that lead him to this classification than the style that would exact precisely this order.

Here also the details and the silhouette are in two shades of the same colour, only this is black-brown on brown, not brown-black on black.

A lekythos in a private collection at Athens with a woman before an altar is described by Fairbanks<sup>9</sup> similarly: 'The chiton is dull reddish-brown (laid on thickly) with black folds;' and another in the Salting collection, Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>10</sup> again: 'garment solid black with purple folds.' In neither case a word about incised lines, so that probably these are covered up. They are not rare in Fairbanks' Classes I. and II., wherever the painted lines are missing now. Nevertheless this technique is rare enough and it does not look probable that it would stretch over a very long lapse of time. If there is some small difference of style between the lekythos of de Luynes and the Glaukon-vases I should prefer to ascribe this to an older and a younger master working simultaneously with the same means. In every period of art where we can control this kind of thing we naturally find older men working in an older, often an antiquated, style, alongside of the younger generation, and even find that those older men, while clinging to their style, sometimes use the methods of the younger. Thus I still hold that the lekythos of de Luynes, which I have brought into connexion with a work of Kresilas, dedicated by a contemporary of Glaukon, Hermolykos, the son of Dieitrephos,<sup>11</sup> is not anterior to the epoch of this statue, an opinion held equally by Furtwängler, who came practically to the same reconstruction of this work as I did and who states that Benndorf also held the same view. We only differ in this that Furtwängler states the warrior is giving way, and that I take him

<sup>6</sup> *Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts*, ii. (1887), p. 163.

<sup>7</sup> *L.c.* A, ii. 17, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Meisterschalen*, p. 501.

<sup>9</sup> *L.c.* A, ii. 12, p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> *L.c.* A, ii. 7, p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> *Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts*, vii. (1892), pp. 185 ff.



still to be acting on the defensive, his wounds and movements only forboding his ultimate fall.

This is not the place to enlarge on my previous thesis, though I might now refer to the fine head of a youth with parted lips, acquired some years ago by the British Museum,<sup>12</sup> in which Murray immediately recognised the style of Kresilas. This head would fit perfectly to the reconstruction of the statue I have suggested, as it certainly is not the artist's intention to render a dying, but rather an exhausted man. It may be true that in life no man could tell the difference in a falling man between swooning and death ; but an artist will find the means to let us feel the ulterior event, if he sees reason to.

It is true that the marble head, which wears a Corinthian helmet, is beardless, the hoplite of the lekythos bearded ; but this is again easily accounted for by the supposition we started from, that this vase-painter was an elderly man copying, of course not in a photographic way, the work of Kresilas.

And this too explains the difficulty he found in rendering this somewhat contorted scheme, wherein he drew the muscles of the stomach which never could be seen in this aspect of the back. Such an aspect was evidently new to him and strange, and he thoughtlessly introduced into it the details he was wont to draw. We notice the same mistake in the flying Eros, seen in profile (Fairbanks A. I. 4, Pl. I. 2), and this figure and the Athenian with the cock and lyre, occurring thrice (Fairbanks A. I. 1, 2 and 3, p. 24), are so akin in style that I think they must be of the same date, which is not so evident for another design, classed in the same group by Fairbanks, an Apollo (A. I. 7, Pl. II. 1). These vases, though technically speaking black-figured, are in style and subjects akin to the red-figured of the middle of the fifth century, as M. Mayer has already rightly observed.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Photograph, Mansell, No 1151.

<sup>13</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* xvi. (1891), pp. 311 ff.

## SENNACHERIB AND THE IONIANS.

WE possess few contemporary records of the Ionian expansion, even in its later stages, and the gradual hellenization of the coast-lands of southern Asia Minor is a process that, in the absence of historical documents, has largely to be inferred from later developments and by archaeological research. At least as early as the eighth century the sea-faring Greeks were known to the Assyrians, under the generic name of Ionians, as pirates and freebooters who troubled the coasts of their maritime provinces. That they should occasionally come into armed conflict with the Assyrian power was to be expected, but it has not hitherto been realized that at the beginning of the seventh century they were sufficiently numerous and powerful within the area of Assyrian control to join other adventurous and discontented elements in conducting a land campaign of some magnitude, and in defying, for a time successfully, the Assyrian forces. That they were capable of doing so may be taken as evidence of a considerable Ionian expansion eastwards at the close of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries, and, though the Assyrians had little difficulty in checking the movement, it is probable that fresh conflicts of a like nature would have been recorded in the later Assyrian annals, were it not that a few years afterwards the centre of Ionian power in Western Asia Minor began to be held in check by Lydia, and later, in company with Lydia, was shaken to its foundation by the Cimmerian invaders. In fact those Ionians, whom Sennacherib met and defeated, achieved little political success, and that of a temporary character. It is possible that the effects of their cultural relations with their conquerors were more lasting.

Our new information is derived from a text of Sennacherib, inscribed upon an octagonal prism of clay, which has recently been acquired by the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> The document is dated in 694 B.C. and includes an account in some detail of Sennacherib's campaign in Cilicia which is not found in other inscriptions of the period. The campaign, we learn from the new text, took place in 698 B.C. and was undertaken with the object of suppressing a revolt which had broken out in the Taurus and had spread to the Cilician plain, involving Tarsus and the neighbouring districts along the

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<sup>1</sup> For the publication of its text, with translation and introduction, see King, *Cuneiform*

*Texts in the British Museum*, Part xxvi.

Cilician coast. To Sennacherib himself, who did not accompany his troops and took no active part in directing the operations, the campaign, when over, was of little interest. In fact, the record of the war was never incorporated in the numbered series of royal expeditions, and, when four years later the king marched to the head of the Persian Gulf, which his army crossed in pursuit of the fugitive Chaldeans, all mention of the Cilician campaign was henceforth omitted from the regular official records of his reign.<sup>2</sup>

For this purely personal reason we have hitherto been without detailed information concerning the Assyrian operations in Cilicia: the only record from the Assyrian side was on a text at Constantinople, where a conquest of 'the peoples of Khilaku' is mentioned in the course of a brief summary of the expeditions of the period.<sup>3</sup> The new prism not only amplifies our information on this head, but, by recording the participation of Tarsus in the revolt, enables us to connect with the campaign certain traditions which have been preserved from the histories of Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus in the Armenian version of the Chronicles of Eusebius.<sup>4</sup> Polyhistor tells us that Sennacherib, on receiving a report that the Ionians had invaded Cilicia with the purpose of waging war, marched thither and fought a pitched battle with them in which he was victorious, though many of his own army were slain; that to commemorate the victory he erected on the spot an image of himself and ordered an account of his valour to be drawn up 'in Chaldean characters' as a memorial for future ages; and that he founded the city of Tarsus after the likeness of Babylon and called it Tharsis. Polyhistor's comparison of Tarsus to Babylon is explained by the passage from Abydenus, who relates that Sennacherib made the Cydnus traverse the middle of the city in the same way as the Euphrates flowed through the middle of Babylon. His account of the Ionian defeat differs from that of Polyhistor in that he represents it as a naval affair, in which an Ionian fleet was destroyed off the Cilician coast, an additional detail which increases the probability of the traditions.<sup>5</sup> I think there is little doubt we may identify the Ionians who Polyhistor and Abydenus tell us

<sup>2</sup> That the importance of an Assyrian expedition is not to be judged by its inclusion in the royal annals is well illustrated by Sennacherib's Fifth Campaign, in the neighbourhood of Mt. Nipur, which takes its place beside the wars in Palestine, Babylonia, and Elam. The position of Mt. Nipur has not hitherto been identified. In 1904 I found on the peak of the Judi Daglı, above the village of Shakh, some rock-sculptures and inscriptions of Sennacherib, which I am preparing for publication. They were carved in commemoration of this campaign, and enable us to identify Mt. Nipur with the Judi Daglı. Thus the Fifth Campaign of Sennacherib proves to have been little more than a raid on mountain villages within three days of Nineveh, and it owes its prominence in the official annals solely to the presence of the king. Operations

of far greater importance at which the king was not present, such as those of 698 and 695 B.C., might for a time be included in the official records as a sort of appendix to the royal campaigns. But they were merely dated and not given a number in the series. After the king had again bestirred himself to accompany his troops, the sections dealing with them were omitted by the scribes, so that the numbered sequence of royal expeditions should remain unbroken.

<sup>3</sup> See Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, i., Pl. 43, ll. 17 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Eusebi chron. lib. i.*, ed. Schoene, cols. 27 and 35.

<sup>5</sup> These probably go back to Berossus, whose history was used by both Polyhistor and Abydenus.

were conquered in Cilicia by Sennacherib with 'the peoples' from Ingirâ and Tarsus, who joined Kirua of Khilaku in his rebellion and shared his defeat.

According to Sennacherib's account the cause of the trouble in Cilicia was in the first instance the revolt of Kirua, a native governor or chief of Illubru, a city probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Taurus: in the words of the text he 'caused the forces of Khilaku to revolt and prepared for battle.' Khilaku, from which the name of Cilicia is derived, was formerly regarded as the western and more mountainous half of Cilicia (Trachea), while Kue undoubtedly includes the Cilician plain. But it is probable that it lay to the north rather than to the west of Kue, and may well have included the mountainous regions in and to the north of the Taurus.<sup>5a</sup> However this may be, the Assyrian text makes it clear that the revolt was not confined to Khilaku, but spread to the coastal regions of the eastern half of Cilicia. The narrative goes on to say that with the support he received from Ingirâ and Tarsus Kirua succeeded in seizing the *girri Kue*, or 'Cilician road,' and that he and his allies proceeded to stop all traffic by that route. The statement that Tarsus sided with Kirua and was in consequence captured and sacked by the Assyrians is a point of some importance, as it negatives any theory which would confine the disaffected area to the Taurus mountains.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5a</sup> Mr. G. F. Hill has suggested to me the possibility that we should identify Illubru with the classical Lyrbe, on the border of Pamphylia and Cilicia. This would necessitate the inclusion of Western Cilicia in Khilaku; but the text seems to indicate a site nearer the pass.

<sup>6</sup> In his review of the official edition of the new text of Sennacherib (in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, xiii. (1910), cols. 145 ff.) Prof. Hugo Winckler criticizes my suggestion that the traditions preserved by Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus may be combined with the Assyrian account of this campaign. He would, in fact, confine the scene of operations to the Taurus, with which, in his opinion, 'a conquest by Sennacherib of a Greek fleet' can have had nothing to do. He also seems to resent the idea of Greek political influence in coastal cities within what was officially an Assyrian province. But, like the Turkish Empire, that of Assyria was often content with a comparatively nominal control over considerable areas within its outlying provinces, so long as its land-communications were not threatened. Besides, with regard to the evidence, he entirely ignores the fact that Polyhistor describes the campaign of Sennacherib against the Ionians as a land campaign in Cilicia. From the resemblance of other points in the extracts quoted by Eusebius, it is clear that both Polyhistor and Abydenus are referring to the same campaign, with which the

capture and rebuilding of Tarsus were intimately connected. The passage about the fleet also presents no difficulty. Tarsus had its harbour five or six miles below the city, on the lagoon or lake connected with both city and sea by the Cydnus, the channel of which from an early period was improved for navigation (see especially Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 105 ff.). According to Prof. Winckler's theory we must either treat the extracts from Polyhistor and Abydenus as unhistorical legends, for which course there is no justification; or we must assume, against all probability, that there was more than one occasion on which Sennacherib invaded Cilicia and captured Tarsus. On the other hand, all difficulties disappear on the assumption that our three authorities refer to the same campaign, especially as their differences are such as we should expect to find in an Assyrian official record, and the writings of two Greek historians, by whom the participation of the Ionians in the revolt would naturally be emphasized. A further proof of the important part taken by the coastal regions of Eastern Cilicia in the campaign may be seen in the fact that from this time forward the *tenishit Kue u Khilaku*, 'men of Kue and Khilaku' take their place in the slave-gangs at Nineveh. It is significant that Kue is invariably mentioned before Khilaku in the official formula.

In view of the strategic importance of that portion of Cilicia in which Tarsus is situated the rebellion had clearly to be put down with as little delay as possible. The *girri Kue* is clearly the road through the Cilician Gates, some thirty miles to the north of Tarsus, and by holding the pass Kirua and the Ionians cut through the principal commercial route connecting Asia Minor with Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. Had the revolt been merely that of a local chieftain or freebooter, who for a time succeeded in plundering a few caravans in the pass itself, we might perhaps assume that it was put down by a local Assyrian garrison stationed in Cilicia or to the north of the Taurus.<sup>7</sup> But the phraseology of the text and the order of the events narrated suggest that the army sent to suppress the revolt reached Cilicia from the east and formed a special expedition organized hastily by Sennacherib for the reconquest of the province. The crisis was one that called for speedy settlement, for, besides the inconvenience entailed by the blocking of an important commercial route, there was danger that the rebellion, if left unchecked, would spread northward into Tabal (which three years later did revolt), and might also affect the recently conquered provinces of Syria and Palestine. It was no time for a leisurely advance such as necessarily characterized an expedition accompanied by the royal baggage-train, and we may conjecture that it was for this reason the king did not lead his troops in person.

It would be tempting to set the subsequent conflict between Ionians and Assyrians on the banks of the Pinarus, where in a later age Greeks and Persians met at the Battle of Issus. But Sennacherib tells us that the battle took place 'in a difficult mountain,' and we may probably set it in one of the passes and not in any part of the Cilician plain. In any case Kirua and his allies would have avoided the faulty strategy of Darius, and, being in possession of the country, would have chosen their ground with some care. From Sennacherib's account it would seem that the capture of Tarsus followed the Assyrian victory, and in this detail we may see an indication that the rebels attempted to hold the Amanian passes, in one of which<sup>8</sup> they met their defeat. The other alternative is to suppose that they concentrated their forces at the Cilician Gates, trusting that Tarsus and the other cities in the plain would be strong enough to resist the Assyrian attack. In that case we may suppose that Sennacherib's army delayed their capture until they had cleared the northern pass. Of the two alternatives the former seems the more probable. According to Polyhistor the Assyrian army, though victorious, suffered considerable loss; but, after the defeat of the main body of the rebels, Ingirâ and Tarsus appear to have fallen after no long resistance. It was probably at this time that the naval engagement recorded by Abydenus took place. On the Ionian defeat by land Kirua fled to his stronghold Illubru, where he sustained a prolonged siege. But the

<sup>7</sup> The latter, I take it, is what Prof. Winckler means by his assertion, unbacked by any evidence, that the Assyrian army came

'from the North.'

<sup>8</sup> Probably the Beilan Pass, which would be the natural route of the Assyrian army.

place was eventually taken by assault and the Assyrian army returned to Nineveh with many Cilician captives and a heavy spoil.

Sennacherib does not attempt any racial classification of the captives from Kue, who from this time on formed an important section of the slaves employed for work on his palace at Nineveh. Hittite and Aramean strains were doubtless represented among the Cilician labourers, but, in view of Polyhistor's testimony to the important part taken by the Ionians in the rebellion, it is legitimate to conclude that a considerable body of them were Greeks. Already in the preceding reign the Assyrians had come in conflict with Ionian pirates, probably as a result of the conquest of Cyprus, for Sargon tells us that he caught them 'like fish' and gave rest to Cilicia (Kue) and Tyre.<sup>9</sup> His action may have freed Cilicia from them for a few years, but we may conclude that by the end of the eighth century they had succeeded in making settlements on the mainland of a more permanent character. It is also probable that since the close of the second millennium traders and settlers of Greek race had added to the mixed character of the population of Tarsus and the other coastal towns, and that any fresh influx of Ionians from the sea would have found there a population largely composed of their own kin. The deportation of considerable bodies of these men to Nineveh, where they were employed upon the royal palace then in course of construction, may well have had important effects, in certain directions, on contemporary Assyrian work.

Proof of the eclecticism which characterized all branches of Assyrian art and activity in the reign of Sennacherib is furnished by the long building-inscription with which the new text concludes.<sup>10</sup> Tradition was cast aside and anything that was new or strange was welcomed, if it could add in any way to the splendour of the royal palace. Sennacherib boasts of his new method of casting bronze (probably derived from Egypt), and contrasts it with that in use in earlier days, when the workmen trusted for success to oil-divination and the making of offerings rather than to their own skill.<sup>11</sup> For the supply of water to the palace he describes the installation of the *shâdûf*,<sup>12</sup> also undoubtedly borrowed at this time from Egypt. He is careful to record the addition of a Hittite portico to the palace,<sup>13</sup> and sends far and wide for foreign plants and trees to stock his gardens.<sup>14</sup> When this

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, i. Pl. 36, l. 21.

<sup>10</sup> See *Cun. Texts in the Brit. Mus.* xxvi. pp. 21 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Col. vi. ll. 80 ff. This I think is the meaning of the rather obscure phrases (*op. cit.* p. 25).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Col. vii. ll. 45 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Col. vi. ll. 20 ff.

<sup>14</sup> The greatest prizes Sennacherib secured for his gardens, according to the new text, were 'trees that bear wool,' which the Assyrians sheared and shredded for making garments (Cf. Col. vii. l. 56, and Col. viii. l. 64). It is

interesting to note that Sennacherib's description of the cotton-plant is precisely similar to that of Herodotus (iii. 106). Apart from Indian tradition of the use of cotton for the sacred thread of the Brahman, which is referred to in the *Asvalâyana Sranta Sûtra* and probably goes back to about 800 B.C. (see F. W. Thomas in Watt, *The Wild and Cultivated Cotton Plants of the World*, p. 9), the references in Sennacherib's text are by far the earliest record of the cultivation of cotton. Since Herodotus refers to cotton-trees as growing wild in India, I suggested, with Dr. A. B. Rendle's approval,

was the spirit animating the king and his builders, we may legitimately look for traces of foreign influence in Assyrian work of this and later periods. In this connexion a phrase used by Abydenus when describing the temple built in commemoration of Sennacherib's victory possibly has some significance. He states that Sennacherib erected a temple of the Athenians, or an Athenian temple, and set up brazen columns, on which he engraved an account of his own deeds. Both Sennacherib and Polyhistor also make mention of memorials erected after the victory in Cilicia, and, in view of Sennacherib's work in bronze at Nineveh, the reference by Abydenus to brazen pillars in the temple is quite convincing. But it is strange that he should characterize an Assyrian temple as Athenian. If the phrase reproduced by Eusebius accurately represents the original text, we must suppose that the tradition as to the character of the building arose from some resemblance it, or rather parts of it, bore to early Ionian work.

That the Ionic capital was ultimately derived from Egypt, and may have been influenced at some stage of its evolution, indirectly, by Mesopotamia, has long been recognized.<sup>15</sup> It is true there appears little resemblance between the composite capital of an Egyptian column of the Middle Empire and the Attic type of the fifth century, but the connexion is sufficiently attested by intermediate forms. From the variety these present it is obvious that the Ionic capital was the immediate descendant of one of several lines of parallel development. The ancestry of one class is clear from the retention and exaggeration of features peculiarly Egyptian. The so-called Cypriote palmette, even as a capital, retains in conventionalized form both the papyrus-flower and the Egyptian lily. Its most striking feature is the triangular ornament at the base of the lily, from which the volutes spring, obviously an exaggeration of the conventionalized calyx of the lily in Egyptian art: a characteristic example is furnished by a pilaster from a grave at Tamassos.<sup>16</sup> In a rather more simplified form it occurs on a capital from Tell el-Mutesellim,<sup>17</sup> and M. Dussaud would regard this as evidence of Cypriote influence in Syria.<sup>18</sup> But his Cypriote examples are not early, and it is more probable that Syria, and not Cyprus, was originally the centre from which this particular type spread. A quite distinct line of development is represented by the Neandrian and Lesbian

the identification of the tree imported by Sennacherib with *Gossypium arboreum* (see *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxi. pp. 339 ff.). But Sir George Watt places little reliance in the details mentioned by Herodotus, since the later account given by Theophrastus exactly corresponds to cotton-growing in India today. He writes to me that he has little doubt Sennacherib's cotton was not tree-cotton but the annual plant botanists now call *G. herbaceum*, which, in his opinion, originated in Arabia, whence it eventually spread northwards to the shores of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

<sup>15</sup> See Puchstein, *Das ionische Capitel* (1887), *Die ionische Säule* (1907), and Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art*, vii. pp. 611 ff.; and cp. Meurer, *Vergleichende Formenlehre des Ornamentes und der Pflanze*, pp. 488 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Meurer, *op. cit.* p. 493, Fig. 4.

<sup>17</sup> See Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, i. p. 118, Fig. 178; the circumstances of its discovery do not admit of an accurate date (cf. p. 119 f.).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Les civilisations préhelléniques*, p. 190 f.

capitals.<sup>19</sup> Here, so far from being exaggerated, the calyx of the lily is entirely absent, and the volutes are set back to back with no space between them. The resulting capital is still more unlike the later Ionic form.

In Babylonia and Assyria the column was never a structural feature during the earlier periods, though we have evidence of its use as early as the ninth century. In Nabû-mukîn-apli's tablet from Sippar the shrine of the Sun-god is supported by a column in the form of a palm-stem, and the lily is employed both for its capital and base.<sup>20</sup> Here there is no triangular ornament, though the heart of the lily is retained between the volutes. Under the Sargonids the lily was a favourite form of ornament, and it is possible to trace its simplification until it consisted of two volutes only. At this period, too, the column was extensively adopted as an internal architectural feature. The fact that it was generally set upon the back of some animal or mythological creature as its base, taken in conjunction with acknowledged Hittite borrowings in other directions, suggests that its adoption in Assyria was ultimately due to Anatolian influence. It is possible that we must look to a like source for the more immediate ancestry of the Ionic capital.

For the purpose of comparison with the temple described by Abydenus we possess no early coins of Tarsus or any other Cilician place with represen-

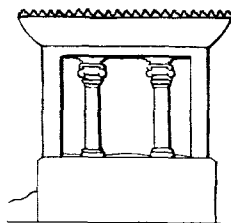


FIG. 1.

tations of buildings, and Sennacherib's own reliefs furnish little help in this connexion. But we do possess representations of two buildings of the Sargonid epoch, which throw some light upon the problem. One of these is a small building or shrine upon a slab from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad (Fig. 1);<sup>21</sup> the other is a temple on a relief from Kuyunjik in the British Museum, and is of the period of Ashur-bani-pal (Fig. 2).<sup>22</sup> Both are sculptured on a small scale and in low relief, so that few details are given, but even so they reproduce architectural features of some interest. It is true that both are flat-roofed buildings, as we should naturally expect, and

<sup>19</sup> See Koldewey, *Neandria*, pp. 34, 36, 38, and *Lesbos*, Tafel 16; and cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* vii. Pl. LII.

<sup>20</sup> See *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, v. Pl. 60, and cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* ii. p. 211.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, ii. Pl.

114. The sketches reproduced in the text are from the pen of my colleague Mr. P. D. Scott-Moncrieff.

<sup>22</sup> Assyrian Saloon, slab No. 92; cf. Perrot and Chipiez, ii. p. 143.



the heavy parapet or cornice is in each case surmounted by characteristic Assyrian crenelations. But the columns, their most striking feature, furnished with bases and voluted capitals, quite give an impression of proto-Ionic work. In Fig. 1 the volutes are joined above, and there is a space below which would correspond to that occupied by the echinus. If the volutes were not duplicated (for which there are parallels in proto-Ionic work), the resemblance in this point to the later form of Ionic capital would be still more striking. It will also be noted that the shrine in Fig. 2, to judge from its façade,<sup>23</sup> resembles a temple *in antis*, without peristyle. The latest of the three primitive temples discovered by Mr. Hogarth at Ephesus, within the space occupied by the *cella* of the sixth-century Artemisium, was of this form.

Sennacherib's temple at Tarsus may well have been a flat-roofed building such as those represented on the reliefs. But when in ruins, with only a few columns still intact, the imagination of a Greek could have supplied a gabled pediment, and so the tradition may have arisen which Abydenus has preserved. The resemblance to early Ionian work may in

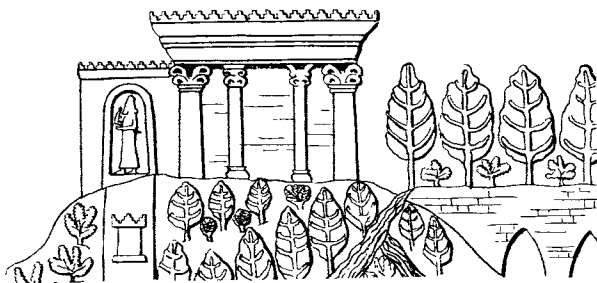


FIG. 2.

part be explained by the probability that in certain points Assyria and Ionia borrowed from the same source, as may perhaps be proved by future excavation on Anatolian sites. It is also possible that, in the case of Sennacherib's temple, a general resemblance was materially increased by the employment of Ionian workmen from among the prisoners taken during the Cilician Campaign.

At first sight the latter possibility may seem to give colour to the theory that the Nimrūd ivories are of Ionian workmanship,<sup>24</sup> a theory based on an undoubted general resemblance to the Ephesian ivories, which was

<sup>23</sup> The horizontal lines between the columns are probably not intended to represent a wall immediately behind them; they are rather to be regarded as a naive device of the sculptor, faced with a comparatively unfamiliar subject, to indicate an interior. Similarly the stele engraved with the royal figure, which is set to

the left of the temple, stood probably within it; the memorial tablet on which Sennacherib commemorated his victory undoubtedly was of this form.

<sup>24</sup> See Sir Cecil Smith's description in *Ephesus*, pp. 182 ff.

first pointed out by Professor Sayce.<sup>25</sup> M. Dussaud<sup>26</sup> has recently revived the theory of their Cypriote origin, and it is true that in the single example he cites (the gryphon-panel) the triangular decoration is found at the base of the palmette or sacred tree. But this, as has already been noted, is probably a Syrian characteristic and its occurrence is entirely in accord with Mr. Hogarth's view that many of them are the work of Hittite craftsmen domiciled in northern Syria. Against the Ionian theory, as Mr. Hogarth has pointed out, there are difficulties both of style and of chronology. Moreover, it is a mistake to deduce from a single specimen any general theory to include the whole of the Nimrūd ivories. For they are far from being homogeneous, and they represent a collection of more than one class of work and possibly of more than one period. While some are of a strongly Egyptizing character, others are purely Assyrian, and others again betray a distant relationship with some of the ivories of the Ephesian find.

Unfortunately we do not possess similar specimens from Assyria which can be dated after the beginning of the seventh century, so that it cannot be seen how far direct Ionian influence may have been reflected subsequently in work of this class. The archaic character of Ionian sculpture, even in the sixth century, renders it difficult to trace to Ionian inspiration the sudden and striking improvement in Assyrian composition in sculptured relief, which took place in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal; and the lion-hunt reliefs from the northern Palace at Kuyunjik, although so distinct in spirit from all earlier and much contemporary native work, may still be credited to the Assyrians. On the other hand, in tracing the Oriental affinities of Ionian art, some weight should be given to the possible results of Sennacherib's Cilician campaign.

L. W. KING.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, p. 60.

<sup>26</sup> *Les civilisations préhelléniques*, p. 186 f.

## EXCAVATIONS AT RHITSÓNA IN BOEOTIA.

### *The Relative Dating of the Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Boeotian Kylix Ware.*

THE six graves catalogued below were excavated in 1907 and 1908,<sup>1</sup> at the same time as those already published by Professor Burrows and myself in *B.S.A.* xiv. and *J.H.S.* xxix. Their position in the cemetery is indicated

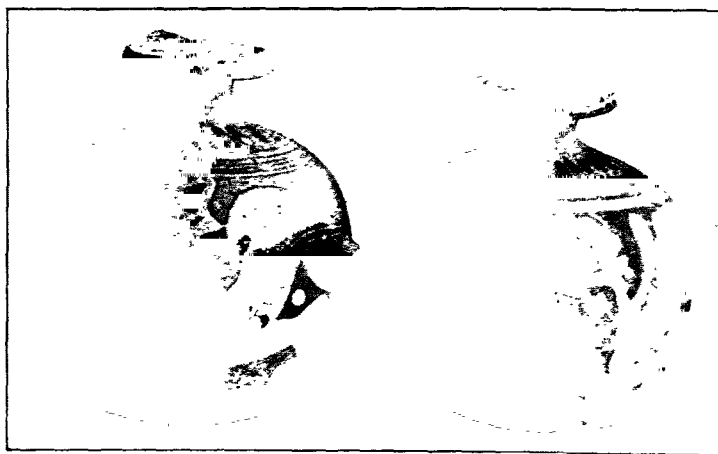


FIG. 1 (1:2).—GRAVE 50, Nos. 253, 254.

on the Plan, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 230, Fig. 1. Their contents consist almost entirely of Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian vases. None contained any

<sup>1</sup> See *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 226–228. Grave 74, p. 228, n. 3, is the heading under which the finds made above Grave 75 (below p. 342) were entered in my day-book; cp. below n. 44 and also Grave\* 36, *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 329. Grave 4 was not referred to in *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 228, n. 3, as its contents had not yet been cleaned and mended. It proves to be earlier than the other graves with which it was mentioned *ib.* n. 5, and has therefore been transferred to this article. The article on ‘Kothons,’ referred to *B.S.A.* xiv.

p. 228, has had to be deferred for *J.H.S.* xxxi. It and an article mainly on certain individual vases found in 1907–8 that is to be published in *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1911 are being prepared by Professor Burrows and myself in collaboration. The rest of our unpublished material we are preparing independently. Professor Burrows will publish his finds of 1909; while I am undertaking what still remains from 1907 and 1908. We hope by this means to get on more rapidly with the work.

vases of what we have called Boeotian Kylix ware,<sup>2</sup> and only Graves 4 and 14, the latest of the six, show any direct connexion with graves<sup>3</sup> that did contain it.

This connexion is worth noting in detail for its bearings on the view, put forward *B.S.A.* xiv.,<sup>4</sup> that the Boeotian Kylix style was, in part at least, the result of Corinthian influence. Indeed the chief importance of the graves here published lies perhaps in the confirmation they afford this view.

Grave 4, No. 1 (below, p. 353): for both shape and decoration cp. Graves 49, Nos. 232-239<sup>5</sup>; 50, Nos. 244-251,<sup>6</sup>; 51, Nos. 219-224,<sup>7</sup>; 40, Nos. 19-24.<sup>8</sup> Grave 4, Nos. 2 and 3: for siren cp. Grave 50, Nos. 252 and 253<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 1). Grave 4, No. 32: cp. for style Grave 51, No. 33<sup>10</sup> (see Fig. 2).



FIG 2 (2 : 5) — GRAVE 51, No. 33; GRAVE 4, No. 32.

Grave 4, No. 33 (Fig. 17): for floral ornament cp. Grave 50, Nos. 254 (Fig. 1)-257.<sup>11</sup> Grave 4, No. 34 (Fig. 19), which differs altogether in style from Nos. 1-33, may perhaps be compared stylistically with Grave 50, Nos. 13-15.<sup>12</sup>

For Grave 14, No. 29 (Fig. 14) cp. Graves 40, 49, 50, 51 (with 80, 212, 213, 160 examples respectively).<sup>13</sup> For Graves 14, Nos. 23 and 24, and 4, Nos. 19 and 20 (Fig. 17) cp. Grave 49, No. 231,<sup>14</sup> except that the last has the incised lines double.

There can scarcely be any doubt that Graves 14 and 4 are older than any of our Boeotian Kylix graves. The connexions just noted are with

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 227, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 49, 50, 51, 31, 26, 18, 22, *B.S.A.* xiv.; 40, 12, 46, *J.H.S.* xxix.

<sup>4</sup> P. 314 (where, l. 6, for 74 read 75, and for omission of Grave 4 see above, n. 1.)

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* p. 268.

<sup>8</sup> *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 313.

<sup>9</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 259.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* p. 266, wrongly (?) catalogued as Proto-Corinthian; cp., however, *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 344-5; see also below p. 338, n. 26; p. 351, n. 74.

<sup>11</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 259.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* p. 258; cp. Grave 4, No. 38 (below, p. 356) and note *ad loc.*

<sup>13</sup> *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 309-310.

<sup>14</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 252.

vase types that occur in the earlier Group (A) of Boeotian Kylix graves,<sup>15</sup> but not in the later (B). In Graves 14 and 4 the decoration is very varied, and no single type is yet dominant. In Group A graves the aryballoi show one motive<sup>16</sup> dominant, but others surviving.<sup>17</sup> In Group B graves this dominant type<sup>18</sup> has banished the rest.<sup>19</sup> With the undoubtedly earlier Graves 6, 75, 13, Graves 14 and 4 have several common features that do not occur at all in our Boeotian Kylix graves, *e.g.* rough brown incised ware,<sup>20</sup> small bombylii,<sup>21</sup> orange quarterings divided by single incised lines,<sup>22</sup> spiral bronze rings.<sup>23</sup>

Considering the quantity and variety of the material from our Boeotian Kylix graves, it seems probable that these features are missing there because they had become obsolete.

These last comparisons are mainly with Grave 13. The lekythoi from that grave would be generally recognized as later than those from Grave 6 (Nos. 5 and 6, Fig. 8; *cp.* Grave 75, No. 1).<sup>24</sup> The comparatively late<sup>25</sup> form (bombylios) of Grave 13, Nos. 13 and 14, the style of No. 14, and the early incised bronzes found in Graves 75 and 6 confirm this relative dating.

It seems therefore that at Rhitsóna Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian<sup>26</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.* p. 305, *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 308.

<sup>16</sup> 'Group A quatrefoil' of *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 309-310.

<sup>17</sup> P. 337, notes 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Mainly in the slightly varied 'Group B cinquefoil' type, *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 310.

<sup>19</sup> *Cp.* the last phase of the Boeotian Kylix style, *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 312 and 313, n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Grave 14, No. 1; *cp.* Graves 13, Nos. 1 and 2 (Figs. 9 and 10) and 75, No. 3 (Fig. 6). *Cp.* also Grave 49. No. 420, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 255, but note it has no incisions.

<sup>21</sup> Grave 14, Nos. 2-13, *cp.* Grave 13, Nos. 13 and 14. From our B.K. graves, only bombylii are Grave 50, Nos. 259 and 260, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 259 and Pl. X. *h*), both coarse and large (*cp.* size of late *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 846, Sep. civ. Bombylii with the floral ornament typical of the aryballoi from B.K. graves are very rare. I know only Bari No. 3589 (from Nola) and Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 454 and Pl. CXXVIII. 31 (an unusual variety).

<sup>22</sup> Graves 14, Nos. 23 and 24, 4 Nos. 19 and 20 (Fig. 17); *cp.* Grave 13, No. 12 (Fig. 12, probably predecessor in shape as well as decoration of Graves 14 and 4 type), and contrast Grave 4, No. 1 and Group A parallels to it, quoted above. For a small bombylios with double incised lines for orange quarterings see B.M. A 1670<sub>10</sub> (from tomb of Menekrates) and *cp.* last note.

<sup>23</sup> Grave 4, Nos. 41-43; *cp.* Graves 75, Nos. 8, 9, 10 (Fig. 6), 6 Nos. 10 (Fig. 8) and 11.

<sup>24</sup> Orsi, *Notiz.* 1895, p. 113; Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii. p. 192; Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii. p. 201; Hoppin, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 126; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pp. 448-9; Graef, *Vasenscherben v. der Akrop.* pp. 41-42 (who observes that Grave 6 form does not occur among the Acropolis sherds); *cp.* also signed vase Tarbell and Buck, *Rev. Arch.* 1902, p. 41 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Cp.* Graef, *op. cit.* p. 42, No. 405; perhaps wrong, however, in quoting his own No. 406, Taf. 15, and Masner, *Vienna Catalogue*, No. 47 (like Grave 14, Nos. 12 and 13, and therefore presumably later than the Grave 13 types) as among earliest known examples.

The apparently similar bombylios mit Streifen und alternierenden Punktreihen, Furtwängler, *Olympia* iv. p. 201, inscribed Σημωνίδης μ' ἀνέθηκε in lettering assigned by Kirchhoff, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxvi. p. 143, to the sixth century, seems to favour our dating for the type, but the inscription is not Corinthian but Attic or Ionic, and was erst in das fertige Gefäss eingeritzt (Furtwängler *ad loc.*). It is therefore possibly later than the vase.

<sup>26</sup> Our series of graves seems to favour the view of an uninterrupted development from early P.-C. to late Corinthian (*cp.* Orsi, *Notiz.* 1895, pp. 113 f.; Pallat, *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. pp. 314 f.; Hoppin, *Argive Heraeum* ii. pp. 122-3; Pottier, *Catalogue* ii. pp. 424-5), and to go against the position of Loeschke (*Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 16), Wilisch (*Altkor. Tonind.* p. 122 and n. 450), Bohlau (*Nekropolen* pp. 113 f.) and Couve (*Rev. Arch.* 1898, pp. 218 f.), to

and Boeotian Kylix ware make their appearance as grave furniture in chronological succession, and that each style in turn degenerated, none of them, however, completely dying out, but each persisting till the end of the sixth century in one or two stereotyped forms.<sup>27</sup> Grave 1 suggests a 'Geometric' period preceding the Proto-Corinthian, but with its scanty contents and isolated character it cannot be brought into this discussion.

This order of appearance supports the view as to the influences under which the Boeotian Kylix style developed that was put forward in *B.S.A.*

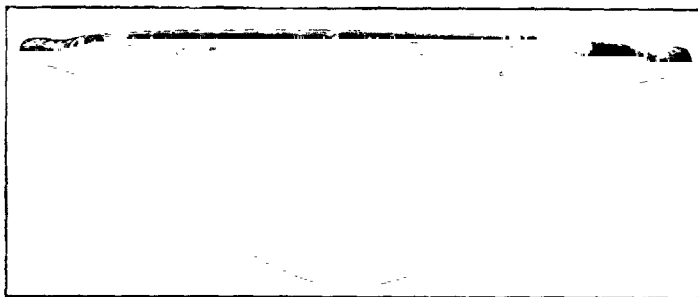


FIG. 3 (1 : 4).—BOEOTIAN KYLIX IN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

xiv.<sup>28</sup> The same view is borne out by the fact that Graves 14 and 4 contain several Corinthian elements which were there mentioned as having very possibly contributed to the development of the earlier style of Boeotian Kylix decoration. *E.g.*—

What is practically the floral ornament of our Grave 14, No. 29 occurs on Boeotian Kylix style vases and figurines.<sup>29</sup> Its appearance at Rhitsóna earlier than any of our Boeotian Kylix ware is therefore not without significance. With the zone of dots on Grave 14, Nos. 12, 13, 25 (Fig. 16), 26 (Fig. 15), 27, 28 and Grave 4, Nos. 10–15 cp. those on such Boeotian Kylix

which Orsi too seems now cautiously to incline (*Mon. Ant.* xvii. pp. 158, 254–5), that Corinthian developed independently of P.-C., and that vases like our Grave 13, No. 14 are P.-C. under the influence of developed Corinthian (Couve, *ib.* p. 225, Bohlau, *ib.* p. 113). The date of Grave 13 makes this scarcely possible for our particular vase. The decoration of the two Grave 13 bombylii is to be paralleled not from the Grave 14 bombylii, but from lekythoi of the Grave 13 form (*cp. e.g.* Grave 13, Nos. 3–7, scales; Delphi, *Fouilles* v. p. 152, Fig. 630, bird; *Notiz.* 1895, p. 137, nearer still earlier Grave 6 form, grazing stag and fill ornament), a form that appears scarcely to have survived the beginnings of Corinthian (Wilisch, *ib.* p. 7). The bombylii in Grave 13 weaken also Wilisch's argument (*ib.* p. 122), that Corinthian cannot

have developed out of P.-C., because its range of vase forms is different. They suggest rather that the change of vase forms was one aspect of the development from P.-C. to Corinthian.

Our graves throw no light on the position of vases of the class of the Macmillan lekythos, *J.H.S.* x. p. 253, xi. p. 167, on which see recently Washburn, *Jahrb.* 1906, pp. 116 f., Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. pp. 156–8.

<sup>27</sup> See, *e.g.*, Grave 46, *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 321–3. For P.-C. cp. also Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xiv. pp. 891 and 939, Dragendorff, *Thera* ii. p. 192, and references *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 314, n. 2. Cp. also the way that b.-f. and r.-f. persisted each in one or two stereotyped forms after the later black-glaze ware had become the general vogue.

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 337.

<sup>29</sup> See *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 315.

style vases as the one at Boston,<sup>30</sup> reproduced Fig. 3 by the kind permission of the Director, Mr. A. Fairbanks.<sup>31</sup> The shield with border of white dots (Grave 4, Nos. 9 and 4, Fig. 18) was suggested as the prototype of the similarly bordered rosettes on certain Boeotian kylikes.<sup>32</sup>

The type of Boeotian Kylix<sup>33</sup> on which such rosettes occur has not indeed been found so far in our own excavations (cp., however, *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 229, 241) at Rhitsóna. To account for its absence we are still left undecided between the alternative explanations offered *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 312. It may have flourished in a different locality from Rhitsóna, or at a different period from that of any of our graves. The graves that we have been considering emphasise the possibility of the chronological explanation, since they suggest the existence of graves of types intermediary between the Grave 4 type and our Group A Boeotian Kylix graves, with Boeotian Kylix vases showing more closely and generally the influence of the Corinthian style of decoration.<sup>34</sup>

The many connexions (above p. 337) between the Corinthian ware of Graves 4 and, e.g., 50 do indeed at once occur as an argument against assuming any such intermediary graves. But ordinary pale-ground (gelbtonig) Corinthian underwent only very slight and gradual changes during the later period of the style, so that slight variations may indicate a considerable interval of time, and the absence from Grave 4 of a type represented in Grave 50 by 215 examples (Nos. 29–243) deserves to be noted.

The great developments in Corinthian pottery during this later period are associated with the introduction of the red ground.<sup>35</sup> This Corinthian red-ground ware, as well as the similar Chalcidian (Furtwängler and Reichold, p. 161), was all ultimately absorbed in the black-figure style. It is doubtful whether much of the Group A Rhitsóna black-figure should not be rather classed under one of the earlier styles. It stands in close but inferior relationship to them.<sup>36</sup>

The absence from the Rhitsóna finds of 1907 and 1908<sup>37</sup> of superior

<sup>30</sup> Cp. Louvre A 572, Pottier Pl. XXI. See also *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 315, n. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Fairbanks, *Boston Museum Report*, 1897, p. 22, No. 5; hgt. 13 m., diam. 288 m. Inside is figured *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 350.

<sup>32</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 315, n. 3. To B. K. examples add Brussels, Mus. du Cinquante-naire A 40, Athens Nos. 240, 243 (Collignon and Couve Nos. 434 and 442; Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, Nos. 27 and 53).

<sup>33</sup> Called Thebes-Tanagra ware, *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 311, 312.

<sup>34</sup> We may conjecture graves where the number of objects was between the 30 or 40 of Graves 14 and 4 and the 300 or 400 of Graves 49, 50, 51. Possibly the Group A Grave 40, *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 310, with only 137 objects and no b.f., is earlier than Graves 49, 50, 51, *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 250 f., but in quality as well as quantity of

furniture it is poorer than the others, and in any case it does not fill the gap.

<sup>35</sup> Wilisch, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 115; Graef, *Vasen. v. d. Akrop.* i. p. 44; cp., however, Böhlau, *Nekrop.* p. 122.

<sup>36</sup> Cp., e.g., B.M. B 36 with Rhitsóna *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 254, Nos. 266, 267 (dance); Louvre E 620, Pottier, Pl. LXIV. with Rhitsóna, *ib.* Pl. Xa (dance); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum No. 45, Cat. Pl. VIII. with Rhitsóna, *ib.* Pl. Xk (cocks); Furtwängler and Reichold Taf. 31 with Rhitsóna, *ib.* p. 261, Grave 50, No. 265 (lion).

<sup>37</sup> Early red-ground ware was found in a 'Corinthian' grave excavated by Professor Burrows in 1909; but his finds of that year have not been cleaned or mended, and it is impossible to speak in any detail about their character.

ware like that just quoted (n. 36) is capable of either of the two explanations offered *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 312 for the absence of 'Thebes Tanagra' Boeotian Kylix ware (above, p. 340): it may be due either to the locality of our excavations or to the period of the graves hitherto excavated. We have no evidence, except the suggested arguments for assuming a gap in our series of grave types, for deciding between these alternatives. The fact to be emphasised here is that this superior early red-ground ware and the superior 'Thebes Tanagra' Boeotian Kylix ware stand in analogous relations to pottery that does occur in our Group A graves. More than that, many of these Corinthian and Chalcidian red-ground vases<sup>38</sup> show rosettes that are not a mere possible prototype or development, but an exact counterpart of those on the 'Thebes Tanagra' kylikes. The probable connexion of this rosette with the aryballos warrior's shield has already been alluded to. It is confirmed by the generally admitted dating of red-ground Corinthian comparatively late in the style.

Observing the points just noted,<sup>39</sup> and considering too that this red-ground ware belongs to Corinth and Chalcis, Boeotia's two great neighbours, the natural inference is that 'Thebes Tanagra' Boeotian Kylix ware is closely connected with the superior red-ground ware both in time and locality. The latter ware is dated by Furtwangler (*Furtwängler and Reichold*, p. 165) as 'nearer the middle than the beginning of the sixth century.' Cf., however, n. 35.

The sixth century dating of most known examples of Boeotian Kylix ware is thus confirmed, and the probability is strengthened of their having been under Corinthian influence.

### *Catalogue of Graves.*

#### GRAVE 1.

Length 2·18 m.; breadth ·90 m.; No. 1 found 1·20 m. deep, rest 1·50 m.

No. 1, cup (Fig. 5),<sup>40</sup> hgt. ·05 m.; decoration black on yellow-white slip;<sup>41</sup> clay light red; on handles, horizontal bands; body, upper zone see Fig. 5, lower same, but in place of chevrons three horizontal straight lines, below this a careless band of black; bottom left in clay colour. Possibly a prototype of the Boeotian Kylix style kantharos, *e.g.* *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 257, Grave 50, Nos. 6 and 7 (Fig. 4).

No. 2, cup (Fig. 5), hgt. ·05 m.; one handle; plain red; no decoration.

No. 3 (Fig. 5), hgt. ·06 m.; no handle; rim pierced ·01 m. below top by three holes<sup>42</sup> side by side; black varying to red; no decoration.

<sup>38</sup> *E.g.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum No. 45 and B.M. B 36 (quoted n. 36); B.M. B 37; Louvre E 623, 630, 634, 637, 640, 642 (*Pottier*, *Plates XLV.-L.* and pp. 53-58).

<sup>39</sup> Cp. also tongue pattern on red-ground Corinthian B.M. B 37 with that on 'Thebes Tanagra' *παπῆς* (see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 311, n. 5). Athens No. 4305.

<sup>40</sup> Cp. (except colour) Athens, Argive Heraeum, No. 581.

<sup>41</sup> Cp. *Wide*, *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 78, and *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 317.

<sup>42</sup> Cp. *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 339, No. 60; also Louvre A 563, *Pottier* p. 24; Grave 6, No. 2, and below, No. 4.



No. 4, oinochoe (Fig. 6),<sup>43</sup> hgt. .23 m.; at back of mouth, on either side of handle, a hole; two others, side by side, in bottom of handle; body, horizontal bands, thick black and thinner buff alternately; round each

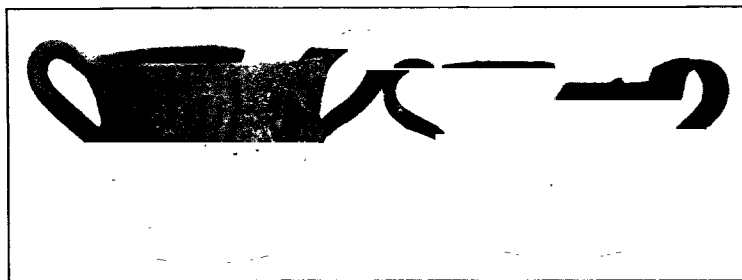


FIG. 4 (1:3)—GRAVE 50, Nos. 6, 7.

of latter three or four thin black lines; neck, front central zone apparently two thick horizontal zigzags, back entirely faded.

*Bones.*

Traces of bones too decayed for any inferences.

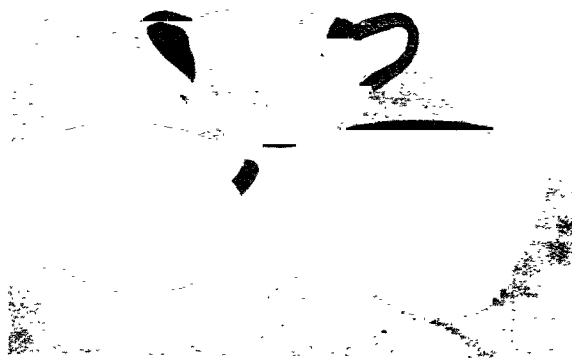


FIG. 5 (1:4).—GRAVE 1, Nos. 2, 1, 3.

GRAVE 75.

Length 1.75 m.; breadth 1.00 m.; depth 3.24 m.; head at N.E. end; to judge by position of finger-rings, arms were folded over the chest. Nos. 1-3 were found about .20 m. above rest of finds.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Cp. Athens, No. 192 (inscribed  $\delta\varsigma \nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$   $\delta\rho\chi\eta\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$  etc. See Studniczka, *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. p. 225), *Jahrb.* iii. p. 248, top fig., from Thebes, and Furtwängler *ad loc.*, who saw in it a connexion between Geometric and Proto-Corinthian (cp. Orsi, *Notiz.* 1893 pp. 450-1);

B.M. A 1670, from tomb of Menekrates at Corfu, *J.H.S.* xi. p. 175, where, if it really belongs, it appears to be a survival into the Corinthian period. For same shape in B.K. see *Arch. Anz.* 1895, p. 33, Fig. 3.

<sup>44</sup> The grave lies immediately below a wall

No. 1, fragments of lower part of a lekythos like Grave 6, Nos. 5 and 6 (p. 345); hgt. to shoulder .05 m.



FIG. 6.

GRAVE 1, No. 4.	GRAVE 6, No. 2 (1 : 4).
GRAVE 75, Nos. 4, 3.	GRAVE 6, No. 1.
GRAVE 6, No. 8.	
GRAVE 75, Nos. 8, 9, 10 (1 : 3).	

No. 2, fragments of upper part of a cup; style indeterminable; diam. of mouth about .10 m.

No. 3 (Fig. 6); fragment of rough incised ware, hgt. .07 m.; decoration

of large squared blocks ( $\alpha$ - $\delta$ , *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 230, Fig. 1, to be published later) which goes down to a depth of 1.38 m. Just W. of this, at a depth of 1.14 to 1.24 m., were found the objects that were provisionally recorded as Grave 74 (see above, n. 1), viz.—a few bones; a small black-glaze jug .10 m. high; an aryballos mouth with black concentric circles on greenish buff; body of a coarse little Proto-Corinthian lekythos like *B.M.* 1894, 11-1, No. 501 (*Amathus*) and *Argive Heraeum* ii. p. 124, Fig. 44; fragments recalling Grave 1, No. 1; three round-sectioned handles, two probably black glaze, the third perhaps Geometric; and

a terracotta fragment, .08 m. long, rounded section, tapering in breadth from .04 m. to .03 m., in thickness from .03 m. to .02 m., dark brown very heavy clay, with bands of sharp zigzag on thicker part, across front and down one side; decoration stands out in relief from a sunk surface. The spot where the 'Grave 74' objects were found must have been disturbed when the wall was built, so that it is impossible to draw any certain inferences from the juxtaposition of any of the finds. Nothing found between 1.38 m. (bottom of wall) and 3.04 m. (Grave 75, Nos. 1-3).

arranged vertically; to left, dots; to right, herring-bone; perhaps from a vase like Graves 13 Nos. 1 and 2, 14 No. 1.

No. 4, jug (Fig. 6),<sup>45</sup> hgt. .08 m.; dull black on pale dull ferruginous; top of lip, two circles concentric with mouth; neck and shoulder, each one thick wavy band; body, middle part thin straight bands, lower one thick straight band.

No. 5, bronze fibula (Fig. 7); wire of pin round, above spring angular; length of pin .05 m.



FIG. 7 (1. 1).—GRAVE 75, No. 5.

No. 6, like last, but slightly smaller; broken; plate incised apparently only round sides.

No. 7, bronze pin with broken spiral termination; perhaps of a fibula; length .08 m.

Nos. 8, 9, 10, bronze spiral rings (Fig. 6); diam. .02 m.; four twists; spiral ornament at each end to show on back of finger. Fig. 6 shows No. 9 on finger-bone as it was found and only half of No. 8.

#### *Bones.*

Scanty fragments, including finger-bone and traces of skull.

#### GRAVE 6.

Length 1.85 m.; breadth above ledge .90 m., below ledge .53 m.; depth to ledge 1.20 m., to bottom 1.65 m.

No. 1, jug (Fig. 6),<sup>46</sup> hgt. .10 m.; mouth round; pale buff with incised

<sup>45</sup> Cp. Bohlau, *Jahrb.* 1888. p. 352 and Fig. 32; Dragendorff, *Thera* ii. p. 205, Fig. 414 (found with Geometric); Athens No. 145 (Coll. and Couve, Pl. XVI. No. 378); *ib.* No. 681 (Kerameikos); *ib.* Argive Heraeum Nos. 503, 508, 511, 512, 565 (*Argive Heraeum* ii. p. 143, Fig. 84). See also *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 348, n. 178 and cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 315, n. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Cp. Aegina, Pallat, *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. p. 297,

Figs 22 and 23, and Furtwangler, *Aegina*, p. 446 and Taf. 124, Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9; Eleusis, Skias, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1898, pp. 106, 115 [at Eleusis 7 examples—Nos. 682, 683, 830, 831, 926, 927, 928 of Skias' valuable unpublished catalogue of the finds from each grave—were found in three graves with numerous geometric vases]; Gela, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 231, Fig. 183 (found with Corinthian); Megara Hyblaea, *ib.* p. 231, n. 1;

decoration; bands on neck, only in front; those on body start in front of handle on either side and run round to bottom in front.

No. 2, cup without handles (Fig. 6); hgt. .11 m.; pale buff ground; bands, outside arranged in threes, inside thicker, especially bottom two; in bottom two small holes <sup>47</sup> .02 m. apart.

Nos. 3 and 4, toy jugs <sup>48</sup> (Fig. 8), hghts. .07 m., .05 m.; clay a little darker



FIG. 8 (3:5).—GRAVE 6, NOS.

3	6	5	8
4	12	10	

than that of rest; No. 3, upper part probably once all black, lower now streaky (from original complete black or black bands); No. 4, no remains of colour.

Nos. 5 <sup>49</sup> and 6, <sup>50</sup> Proto-Corinthian lekythoi (Fig. 8), hghts. .06 m., .05 m.; top of lip, circles concentric with mouth; back of handle, No. 5 thick vertical wavy line, No. 6 three vertical straight lines above three horizontal;

Munich, Glyptothek, Samml. Arndt, No. 876; Berlin, No. 3331, *Arch. Anz.* 1895, p. 33. Fig. 1 (Thebes); Athens, No. 12944; also *Jahrb.* xiv. p. 124 (Wolters); *Argive Heraeum* ii. p. 100 (misquoted in Orsi); *Thera* ii. p. 196 (Dragendorff); similar but not incised; classed with incised by Orsi, Dragendorff, Wolters (*loc. cit.*); cp. below, n. 48.

<sup>47</sup> Cp. Bonn No. 741, Boeotia, wavy purple and straight black horizontal bands on cream; and, for shape, *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 339, No. 60 (Fig.

18, p. 340) and Grave 1, No. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Cp. Louvre A 503, A 506 (both Eleusis), A 357 (Rhodes), A 499 (Megara). For connexion with No. 1 cp. Louvre A 497 and 498 (Megara, like No. 1, but no incisions) with B.M. A 442 (Kameiros), *ib.* acquired 1909, 4-9, Nos. 2, 3, 4 (Boeotia), Eleusis Museum No. 682, like our No. 4, but incised.

<sup>49</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1061 (Kameiros).

<sup>50</sup> Cp. Delphi, *Fouilles* v. Fasc. ii. p. 148, Fig. 611.

shoulder, No. 5 two degenerate dogs (?),<sup>51</sup> black, no incisions, running from one another, No. 6 four triangles, one with three interior triangles on same base line,<sup>52</sup> one hatched, except strip up left side, others faded; body, thin upper lines of No. 5 golden brown, others black.

No. 7, part of body of jug, broad shoulder, tapering body but fairly broad bottom; below shoulder, traces of thin horizontal lines: pale buff clay; body .05 m. high.

No. 8,<sup>53</sup> bronze fibula (Figs. 6 and 8), length .06 m.; incised on plate a diagonal quatrefoil and a narrow bordering; wire of pin round, above spring angular.

No. 9, fragments of another fibula.

Nos. 10 (Fig. 8) and 11,<sup>54</sup> spiral bronze rings, diam. .02 m.; four twists, flat wire.

Nos. 12 (Fig. 8) and 13<sup>55</sup> (fragmentary) like last, diam. .02 m., but hoop formed of a strip of bronze plate beaten into wire at either end to form terminating spirals; hoop of No. 13 has a band of raised dots.

#### Bones.

None observed.<sup>56</sup>

#### GRAVE 13.

Length inside, 1.88 m.; breadth inside, .50 m.; total depth 3.60 m.; sides lined with stone slabs .35 m. high, .05 m. thick, on which others, .10 m. thick, were laid as covering; no slabs at bottom; skeleton lying full length, head N.E. end. Nos. 1 and 2 were outside grave, by edge of upper slab,<sup>57</sup> Nos. 3-16 inside, by skeleton.

Nos. 1 (Fig. 9) and 2 (Fig. 10),<sup>58</sup> hgts. .16 m., .17 m.; coarse unglazed ware with incised decoration; <sup>59</sup> clay externally dull terracotta colour, core ashen

<sup>51</sup> Or perhaps birds facing one another and pecking the ground, cp. *Argive Heraeum* ii. p. 127, Fig. 53.

<sup>52</sup> Cp. *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 311, Grave 40, No. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Cp. *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 361, No. 3.

<sup>54</sup> Cp. *ib.* p. 364.

<sup>55</sup> Cp. *ib.* p. 364 and 363, Fig. m.

<sup>56</sup> The numbers of the graves from 1-22 (*i.e.* those opened in 1907) indicate the order in which they were opened. Small fragments of bones, such as were often all we were able to find, even when the men had been trained to look for them, were possibly destroyed more than once during the first few days' digging.

<sup>57</sup> See Dragendorff, *Thera* ii. p. 113-4; cp. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 776 and Sep. xix. and Rhitsóna unpublished Hellenistic graves.

<sup>58</sup> Cp. Athens No. 12692, labelled Crete: burnt underneath.

<sup>59</sup> Dörpfeld (*Ath. Mitt.* 1908, p. 319) uses fragments of similar ware as one proof of the

walls at the Olympian Pisa being prehistoric, although no 'Mycenean' ware was found 'trotz eifrigen Suchens,' and 'more recent' graves were opened by the peasants on the S.W. slope. So at Olympia *Ath. Mitt.* 1908, p. 190, he takes similar pottery as helping to show certain houses to be prehistoric, though other fragments were of a 'hellgrau' and 'blaulich' well baked ware that Furtwangler put into the seventh century; note too, *ib.* pp. 191-2, 'eine kleine Grabung auf und an dem Kronoshugel lieferte einige prahistorische und viele griechische Scherben.' Ware of this kind is doubtless mainly prehistoric: much of it seems to be so in the Olympia district, cp. *ib.* p. 321, found at Arene with not a few Mycenean sherds and apparently nothing post-Mycenean. But our Graves 13 and 14 show that such ware sometimes survived into the historic period, and that where found alone, or with a preponderance of late ware and nothing else, it can be used as an argument for early dating only

grey; handle No. 2 same position as No. 1, both flat section; lower part, No. 1 two rectangular openings, No. 2 three.

Nos. 3 (Figs. 10 and 11)–7,<sup>60</sup> Proto-Corinthian (?) lekythoi, hgt. .09 m. to .10 m.; all same, except back of handle, Nos. 3, 4, and (? faded) 5 vertical zigzag (cp. No. 9, Fig. 11), Nos. 6 and 7 thin horizontal straight lines; top of lip, circles concentric with mouth; decoration black (except daisy pattern, lower part of body No. 3, and scales Nos. 6 and 7, purple red); ground light buff, greenish, except on No. 3.



FIG. 9 (2:5).—GRAVE 13, No. 1.

No. 8 (Fig. 11), Proto-Corinthian (?) lekythos, hgt. .07 m.; black on light buff; on each of thick black bands, several thin bands of purple<sup>61</sup>: top of lip, three circles concentric with mouth; back of handle plain; no incisions.

Nos. 9, 10, 11<sup>62</sup> (Figs. 11, 12, 11), hgts. .055 m., .065 m., .065 m.; barrel bodied; black inclining to purple on pale buff; top of lip, Nos. 9 and 10

with great caution; especially where, as probably at Olympia, vases were kept rather for use than ornament (Furtwängler, *Olympia*, iv. p. 198). For incisions somewhat recalling ours on geometric ware cp. Athens No. 808 (Collignon and Couve, Pl. VIII. No. 130, *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. p. 119).

<sup>60</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1024, 1025; Louvre E 309 (Pottier, Pl. 39); Athens No. 12724, three examples (Rhodes); Brussels, Mus. du Cinquantenaire, R 209; Aegina, *Aphaia*, Pl. 126, 10;

Delphi, *Fouilles*, v. p. 152, Fig. 628.

The Grave 13 lekythoi are probably to be classed as late P.-C. rather than early Corinthian, cp. Furtwängler, *Berl. Cat.* No. 341 f.; Wilisch, *Attik. Tonind.* pp. 7 and 8; Graef, *op. cit.* p. 42, No. 400.

<sup>61</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1068; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 27, Catalogue, Pl. III. (bombylii).

<sup>62</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1026 (shape nearer our No. 12).

three thick circles concentric with mouth ; back of handle, No. 11 horizontal lines.

No. 12 (Fig. 12), hgt. .05 m. ; top of lip, daisy pattern with incised outline ; quarterings on body alternately purple and a colour that now varies from black to red.

No. 13,<sup>63</sup> bombylios (Fig. 12), hgt. .065 m. : top of lip, circles concentric with mouth ; shoulder and bottom, daisy pattern ; middle, scales pointing upwards (cr. Nos. 3-7, 9-11) ; bottom has small hole sunk in centre.<sup>64</sup>



FIG. 10 (2:5).—GRAVE 13, Nos. 14, 2, 3.

No. 14,<sup>65</sup> bombylios (Fig. 10), hgt. .07 m. ; top of lip, shoulder and foot, daisy or tongue pattern ; outer side of lip, band of dots ; main zone, in front two stags facing, one grazing, one with head in air, behind, a long-legged bird, in field trefoil flower on bent stalk,<sup>66</sup> dots, circles with central dot ; purple and black ; incisions for inner lines.

No. 15, bronze disc, diam. .023 m. ; too corroded to determine whether there are incisions.

No. 16 (Fig. 12), iron pin ; point missing ; present length .09 m. ; flat head with two round beads close under.

<sup>63</sup> Cp. Gela, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 114, Fig. 81 (but scales pointing upwards).

This and No. 14 are probably to be classed as P.-C. Cp. Graef, *Vasen. v. d. Akrop.* p. 42, Nos. 400 and 405, but cp. also Furtwangler, *Olympia* iv. p. 201, Inv. Tc. 2471 (like our No. 13) 'altkorinthisch den . . . protokorinth-

ischen Sachen nahe.'

<sup>64</sup> Cp. Graves 14 and 4.

<sup>65</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1064. For stags, bird, and fill ornament see n. 26.

<sup>66</sup> For its occurrence on B.K. see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 315.

*Bones.*

Mr. C. H. Hawes reports as follows:—‘These remains comprise a cranium, several teeth, both upper arm bones, the thigh and pelvic bones, and

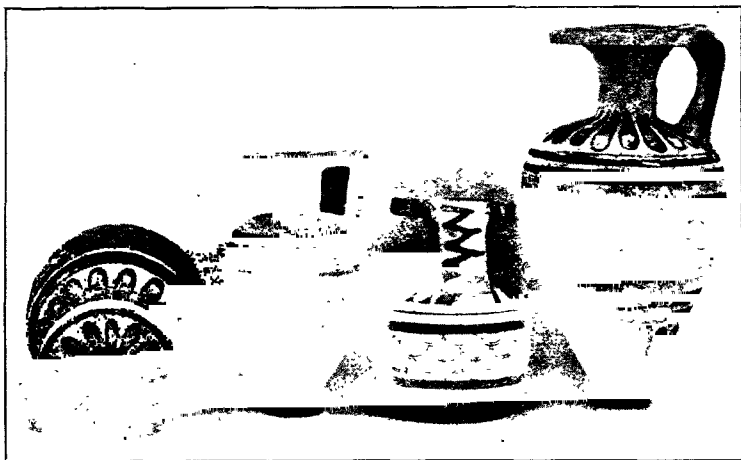


FIG. 11 (1:2).—GRAVE 13, Nos. 11, 8, 9, 3.

several vertebrae. The skull is sub-dolichocephalic, of a sphenoid-ovoid form, *i.e.* of an ovoid shape splayed at the parietal bosses. The forehead is well developed and the occipital renflement is present. The type is common in



FIG. 12 (2:3).—GRAVE 13, Nos. 10, 12, 13  
16

Crete in Minoan times, and is generally assigned to the Mediterranean race. Cranial index 77·3. The bones belonged to a woman about thirty-five years old. From the measurement of one of the humeri I calculate her height to have been 1·585 m.’



## GRAVE 14.

Length 2·10 m.; breadth ·70 m.; depth 2·80 m.

No. 1 (lower part incomplete), hgt. ·17 m., shape and material like Grave 13, Nos. 1 and 2, but lower part has four<sup>67</sup> oblong openings, and incised 'herring-bone' pattern, has ribs sloping downwards on one side of central line, upwards on other.

Nos. 2-29, Corinthian, Nos. 2-13 bombylii, hgt. ·08 m. (No. 7 slightly under), Nos. 14-29 round-bodied aryballoi, hgt. of largest (Nos. 14, 15, 17, 18) ·065 m., of smallest (Nos. 16, 26, 27) ·05 m.; ground colour usual Corinthian pale buff, inclining mostly to green, sometimes (*e.g.* Nos. 17, 25-27, 29) to brown; Nos. 2-10, 14-22, plentiful incisions, but only for inner details; Nos. 23 and 24, see below.

*Minor Details of Decoration:*

Top of lip, Nos. 2-10, 13-22, 25 daisy pattern, (No. 13 with outer ring as on Grave 13, No. 11, Fig. 11; petals, Nos. 14 and, probably, 15 and 18, red and black alternately, Nos. 21 and 22 uncertain, rest black); Nos. 11, 12, 26-29 circles concentric with mouth; Nos. 23 and 24, see below.

Outer side of lip, Nos. 11-13, 29, thin horizontal bands; Nos. 23, 24, see below; rest row of dots.

Shoulder (or rather neck, Nos. 2-13), Nos. 2-13, 16, 19-21, 25-28, daisy or tongue pattern.

Back of handle, Nos. 16, 17, 20 and (?) 21, black vertical zigzag (*cp.* Grave 13, No. 9, Fig. 11); No. 28 one straight black line down middle; Nos. 25-27 all black; rest straight horizontal bands.

Bottom, Nos. 2-7, 16, 19 and (?) 9 and 10 ring of dots; Nos. 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20-22, 25 ring of petals; No. 12 concentric circles.

In centre of bottom all except Nos. 13 (missing), 17, 22 have a small sunk hole.<sup>68</sup>

*Main Decoration:*

*Bombylii.*

Nos. 2 and 3 (both Fig. 13), siren (No. 2 with *παπᾶς* hat,<sup>69</sup> No. 3 bearded<sup>70</sup>) with outspread wings; rosettes.

Nos. 4 (Fig. 13) and 5, cock, duck, and rosettes.

Nos. 6 (Fig. 14) and 7,<sup>71</sup> cock and rosettes.

No. 8,<sup>72</sup> swan with outspread wings and beak overlapping right wing: rosettes.

<sup>67</sup> So Athens, No. 12692.

<sup>68</sup> *Cp. Jahrb. i. p. 147.*

<sup>69</sup> *Cp. Athens, No. 300 (Collignon and Couve, No. 539); Munich, Glyptothek, Samml. Arndt. No. 886. Salzmann, Camiros, Pl. XXXV.*

<sup>70</sup> Wilisch, *Altkor. Tonind.* p. 44.

<sup>71</sup> *Cp. e.g. B.M. A 1413, 1415, 1417, 1418, 1419; Athens, Nos. 984, 985 (Boeotia); Brussels, Mus. du Cinquantenaire, A 52.*

<sup>72</sup> *Cp. B.M. A 1423.*

Nos. 9 and 10, too faded and fragmentary to identify subject.

No. 11<sup>73</sup> (Fig. 14), bands of poor black and purple and pale buff ground colour; round middle band of ground colour, short rough vertical strokes.



FIG. 13 (3:8).—GRAVE 14, Nos. 3, 2, 4.

No. 12,<sup>74</sup> moderately thick horizontal straight bands and two zones of dots, upper three deep, lower four.

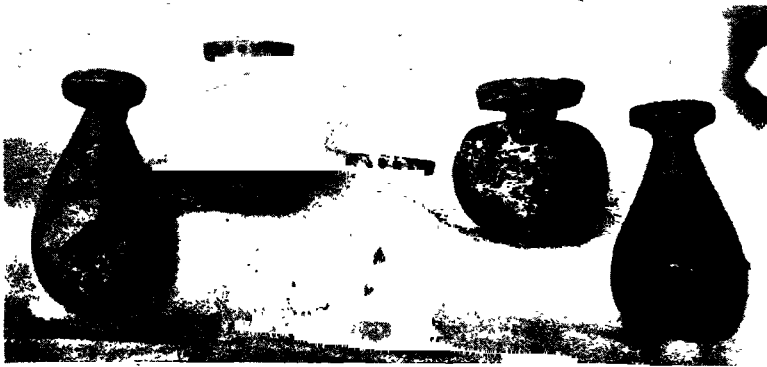


FIG. 14 (3:8).—GRAVE 14, Nos. 6, 14, 20, 29, 11.

No. 13,<sup>74</sup> upper part three thick horizontal bands (middle purple, outer two black); below this a zone of black dots at least five deep; lower part missing.

<sup>73</sup> Cp. *Thera* ii. p. 73, Fig. 256; B.M. A 1073, A 1427; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., No. 25 b; Bologna, Pellegrini, No. 53.

<sup>74</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1670<sub>11</sub> (tomb of Menekrates); Louvre E 32 (Pottier Pl. 39); Athens, No. 13528 (Etruria); Bologna, Pellegrini, Nos. 49-52; Aegina, Furtwängler, p. 454; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., No. 26.

Nos. 12 and 13 would presumably be classed

as P.-C. by Graef (*op. cit.* No. 406. Taf. 15) and (?) Masner (*Vienna Catalogue*, No. 47, but cp. Nos. 82 and 83); but in that case it is scarcely possible to draw a line that does not class all our Grave 4 as P.-C.; cp. successively Masner, No. 47; Grave 14, Nos. 12 and 13; Grave 4, Nos. 10-15; *ib.* 4 and 9; *ib.* 5-8; *ib.* the rest of Nos. 1-33. Cp. above n. 26.

*Round-bodied aryballoi.*

Nos. 14 (Figs. 14 and 15) and 15, lion and rosettes: red brilliant on No. 14.

No. 16, cock and rosettes; back of body entirely without ornament.

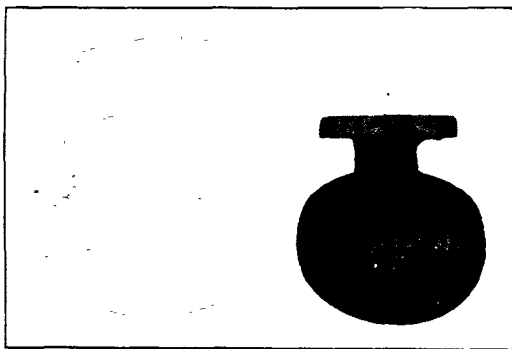


FIG. 15 (1:2).—GRAVE 14, Nos. 14, 26.

No. 17, owl, body sideways, face full; black and a fine deep red;<sup>75</sup> rosettes.

No. 18 (Fig. 16), swan and rosettes: inner details purple.

No. 19, winged figure, very faded; rosettes.

Nos. 20<sup>76</sup> (Fig. 14) and 21 (fragmentary): front, helmeted head: back,

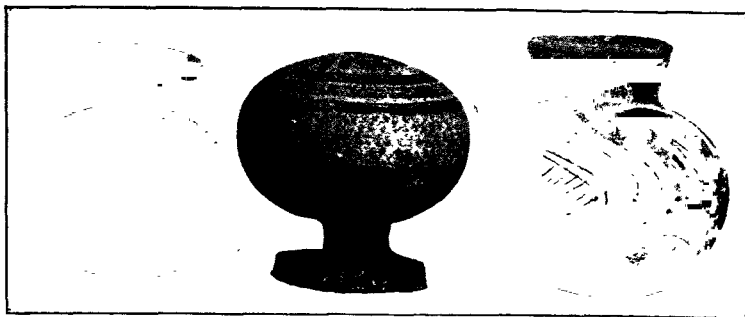


FIG. 16 (1:2).—GRAVE 14, Nos. 22, 25, 18.

three large circular rosettes, arranged in a row on No. 20, in a triangle on No. 21; No. 20 purple and black; No. 21 traces of purple and fine red.<sup>77</sup>

No. 22 (Fig. 16), lion's face, front view; no fill ornament.

<sup>75</sup> Powdery, cp. later (Class ii. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 309) Boeotian kylikes and *παράδες*.

<sup>76</sup> Cp. Salzmänn. *Cumirois*, Pl. XL: Oxford, Ashmolean Catalogue, Fig. 9: for motive

cp. *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 91 ('Chalcidic amphora').

<sup>77</sup> Cp. No. 17.

Nos. 23<sup>78</sup> and 24, divided from mouth to bottom by single incised lines into quarterings like those of an orange; cp. Grave 4, No. 20, Fig. 17; No. 23, faded, traces of arrangement in alternate colours; No. 24, quarterings black and purple alternately.

Nos. 25<sup>79</sup> (Fig. 16), 26 (Fig. 15), 27, 28, horizontal black bands except for a zone of dots round middle, six deep No. 25, 4 Nos. 26 and 27, 3 No. 28; Nos. 27 and 28 shaped like No. 26.

No. 29 (Fig. 14), floral ornament, 'Group A quatrefoil' type of *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 309.

#### *Bones.*

Traces of bones too decayed for any inference.

#### GRAVE 4.

Length 1.80 m.; breadth .90 m.; vase finds began at depth of .45 m.; total depth, .75 m.

Nos. 1-34, Corinthian aryballoi, No. 1 flat-bottomed (cp. Fig. 1), rest round; hgt., No. 1 .11 m., Nos. 2 and 3 .085 m., No. 21 .08 m.; rest .07-.06 m.

#### *Minor details of decoration:*

Top of lip, Nos. 1, 22, 23, 24, daisy pattern: No. 4, see Fig. 18; Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7-12, 14-18, 21, 25-32, circles concentric with mouth.

Side of lip, Nos. 1-5, 7, 9, 10, 18, band of dots; Nos. 8, 11, 12, 14-17, a horizontal band.

Shoulder, Nos. 1-12, 14-17, 33, daisy pattern.

Back of handle, Nos. 3 and 4, vertical zigzag: Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, horizontal bands.

Bottom, Nos. 2-10, 16-18, 33, concentric circles; Nos. 11-15 daisy pattern: four of Nos. 21-32, a ring of oblong dots.

In centre of bottom Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19-22, 25-29 have a small sunk hole.

Colours black (sometimes shading off into red-brown) and purple (none on Nos. 10-20); ground colour and clay buff, verging sometimes towards brown, sometimes towards green; for white details see below Nos. 4, 8, 9, 19 and also No. 34.

Incisions on Nos. 2-9, and probably 21-32, for inner details but not outline; none on Nos. 10-18.

Nos. 6, 13, 33, 34 are incomplete.

#### *Main decoration:*

No. 1,<sup>80</sup> orange quarterings, divided by double incised lines; just below shoulder a few broad horizontal bands.

<sup>78</sup> Cp. B.M. A 1028, A 1030, A 1031 (cp. A 1029, and Delphi, *Fouilles* v. Fasc. ii. No. 89, Fig. 569, double incisions); *Thera* ii. p. 34, Fig. 102; and perhaps *Mon. Ant.* i. pp. 799, 820, Sepp. iv. xxx. inadequately

described.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 857 Sep. cxliv.; Furtwangler, *Aegina*, p. 454.

<sup>80</sup> Cp. Louvre E 332 (Pottier, Pl. 39); B.M. A 1091, A 1591.

Nos. 2 and 3: front, siren, face and body profile, wings outspread with head in between (cp. Fig. 1): back (No. 2, Fig. 17), large round rosette; smaller rosettes in field.

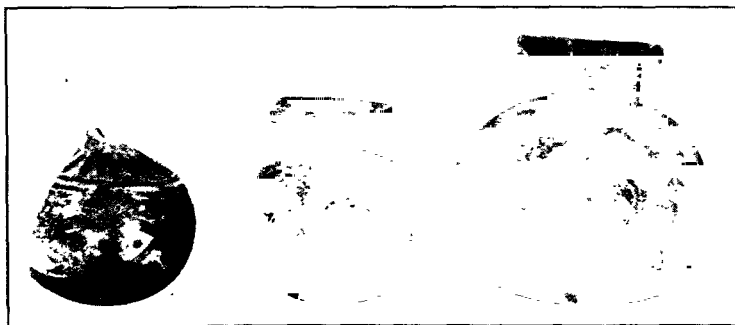


FIG. 17 (2:5).—GRAVE 4, Nos. 33, 20, 2.

Nos. 4-9<sup>81</sup> (Fig. 18), round shielded warriors: shields of Nos. 4, 8, 9, a border of white dots, of No. 9 a purple centre.

No. 4, nine warriors, field filled with small dots; Nos. 5, 6, 7, four warriors, careless, no fill ornament: so No. 8, but three warriors; No. 9,

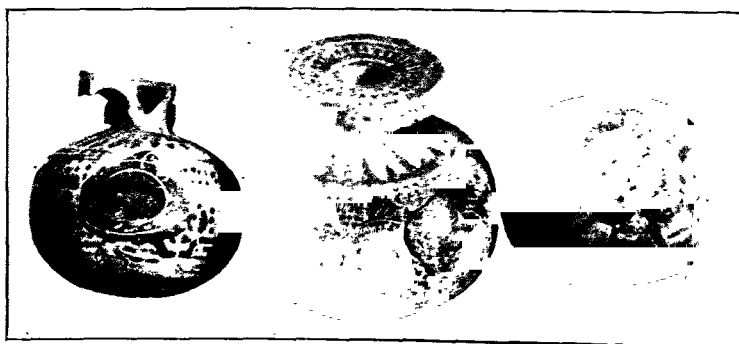


FIG. 18 (1:2).—GRAVE 4, Nos. 9, 4, 6.

front, one warrior, crosses and dots as fill ornament, back plain except for one cross as on front enclosed in a  $\zeta$  or crescent.

Nos. 10-15,<sup>82</sup> horizontal bands except for central zone of dots, No. 10

<sup>81</sup> Cp. Schimatari (Tanagra) Museum, 273 examples; Haussoullier, *Quo modo Tanagraei*, p. 81; *Jahrb.* i. p. 144 (among 79 from one grave, K 10, Cyprus); *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii. p. 205 (Thera); Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 454; *Mon. Ant.* 1. (Megara Hyblaea) Sepp. xxvi.

ccxix., ccxxxvii.: *ib.* xvii. (Gela) Fig. 447; B.M. A 1444-1447, 1518, 1519; Trieste Museum: cp. also warriors on bronze situla, Bologna B 303

<sup>82</sup> Cp. Grave 14, Nos. 25-28, Figs. 15 and 16.

seven deep, No. 11 four, Nos. 12 and (? , faded) 13 three, Nos. 14 and 15 two with a thin line in between.<sup>83</sup>

Nos. 16-18, horizontal bands, no zone of dots.

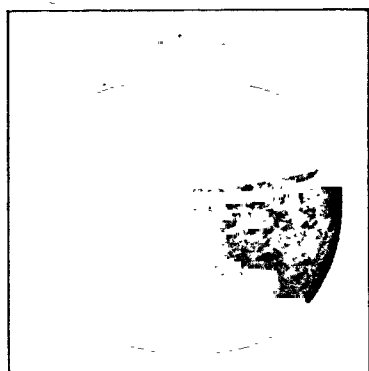


FIG. 19 (2:3).—GRAVE 4, NO. 34.

Nos. 19 and 20<sup>84</sup> (Fig. 17), divided from top to bottom by single incised lines into orange quarterings; No. 19, some of these partly covered with vertical bands of white.

Nos. 21-32, faded; all seem to have figures, rosettes, and incisions:

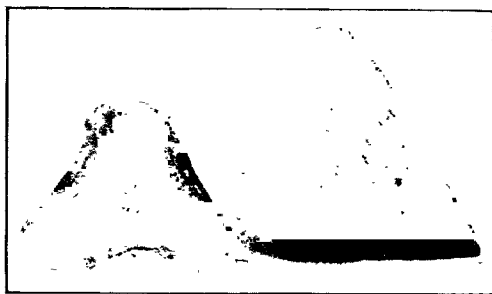


FIG. 20 (2:3).—GRAVE 4, NOS. 35, 36.

No. 32 (above, p. 337 and Fig. 2), best preserved, shows very lavish fill ornament producing a peculiarly confused effect.

No. 33 (Fig. 17), four palmettes united by stalks into a sort of cross pattern.

No. 34<sup>85</sup> (Fig. 19), upper part black glaze, lower dull ferruginous

<sup>83</sup> Cp. Athens, No. 12724, B.M. A 1065 (shape of Grave 13, Nos. 3-7); Athens, No. 12460 (Boeotia), B.M. A 1073 (bombylii); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. No. 114 of acquisition book

(Boeotian Kylix).

<sup>84</sup> Cp. Grave 14, Nos. 23 and 24.

<sup>85</sup> Cp. *Jahrb.* i. p. 145 (from Grave K 10 of above, n. 81); Hoppin, *Argive Heracum* ii.

ground colour, partly covered with what seems to be remains of white or yellow paint; round top of lower part several thin black lines.

Fragments of several other aryballoi: clay varies from green to light brown.

No. 35<sup>86</sup> (Fig. 20), lid of trefoil-mouthed oenochoe: common Corinthian shape; corner to corner 0.45 m.

No. 36<sup>87</sup>, fragments, largest (Fig. 20) from top or bottom, of cylindrical pyxis; black and red on pink buff.

No. 37, three small fragments, coarse gritty brown clay; one suggests beginning of a kantharos handle.

Nos. 38 and 39, feet of two vases; No. 38 perhaps of an amphoriskos.<sup>88</sup>

No. 40,<sup>89</sup> fragments of a bronze disc with a 12-petalled rosette in repoussé work.

Nos. 41, 42, 43, fragments of bronze spiral ring, two twists each: diam. 0.02 m., 0.015 m., 0.015 m.

#### *Bones.*

No traces of bone observed. Cp. p. 346, n. 56.

P. N. URE.

p. 155, aryballos of coarse red clay with black glaze on the shoulder. The rest of the vase is entirely covered with a white wash, almost entirely worn away, with no traces of other decoration.'

<sup>86</sup> Cp. Bologna, Pellegrini, Fig. 12; Athens, No. 262 (Collignon and Couve, No. 518, Pl. XXII.); B.M. A 1361, A 1364, A1670, (tomb of Menekrates).

<sup>87</sup> Cp. *Jahrb.* ii. Pl. II. Figs. 1, 1a (Tanagra); Bologna, Pellegrini, Fig. 8 (Sicyon); *Thera* ii. p. 23, Fig. 49; *Notiz.* 1895, p. 191, Fig. 94.

<sup>88</sup> Like, e.g. Grave 50, Nos. 13-15 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 258); cp. *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 859, Sep. cliii.; or Ruvo Museum, Case VII. and B.M. A 1505, A 1596 (decorated like our Nos. 10-15); or B.M. A 1473-1478 (Corinthian animal frieze); or Bologna, Pellegrini, Fig. 11 (owl like Grave 14, No. 17).

<sup>89</sup> Cp. *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 253, Figs. 22, 32; *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 132, Fig. 97 (found with large Corinthian bombylios); *Notiz.* 1895, p. 169, Fig. 60.

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE (1909-1910).

SINCE the last of these reports was written, two new excavations of great promise have been begun, Cyrene and Sardes, both by American archaeologists, and the work of the British School at Sparta has been brought to a close. The most interesting new discoveries are perhaps those from Crete: the Late Minoan I cemetery found by Mr. Seager at Gournia and the tomb-chapel and great Early Minoan rock-cut cistern from Knossos.

The activities of the Greek Archaeological Society have been very numerous. Dr. Brueckner has continued his work at the Dipylon cemetery locating the enclosure of the *Τριτοπατρεις*, Dr. Stais has published his excavation of the Sanctuary of the Nymphs at Phaleron,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sotiriades has worked at Chaironeia and Dr. Arvanitopoulos has carried forward his work at Pagasai, which led two years ago to the discovery of so many painted grave stelai.<sup>2</sup> This year, the lower part of the stele with the picture of a woman dying in childbirth has been found.<sup>3</sup> It is inscribed:

Δυπρὸν ἐφ' Ἡδίστηι Μοῖραι τότε νῆμα ἀπ' ἀτράκτων  
 κλώσαν ὅτε ὠδίνος νύμφη ἀπηντίασεν.  
 σχετλή, οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὸ νήπιον ἀγκαλιεῖσθαι  
 μαστῶι δ' ὑφέξειν χεῖλος ἐοῖο βρέφους.  
 ἐν γὰρ ἐσεῖδε φάος καὶ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς ἓνα τύμβον  
 τοὺς δισσοὺς ἀκρίτως τοῖσδε μολοῦσα τύχη.<sup>4</sup>

Besides these, many other smaller excavations have been carried on, and much has been done to set in order ancient monuments, thus continuing the excellent tradition of past years. In particular the restoration of the Propylaia of the Acropolis has been continued under the immediate care of Mr. Valanos. The possibility of such restoration has been carefully studied by members of the American School of Classical Studies, and an interesting paper was read in the course of the winter by Dr. Elderkin, in which he proposed a theory to explain the irregularity of the position of the windows and door in the Pinakotheka. He shewed that these appear to be symmetrically framed by the columns to a spectator ascending the slope below

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* xxviii. p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1908. Pl. I.

<sup>4</sup> *Παναθήναια* ix. 1909, p. 314.



the Propylaia along a certain line, and concluded that this was the direction of the approach as originally planned. An ingenious argument from the orientation of the pedestal of the monument of Agrippa strengthened this theory. This was followed by a very important paper by the Director, Mr. Hill, on the earlier Parthenon, the building which was in process of construction at the time of the Persian invasion. By an elaborate study of the foundation of the present Parthenon he succeeded in identifying several blocks now scattered over the Acropolis or built into its North wall, close to the unfinished marble column-drums of the same temple, as belonging to this early Parthenon. He proved that it had sixteen columns at the side and six at each end instead of the nineteen and eight given by Doerpfeld's restoration. The seventeen columns by eight of the Parthenon was thus, as was naturally to be expected, an advance on the earlier temple and not, as had been previously supposed, a slight retrogression. Considerations of space forbid me from detailing Mr. Hill's convincing arguments, which rest on a close study of the steps of the foundation and the stylobate of the old Parthenon, some blocks of which he has found still *in situ* in the foundation of the later building.

At Corinth the American School dug chiefly at Peirene and the theatre, where more Greek seats have been found in place, buried in the foundation of the diazoma of the Roman theatre.

At Peirene two of the four reservoirs of the earliest fountain have been cleared, and a large part of the system of supply tunnels. To the N.E. of the court a fountain has also been found, which received its overflow. The basin, the parapet of which shews marks of much drawing of water, is inside a building with a corbelled vault of heavy blocks, which reminds the excavators of the galleries in the Mycenaean fortress wall of Tiryns. It seems possible that this fountain-house is actually prehistoric, as neolithic and Geometric sherds have been found in abundance in the course of the excavation, and the spring is a natural one, which may well have supplied the inhabitants at a very early period. North of Peirene colonnades have been found completing the boundaries of the rectangular court, identified with the Peribolos mentioned by Pausanias, which contained the picture of Odysseus attacking the suitors.<sup>5</sup>

The German Institute has continued its work at Tiryns, and every year makes it more and more plain how much this site still held in reserve after Schliemann's departure. This year was chiefly devoted to the western half of the palace. The most important finds were remains of mural paintings. The subjects included two warriors with lances, a charioteer, parts of horses and a fragment of a cult scene. Still more interesting are some not yet reconstructed fragments representing a boar-hunt, in which white dogs are attacking boars caught in a net. There are also remains of an almost life-size woman's head, a drawing in a miniature style in black and white, and

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<sup>5</sup> Paus. II. ch. iii. 3. For these notes I have School of Classical Studies.  
to thank Mr. Hill, the Director of the American

other fragments. Nothing throws so much light upon Mycenaean life as such paintings as these, in which the artist has a much freer hand and wider range of subjects than in any other branch of art, and the publication of these remains will therefore be eagerly awaited.<sup>6</sup>

From Delos the excavation of the sanctuary of the foreign gods begun by Hauvette in 1881 is reported. The sanctuary has two divisions, one for Egyptian and one for Syrian deities, and the whole is of the greatest importance for the history of these foreign cults.

The Egyptian temple and altar date to the end of the second century before Christ, and replaced the sanctuaries of Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis mentioned in inventories of the Second Athenian League. Several new and important inscriptions have been found giving names of priests and information as to the cult. The offerings belong to the time of the Second Athenian League. From the Sanctuary of the Syrian gods come two inscriptions of interest. One runs: Διόφαντος | 'Αλεξάνδρου | 'Ατίργατι | καὶ 'Αδάτωι | τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἐφ' ἱερέως | Σαραπίωνος Ἱεροπολίτου. The other gives the first evidence in Delos of the cult of the Syrian god Hadranas. It is: Διονύσιος ζακο|ρεύσας ἐν τῷι | ἐπὶ Κρίτωνος ἀρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ | ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θρεψάντων 'Α[δ]ρανᾶ ἐφ' ἱερέως ? | - -

Votive offerings to Hagne Aphrodite have been found and a dedicatory inscription to the same goddess in the now fully excavated small theatre. Other finds are a statue of Baal represented by a Zeus type. An inscription giving the rules of the purification necessary before entering the sanctuary ought to be of much interest.

The British School this year had a short season at Sparta, chiefly devoted to the excavation of the Mycenaean remains on the hill of the Menelaion. A large number of houses were found, all belonging to the end of the Mycenaean period. Unfortunately they were much destroyed by erosion and the finds were also very scanty. The best preserved house yielded some fine kraters and curious clay sealings to close the mouths of wine-jars, tied in place with rushes and stamped with a seal, which bore an intaglio design of animals. Nothing Greek was found, and it was plain that there was a large Mycenaean town on this hill, probably finally destroyed by a fire, and that at the beginning of the Iron Age Sparta was refounded on the classical site, the only trace of the older town being the shrine of the Hero Menelaos.

The Eleusinion at Kalývia tes Sochás, an hour and a half south of Sparta was also excavated, the German Institute having generously waived their prior claim. The nature of the site was clearly demonstrated by some stamped tiles and a few small objects, but no results of importance were obtained.

A little final work at the Orthia sanctuary was rewarded by two second century A.D. inscribed bases for statues of *bomonikai*, victors in the contest of

<sup>6</sup> An especial acknowledgment for these German Institute at Athens. notes is owing to Dr. Kurt Muller of the

endurance at the altar of Orthia. A similar base was already in the Sparta Museum, but one of the new examples gives a fresh formula of some interest.<sup>7</sup>

The work in North Greece of Messrs. Wace and Thompson, students of the British School, has been continued this year. Two tumuli were examined, one at Tsanglí in Central Thessaly about midway between Pharsala and Velestino, and another at Rachmáni between Larissa and Tempe.

The mound at Tsanglí is about 200 × 210 metres with ten metres of deposit, the Rachmáni tumulus being much smaller. The results now obtained compared with previously excavated sites make it possible to distinguish four prehistoric periods in Thessaly: Neolithic I, with red-on-white painted pottery; Neolithic II, with the ware characteristic of the Dimini settlement; Chalcolithic and, fourthly, of the early Bronze Age, with unpainted pottery. The latter part of this is contemporaneous with Late Minoan II and III, and includes the tombs at Sesklo, Dimini, and Zerelia. At Rachmáni many Late Minoan III sherds were found amongst the latest pottery of this deposit, together with fragments of the curious Thessalian geometric pottery found at Marmáriani and Theotókou.

In the Tsanglí tumulus houses were found belonging to the later part of the first Neolithic period. In one case the remains of three successive houses could be distinguished. The latest of them had the characteristic plans of these buildings well developed. It was rectangular with a row of wooden posts down the middle, and each angle was flanked by a pair of internal projecting walls or buttresses. These buttresses, whatever their object, are the most remarkable feature of the plan. The finds in this house were vases, celts, and terracotta figurines, in which the excavation in general was very rich.

The house at Rachmáni belonged to the third of the above four periods. It yielded good specimens of a kind of pottery with paint laid on so thickly as to form an incrustation, a large store of carbonised wheat, pease, lentils, figs, and other vegetables, and four very curious human figures with the bodies made of terracotta and the heads of painted stone, a kind of primitive anticipation of acrolithic sculpture. These latest excavations together with the results of previous campaigns are to be published as soon as possible in book form.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Doerpfeld's *Fünfter Brief über Leukas-Ithaka*, dated Leukas, May, 1909, carries on the account of these excavations from the point where it was left in the report in this *Journal* two years ago.<sup>9</sup> It gives a full account of the tombs then briefly mentioned, and to the five that had then been found near the Palace in the Nidri Plain. adds nine others. The most

<sup>7</sup> A full report will appear in the *School Annual* to be published in 1911.

<sup>8</sup> For these notes I have to thank Mr. Wace. His earlier excavations have been noticed in

*J.H.S.* xxviii. p. 323; xxix. p. 359. and reported in *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 197, and *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, ii. p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> *J.H.S.* xxviii. p. 332.

important is the untouched *pythos*-grave of a woman, which contained seven monochrome vases, a necklace of forty-nine gold beads, a silver armlet, a bronze tool, a knife, and two burned bones. Dr. Doerpfeld has also excavated at the Chapel of Hagia Kyriake at the entrance of the harbour. Figurines both primitive and classical were found, and Dr. Doerpfeld believes the site to be a Sanctuary of the Nymphs, the ancient recipients, like their modern successor, Hagia Kyriake, of the vows of sailors leaving the harbour of Leukas. The pamphlet ends with a notice of recent literature on the Leukas-Ithaka question.

The work of the Austrian archaeologists at Miletus in 1906 and 1907 has already been described in these reports.<sup>10</sup> A proof from the *Jahrbuch* kindly sent me by Dr. Wiegand enables me to carry these on with the campaign of 1908. I can only mention here two discoveries of especial architectural interest: one is a bath, consisting of a rectangular court, along one of the sides of which is a row of bathrooms, a type transitional between a Hellenistic gymnasium and a Roman bath, and the other is a late Roman temple of the form of an early Christian Basilica with two rows of smooth monolithic pillars. The entrance hall has four columns, and on the architrave is the dedicatory inscription of M. Κλαύδιος Μενεκράτης to Sarapis and Isis. Dr. Knackfuss in 1909 continued the excavation of the great Temple of Apollo at Didyma. The work is very heavy, but is rewarded by the very fine architectural construction of the temple which is now being disclosed.

American enterprise has now also begun the excavation of two other sites, Cyrene and Sardes, both of which have for long been archaeological desiderata. Of the results of Mr. Norton's work at Cyrene nothing can as yet be said, but Mr. Butler has kindly given me some notes on the first campaign at Sardes. The old Lydian and Greek site of Sardes has been buried to a depth of from six to twelve metres, either by a land slide or by the result of erosion. A change in the course of the Pactolus has cut through this deposit, and exposed a cross section of the stratified remains of soil and debris, and at this naturally formed section work was begun. Remains of a building believed to be Lydian have been found, statue-bases and the huge marble foundations of the west end of the great Temple, to the east end of which belong two columns still standing erect *in situ* a hundred metres distant. Of this huge temple at present only the western part has as yet been cleared. It has suffered a good deal by being used as a quarry for the Roman and Byzantine town, but the further east the work goes the better is the preservation, and already a fourth century Greek inscription has been found on the wall containing Persian names, weights, and measures, and informing us that the temple was dedicated to Artemis. Many other Greek inscriptions were also found, but not *in situ*.

An early Lydian Necropolis has been discovered and a number of tombs opened. They consisted of a *dromos* and a chamber with a stone couch and a door, and contained native pottery free from all Hellenic influence, a little

<sup>10</sup> *J.H.S.* xxviii. p. 334.

bronze and Egyptian scarabs and alabastra. Vases containing charred bones were found as well as skeletons lying on the benches, and it thus appears that inhumation and cremation were practised side by side. Very important are a number of Lydian inscriptions from these tombs still in perfect preservation.

In Crete, Knossos is again the centre of interest.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Evans begins his letter to *The Times* on this latest campaign by saying that there is no finishing a site like Knossos, and indeed every season fresh marvels come to light. This year the great vault underneath the Southern Porch, which has given work for two seasons, has yielded up its secret. It appears to have been a great rock-cut cistern, ninety-five feet in circumference and fifty-six feet deep, with a spiral staircase cut in the rock-wall, by which it was possible to descend to within some three metres of the bottom. The earth in the cistern contained nothing later than Middle Minoan I sherds, from which it is clear that the cistern itself is early Minoan, and so earlier than the first palace of which any remains now exist. A second similar cistern has also been located. Coming after Mr. Seager's wonderful finds of jewellery and stone vases at Mochlos, this discovery shows us still more clearly the height attained by Cretan civilisation at this very distant epoch.

The work at the Little Palace and the further reconstruction of the grand staircase I can only mention, but the discovery of more graves at Isopata near the Great Royal Tomb led to the most important result of the campaign. Six chamber-tombs were found, all belonging to the most flourishing time of the Later Palace, and thus to be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century, B.C. The finds, although the tombs had been pillaged in antiquity, were important. Fine Palace style (Late Minoan II) vases, a small gold signet ring engraved with a design of two goddesses clasping hands and standing in front of their shrines; a new class of painted vases with unfixed colours designed exclusively for sepulchral use are the more important, but the main feature of the discovery is the religious significance attached by Dr. Evans to the tomb to which he has given the name of the Tomb of the Double Axes. The sepulchral chamber itself is about six metres square. The burial cist was sunk in a raised stone platform, and all around the chamber run rock-cut benches. A pier carved as a half column juts from the back wall, and with the benches gives the whole the effect of a room in a house. The pillagers had left enough to suggest that the dead man was a warrior, and the ritual double axes and the remains of a steatite *rhyton* in the form of a bull's head suggest that the chamber was originally fitted up as a shrine for the cult of the dead. Although the entrance was walled up, there are indications that the worship was performed not once only at the funeral, but was repeated subsequently. Dr. Evans is justly reminded by this room-like sepulchral chamber of the Etruscan domestic idea of the future life, and for the religious ideas of the Cretans it is certainly the most important grave yet opened.

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<sup>11</sup> Derived from a letter from Dr. Evans in *The Times*, Sept. 17th 1910.

The excavations by Mr. Seager and Miss Hall in the neighbourhood of Gournia in the name of the University of Pennsylvania Museum have added to our knowledge mainly by the important discovery of a late Minoan I cemetery of a type hitherto unknown, and of a period to which very few Cretan burials, except approximately the great tombs at Knossos, could be assigned. The cemetery lies near the sea below the town of Gournia on a hill side called Sphoungarás. The earliest burials were of the ordinary Middle Minoan II type with characteristic pottery, stone vases, and gold ornaments like those already found at Mochlos. The bulk of the interments, however, some 150 in number, were those which give the cemetery its great interest. The bodies were buried in inverted jars, with the knees drawn up to the chin, the corpse having been trussed and put into the jar head foremost, so that when the whole was inverted, the body remained in a sitting posture. No traces of burning were observed. The date, late Minoan I and middle Minoan III, is fixed by the patterns painted on the jars, and the objects found with them. The seal-stones were peculiarly interesting, firstly, because the circumstances of their finding give them a fixed date, and secondly, because many of them were of a type hardly to be expected so early. It is interesting to compare this cemetery with the slightly later chamber-tombs of Knossos. Neither difference of period nor difference of wealth seems sufficient to account for such wide divergence in the method of disposing of the dead.

At Vrókastro,<sup>12</sup> a hill about 1000 feet above the sea in the Valley of Kaló Chorió near Gournia, Miss Hall has uncovered part of a town, the stratified remains of which ranged from early Minoan to the Geometric period, at which later time iron is found in the same abundance as bronze. The continuity of the remains from the Bronze to the Iron Age should make this excavation of great interest, and it is much to be hoped that the late transitional remains will be abundant and well preserved.<sup>13</sup>

At the Minoan palace of Hagia Triada near Phaistos Prof. Halbherr has made fresh extensive excavations. The most important result is the discovery of a great portico with eight rectangular piers, of which the limestone bases have been preserved, and staircases at either end leading to an upper story. Looking across the fertile mountain-girt valley towards the sea and originally gaily decorated with painted stucco, this portico reminds the Italian excavators of some luxurious pleasure house at Ostia or Pompeii.

At Siva, a little to the south of Phaistos, MM. De Sanctis and Levi della Vida have dug an Early Minoan tholos-tomb. Although pillaged, enough was left, including some ivory seals, to shew that it belonged to the same period as the numerous *tholoi* found by Dr. Xanthoudides in the Messará plain at and near Koumása.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *I.e.* Ὁβραϊόκαστρον, *Jer's Castle*.

<sup>13</sup> These notes I owe to the kindness of Miss Hall and Mr. Seager. A publication is to

appear in the Transactions of the department of Archaeology in the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>14</sup> See notices in *J.H.S.* xxviii. pp. 328, 329.

At Gortyn Prof. Halbherr has prepared to excavate the area round the famous great archaic inscription, by diverting the stream which flowed at its foot.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Chatzidakis has continued the excavation of the Minoan building at Tylissos, which he began a year ago.<sup>16</sup> Three more store chambers have been cleared, containing some very fine Late Minoan I and II vases and a few other small objects. The roofs were supported by two or more pillars. Adjacent to this building and possibly forming a part of it, but in any case contemporary, is a large rectangular structure (25·70 m. × 65·70 m.) Two steatite tables of offerings were found in it and horns of oxen (*bos primigenius*), deer, and wild goats, and many bones and teeth of pigs. To the south are remains of the Middle Minoan period, which are to be excavated next year.

About half a kilometre from this building Dr. Chatzidakis found a pit filled with fragments of vases ranging from Early Minoan to Late Minoan II, a discovery recalling the two similar pits found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro.<sup>17</sup>

On the shore west of Candia a Kamares, *i.e.* Middle Minoan, *pithos* containing a human skeleton and a cup was found buried in the sand. Fragments of other *pithoi* appeared on the surface, and the site appears to be a Middle Minoan cemetery, resembling Mr. Seager's Gournia cemetery described above.

The problem of the date of Lato, the modern Goulás, has again been attacked by M. Adolph Reinach. Since Dr. Evans' paper and M. Demargne's excavation some ten years ago the site had been left aside,<sup>18</sup> until M. Reinach worked there for three weeks last summer. He cleared a temple in the Agora, of which the dedication is unknown, although, from the votive offerings discovered, it probably belonged to a mother goddess. Other parts of the town were also excavated, but all the remains he considers to be of the classical period. The only Minoan objects found were a red striped bull's head and a small stone vase. Although this would seem to point to some Minoan settlement on the site, M. Reinach thinks that they must have been brought there after the pillage, or possibly an ancient digging, of some neighbouring site such as Gournia. Nothing Roman or Byzantine was found, from which M. Reinach concludes that Lato was destroyed at the time of the Roman conquest of Crete and never rebuilt.<sup>19</sup>

To the many archaeologists who have kindly sent me the numerous notes upon which this report is based, and especially to Dr. Karo, I take this opportunity of offering my best thanks.

R. M. DAWKINS.

<sup>15</sup> These notes I owe to the kindness of Dr. Luigi Pernier.

<sup>16</sup> *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 362.

<sup>17</sup> *B.S.A.* vii. p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Evans' paper with plans by Professor Myres is in *B.S.A.* ii. p. 169.

<sup>19</sup> These notes I owe to the kindness of M. Reinach.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Genethliakon.** CARL ROBERT zum 8. März, 1910, überreicht von der Graeca Halensis. Berlin : Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910. Pp. 246. 6 m.

This is a series of studies on different subjects dedicated by friends and former pupils to Carl Robert on his attaining his sixtieth birthday. The first two, by Benedictus Niese and Georg Wissowa respectively, deal with 'three chapters in the history of Elis' and 'Naevius and the Metelli.' Both these historical inquiries are characterised by the employment of similar methods of criticism. Certain events, said to have taken place at a particular period, are held never to have taken place at that time, but to have been carried back from the history of a later day. Thus Niese believes that the stories of the repeated quarrels between Elis and Pisa have no historical foundation, except in the single instance of the years 365-4 B.C., when the Pisatae for a brief period formed a separate community, and in conjunction with the Arcadians carried out the Olympic games. Wissowa in 'Naevius and the Metelli' endeavours to show that the story of the poet's quarrel with that house is a figment derived from a later period. The line *fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules* is, he thinks, quite pointless in relation to the Metelli of Naevius' day. It would apply forcibly, however, to the period of the Gracchi, in which the Metelli were singularly prominent as holders of high office. The traditional reply, *malum dabunt Metelli Naerio poetae*, Wissowa attributes to Caesius Bassus in Nero's time, when it was composed as a model of a Saturnian line. It may be suggested that the above method of historical criticism (very popular at the present time) may be carried a little too far. It is true that the historian is frequently tempted to add to the glory of his country in early times, but is it true that there is an equal tendency to fabricate history when no such motive can be assigned? The arguments of both Niese and Wissowa are ingenious, but hardly convincing. Bechtel subjects the names of persons as published by Fränkel in the fourth volume of *I.G.* to a searching criticism. A fair number of errors, certain or probable, are pointed out, but they are perhaps scarcely serious enough (consideration being had to the magnitude of the work) to justify the rather severe tone of criticism employed. Bechtel's proposed corrections are, however, likely to win approval for the most part. Otto Kern discusses the origin of the collection of hymns comprehended under the title 'Ὀρφῆως πρὸς Μουσάϊον· εὐτυχῶς χρῶνται'. These were apparently designed for the use of a body of mystae devoted to the service of Dionysos. The occurrence of the names of the goddess Hipta and of Dionysos Erikepaïos both in these hymns and in inscriptions recently discovered in Asia Minor leads Kern to look to Asia Minor rather than to Egypt for their origin. The connexion between the later Orphism and magical inscriptions is rightly pointed out by Kern. There is no doubt that the Gnostic and magical inscriptions on metal foil are a continuation of the Orphic inscriptions on similar material. Karl Praechter deals at some length with the tendencies and schools of Neoplatonism. His classification differs materially from that of Zeller, who divided the Neoplatonists into three schools according to their order of progress, viz. the school of Plotinus, the Syrian school of Iamblichus, and the school of Athens, whose foremost representative was Proclus.



Praechter maintains that the system was founded by Plotinus and Porphyrius: that Iamblichus then developed the doctrines in a speculative and mystic direction; the result being seen in two schools, the Syrian and the Athenian. A separate and distinctively religious tendency is manifested in the Pergamene school of Aidesios and Chrysanthios. Neoplatonism ends with the learned schools of Alexandria and the West, of which Hypatia and Macrobius were representative. Neoplatonism undoubtedly derives much of its interest from the fact that it forms a kind of connecting link between Ancient Philosophy and Christianity. Eduard Meyer chooses for his study Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and in particular the part dealing with the Five Races of Mankind. In general it may be remarked that his interpretations do not differ greatly from those of the late Dr. Adam in his *Religious Teachers of Greece*. The central idea of the poem is, according to Meyer, 'the dignity of labour': according to Adam 'Justice between man and man.' These views, it may be pointed out, are united in the Platonic conception of Justice as consisting in the doing by each man of the work nature intended him to do. These broodings over the relation of man to man (says Wissowa) lead the poet to take a wider view of the development of mankind in his description of the Five Ages. The gold and silver ages are a picture of decline in a race of ideal beings; the bronze and iron ages are a picture of a decline in morals accompanying an improvement in culture, a phenomenon noted by the poet from his own observation. The heroic age is interpolated between these two in order to suit the general belief in its existence; it is also a ray of hope piercing the gloom of Hesiod's pessimism. Professor Meyer, as Professor Mair in his recent translation of Hesiod, emphasises the almost Hebraic spirit of religion pervading the poem. Ulrich Wilcken devotes an extremely interesting article to a fresh study of a Greek papyrus found by Prof. Petrie at Hawara in 1889. This was at first regarded by Prof. Sayce as a fragment of a lost history of Sicily, perhaps that of Timaeus. Dr. Wilcken, however, in that same year expressed the opinion that the fragment really formed part of a descriptive guide to Athens and the Peiraeus. This conclusion is amply confirmed by the present very ingenious study. Dr. Wilcken successfully distinguishes portions describing the Peiraeus (including the mention of an otherwise unknown sundial), Munichia (with a mention of 'the famous shrine of Artemis'), and the circuit of the Peiraeus wall, which is here said to measure ninety odd stades, whereas the Themistoclean wall described by Thucydides measured but sixty. Hence the wall described must be the wall of Konon. The MS. goes on to describe the Long Walls and the Phaleric wall (mentioning the hill Sikelia) and breaks off just at the beginning of an account of 'the town of Theseus.' It is probable that this guide was written at the beginning of the third century B.C., though the papyrus is to be dated at about 100 A.D. The name of the author must remain uncertain, though it is conceivably the work of Diodorus the *περιηγητής*. The concluding study by Benno Erdmann on the philosophy of Spinoza falls outside the scope of this Journal.

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**Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et Le Livre des Cérémonies.** By JEAN EBERSOLT. Avec un Avant-Propos de M. CHARLES DIEHL et un Plan de M. ADOLPHE THIERS. In-octavo. Pp. xv+237. Paris: Leroux, 1910. (Table des Matières et Additions et Corrections not included in pagination.)

**Sainte Sophie de Constantinople: Étude de Topographie d'après les Cérémonies.** By JEAN EBERSOLT. Avec un Plan. In-octavo. Pp. iv+38 et Table des Matières. Paris: Leroux, 1910. 4 fr.

M. Ebersolt was charged by the Ministère de l'Instruction publique in 1907-8 with a mission to carry out studies on the topography of the monuments of Constantinople. The works under review together with an *Étude sur la Topographie et les Monuments de Constantinople*, Paris, 1909, are the result, while a further book on the churches of Constantinople is also promised. The peculiar interest of M. Ebersolt's reconstruction of

the palace lies in the fact that he has employed throughout the principle of chronological sequence, and has endeavoured to trace the gradual development by which the buildings of Constantine become the amazing complex of edifices which we find in the *De Ceremoniis* of the Porphyrogenetos; indeed as a commentary on the latter manual M. Ebersolt's work will be of the greatest value, and in his closing chapters he attempts to bring further precision into the analysis of the sources of the *De Ceremoniis* by noting the buildings mentioned in the respective chapters of that compilation, thus carrying a stage further the critical studies of Reiske, Diehl, Bjeljaev, and Bury. His essay on Saint Sophia is in the same way mainly concerned with a comparison of those passages of the *De Ceremoniis* which deal with the Court services celebrated in the Cathedral. Any adequate review of M. Ebersolt's reconstruction of the Imperial palace is impossible here, but the following points may be noted. (a) Labarte's contention—apparently rejected by Bury (cf. Gibbon, ed. Bury, ii. 546, and plan facing iv. p. 202)—that the Mese was terminated on the east by gates through which one passed into the Augusteum is supported by a reference to Nikolaos Mesarites, ed. A. Heisenberg, p. 21. (*Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*. Programm d. k. alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg, 1907.) M. Ebersolt considers that the dimensions of the Augusteum have been generally exaggerated. (b) M. Ebersolt's view that the *ὀκτακίονος θόλος* of *De Cer.* i. 1 was situated in the quarters of the Scholae seems very doubtful. The Emperor went from the *τρίκλιος* of the Candidati to the *ὀκτακίονος θόλος*, thence to the *τρίκλιος* of the Excubiti, advanced to the Lychni and then to the quarters of the Scholae. M. Ebersolt translates the *πάλιν... διέρχονται* of *De Cer.* i. 1, p. 11 by 'de là ils reviennent sur leurs pas' (p. 29 n.<sup>5</sup>): but why go right through the quarters of the Scholae (see plan) to return to the *τρίκλιος* of the Excubiti which adjoined that of the Candidati, from which the Emperor had started, only to proceed once more to the Scholae? This seems irrational. M. Ebersolt is led to this conclusion from the indisputable fact that the *ὀκτακίονος θόλος* is identified in this passage with the first *Schola*; but though in strictness the Scholae were distinguished from the Candidati (cf. *Cod. Inst.* xii. 33. 5. § 4: Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* s.v. *Candidatus*<sup>4</sup>), yet it would seem that the Candidati were themselves divided into two scholae—the seniores and juniores. [See *Pasch. Chron.* pp. 501–502 (Bonn) and cf. *De Cer.* i. 93 (519 A.D.) *ὁ μάγιστρος ἐδήλωσεν εἰς τὰς σχολὰς ὡς καὶ οἱ κανδιδάτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σχολάριοι ἀπαντήσωσιν...* and Mommsen, *Das röm. Militärwesen*, etc. *Hermes* xxiv. (1889) p. 222 n.<sup>2</sup>.] Thus it is surely more natural to conclude that the Emperor passes from the *τρίκλιος* of the Candidati to the *ὀκτακίονος θόλον ἔχουν εἰς τὴν πρώτην σχολήν*, i.e. to the quarters of the first of the two scholae into which the Candidati were divided. (c) Further the relative position assigned by M. Ebersolt to the quarters of the Candidati and Excubiti seems improbable (see his plan). The Emperor to reach the Augusteum regularly passed through the Consistorium to the Candidati, thence to the Excubiti, then by way of the Lychni and the Tribunal to the Scholae. On M. Ebersolt's plan this would be an incredibly devious route. It seems easier to suppose that the buildings of the Candidati and Excubiti stood one behind the other in a straight line with the Consistorium and the cortina of the scholae. (d) The order of the stations in the Empress' progress as stated on p. 64 n.<sup>1</sup> is, it would seem, faulty. On leaving the heliacon of the tribunal (*De Cer.* pp. 211–212) the Augusta passed *first* through the Gate of the Tribunal (the middle *πυλῶν* of p. 210), thence to the Portico of the Nineteen Accubiti, thence to the *δικιόνιον* (cf. *De Cer.* p. 62)—the *σχιστὸς βήλος* of p. 209—and thus to the Onopodion and the Passage of the Golden Hand. (e) To account for the absence of any mention of the quarters of the Protectores in the *De Ceremoniis*—we hear that their old quarters were destroyed in the fire of 532—M. Ebersolt suggests that Justinian substituted the excubiti for the protectores. This explanation is, I think, untenable. Corippus in the reign of Justin II. writes

protectorumque phalanges

Fulgebant rutilo pilis splendentibus auro.—*Laudes*, iv. 239

(cf. C. Jullian, *De Protectoribus et Domesticis Augustorum*, Paris, 1883, pp. 82 *sqq.*).

and in that part of the *De Ceremoniis* (I. cc. 1-37) which apparently (cf. Bjeljaev, *Byzantium II.*, and Bury, *The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetus*, *E.H.R.*, July, 1907, pp. 417 *sqq.*) represents the Ceremonial of the Court at the time of Constantine VII. the σκεύη τῶν προτεκτόρων are still mentioned. (f) Finally reference may be made to an interesting passage of Glycas, which has, I fancy, escaped M. Ebersolt as well as the biographers of Heraclius. In writing of that Emperor's 'so-called hydrophobia' Dr. Butler (*The Arab Conquest of Egypt*: Oxford, 1902, p. 165 n.<sup>1</sup>) says that this malady was really the fear of wide open spaces, not of water. But the version of Nicephorus (pp. 25-26 ed. De Boor) is confirmed by the later chronicler. His account (*Glycas*, p. 550, Bonn ed.) runs as follows:—πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα καινουργήσας ὁ Βασίλειος καὶ κίνστερναν ἀπεκάθηρέ τινα ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος ἀπέχασε κῆπον αὐτὴν ποιήσας λαχάνων. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰσαῖς ἐντος τοῦ παλατίου τῇ τε πρὸς τῆς Μανναίρας καὶ τῇ μεταξὺ Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαυσακοῦ. ὁ γὰρ Ἡράκλειος παρὰ Στεφάνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πολυπραγμονήσαντος μαθὼν, ὡς ἐξ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη τελευτᾶν τὰς τῶν κίνστερνῶν ὡς εἴρηται προσχώσεις ἐποίησεν. It is to be hoped that M. Ebersolt's work will inspire some student to undertake an adequate critical and historical commentary upon the whole of the *De Ceremoniis*.

N. H. B.

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**Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals.** By E. NORMAN GARDINER. Pp. xxvii + 533. With 190 illustrations. London: Macmillan. 10s. 6d.

Professionalism in competitive athletics is a problem that has never been solved, and to-day it is all the more serious because the true nature of the evil is obscured by the question of money payments. So little is the real trouble understood that a recent writer in *The Times* is found wishing that certain amateurs could for a season devote their whole time to cricket 'so that two grand sides might fight for victory in the matches between Gentlemen and Players.' His desired result could be obtained more simply by choosing two sides of Players, for the essential difference would be lost. The evil lies in the devotion of a man's whole time to a sport, whereby he grows unduly skilful, so that gradually active participation in it becomes confined to him, and those who like him either are born wealthy or are made independent by the rewards which they receive for their efforts. The Greeks apparently did not recognise the modern pecuniary distinction, but the rewards that were showered on the Pan-Hellenic victor by his native state soon caused the real difference between the ἀθλητής and the ιδιώτης to be recognised, and so sapped the vitality of the various sports that in the course of the fifth century the Greeks ceased to be a nation of athletes. In the first part of his book Mr. Gardiner traces very clearly, and depressingly, the almost inevitable causes which led first to this general abandonment of athletics, and next to the debasement of the actual sports owing to the popularity in the spectators' eyes of the more brutal competitions such as boxing and the pankration. Not that in the early days boxing was unduly brutal, but, owing partly to the substitution, sanctioned if not demanded by public opinion, of the dangerous ἱμάντες δξείς for the earlier μελίχαι, and partly to the absence of any weight limitations, it became progressively more murderous and less scientific. One very interesting point is brought out, namely the neglect by the Greeks of all body-hitting. This, whether enjoined by rules or by tradition, combined with the use of the heavy, dangerous gloves which protected most of the forearm, led to the adoption of a slow, defensive style that was all in favour of the heavy-weight, and against the true interests of boxing as a science. Mr. Gardiner's descriptions are very clear, and it would be hard to find a better justification for the study of archaeology than the chapters which he has devoted to the different sports, for the author makes the most of the first-hand evidence left us on the monuments; and to the interpretation of these (the greater part of which consists of vase-paintings) he brings a keen observation, common-sense, and a good knowledge of modern athletics, with the result that he

succeeds in an uncommon way in making the past alive. To illustrate a sixth-century vase-painting by a reference to the grip by which Hackenschmidt threw Madrali does more to set the Greek games in an atmosphere of actuality than any revival of the Olympic Festival whether at Athens or at Shepherd's Bush. Mr. Gardiner emphasises the part played by the Pan-Hellenic festivals, and especially that at Olympia, in keeping alive the idea of the unity of Greece, but the recent revivals may perhaps lead to a doubt whether, in view of the keen rivalry between state and state at these festivals, he does not credit them with too large an influence for amity between the parts of the whole. The book closes with an interesting chapter on the gymnasium and Palaestra, embodying the latest results of excavation, and is completed by two indices and a full bibliography. The illustrations include one of the latest additions to the list of Panathenaic Amphorae, that found at Sparta, representing a four-horse chariot passing the winning post. Considering the fore-shortened front-view adopted by the artist, a position which does not appear on the coins till well on in the fifth century, it would be interesting to know on what grounds the excavators place this vase in the sixth century. Altogether this is a valuable and very readable addition to the series of Hand-books of Archaeology.

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**Les Finances des Cités Grecques.** Par HENRI FRANCOTTE. Pp. 315. Liège : Vaillant-Carmanne, and Paris : Champion, 1909. 7 fr.

This work comprises ten essays, some of which have been previously published but are here presented in a revised form. They are grouped in two books, entitled respectively 'Les Impôts' and 'L'Administration.' The former consists of seven *mémoires*, dealing with indirect taxes, the *εἰσφορά* at Athens, land-taxes in other Greek states, accessory taxes at Delos, Cos, Cyzicus, Teos, and Priene, *φέρος* and *σύνταξις*, the tribute of the Athenian allies, and the 10% and 5% taxes in the Delian League. The latter contains chapters on the finances of the Delphian sanctuary in the 4th century B.C. and on immunity from taxation granted by Greek states to citizens or foreigners, together with a long essay on 'The Financial Administration of the Greek states,' the greater part of which is devoted to an examination of Athenian finance from the middle of the fifth down to the third century B.C.

It was with high expectations that we took up the volume. Its subject is one of great importance, and Professor Francotte is well known as a student and exponent of Greek life and institutions, his *L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne* and *La Polis grecque* being widely read and often cited. And yet we must confess that after reading the book our chief feeling is one of disappointment. True, there are in it many interesting passages, many neat and lucid summaries, many illuminating remarks, many useful collections of epigraphical evidence. Yet the work does not bear the stamp of a master and its inaccuracy in matters of detail is such as to awaken grave suspicion of its correctness in important questions. This is not the place for a list of *errata* omitted in the author's *Addenda et Corrigenda*: wrong accents, false references and errors in spelling abound, in spite of the writer's assurance that he 'has made every effort to be exact and complete.' We should expect that the essay on the tribute of the Athenian allies, a subject so often and so hotly discussed, would be written with especial care; yet the reverse seems to be the case. On p. 113, for instance, the phrase *τὰς δὲ πόλεις* [ἐγ]λ[ο]γίας ἐγλεγέσθαι is quoted from a well-known decree, and in a footnote we are referred to Busolt G.G. p. 273 note 3. Did 'every effort' not lead the writer to notice that the passage in Busolt is G.G. III. 1. p. 213 note 3, and that for ἐγλεγέσθαι, a *vox nihili*, ἐλίσθαι should be written? Again, on pp. 102, 103, the rubric *πόλεις αἱ* (*sic*) αὐταὶ φόρον ἔταξαν is four times quoted as from the Attic tribute quota-lists, though in every case *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταχσάμεναι* occurs in the original texts. A long footnote such as that on pp. 103-5 is of no use unless it is exact, and yet it also requires a thorough revision. In dealing with the famous reassessment of tribute in 425 B.C. Professor

Francotte seems to us to have been peculiarly unfortunate. On p. 115 he refers to Wilhelm's identification of the last line of *I.G.* i. 37, containing the sum total of the assessment, but the reference is wrong owing to the omission of the word *Beiblatt* in note 3, and he assumes that the sum assessed was 1,000 T., though it may not have been more than 960, and that it was all really paid (p. 14); yet we know that in the previous period the amount received fell far short of that assessed. Further, on p. 183 the Athenians are said to have raised the *phoros* to 1,200 T., of which 1,000 were actually paid. Again, the writer makes the very improbable assumption that the same sum was still being paid in 413, when the Athenians replaced the tribute by a 5% tax on sea-borne goods (p. 14).

It is unnecessary, and it would perhaps be unfair to the book, to multiply examples of error and inconsistency or to insist upon the inadequate treatment of certain topics and the insufficiency of the indexes. The work is not without considerable value, but it requires further drastic revision before it can unreservedly be recommended to students of Greek finance.

**Die Ueberlieferung der Gynaekologie des Soranos von Ephesus.** Von JOHANNES ILBERG. Des XXVIII. Bandes d. Abhandl. der philolog-hist. Klasse d. K. Saechs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910. Royal 8vo. Pp. 118. 5 m.

In the history of Medicine there have been three great periods: that of modern times, in the past the Hippocratic period, and soon after it, though divided from it, the splendid outburst of scientific enquiry in Alexandria. Of this period, however, we possess no direct literary remains, and are dependent upon such fragments of the tradition as chance may have preserved for us, as fossils in other strata. Those great physicians and anatomists Erasistratus and Herophilus of Alexandria founded schools of somewhat different tendencies; of the following of Herophilus was Demetrius of Apamea (circ. 250 B.C.); and his works survived at any rate until the time of Soranus, who was practising with much honour in Rome at the beginning of the second century A.D.—about a generation before Galen—and were known to Soranus. This physician was of the sect of the Methodists, but far too great a man to be enthralled in any sect. Galen, who angrily repudiated Methodism, yet spoke of Soranus with unwonted respect. It is by way of Celsus and Soranus, and others linked to the Alexandrian tradition, that we try to build up some conception of Alexandrian achievement in Medicine; and for this reason—as well as in these two masters for their own extraordinary merits—that no study of the sources can be too careful.

We have to endeavour, then to ascertain, as far as may be, what remains to us of the tradition of Soranus. On general medicine some substantial portion is embedded in the *Acute and Chronic Diseases* of Caelius Aurelianus; but it is with another department we are now concerned. Soranus had in his own time, and throughout the Middle Ages, a great and continuous renown for his skill in Obstetrics and Gynaecology; and to this side of his work it is that the present treatise of Professor Ilberg is directed. The treatise is a part of the great and scholarly work undertaken upon medical classics by the school of Diels.

In the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is a fifteenth century manuscript of a handbook or *Articella* written by an anonymous compiler of unknown date, first published by Dietz in 1882. By Dietz this collection was attributed as a whole to Soranus. In a later edition, however, Ermerins pointed out that this comprehensive attribution was erroneous, though he distinguished a portion of it which was derived from that master. The same study Ilberg has repeated with great industry and acumen; and in the treatise before us he sets at rest perhaps as much of the matter of this tradition as—with our present resources at any rate—will ever be verified.

Ilberg has recollated the *Parisinus*, and traced as far as possible its history; and in

confirmation he has compared the portion which may justly be assigned to Soranus with Oribasius and other sources—especially with two of them, with the XVIth (or Gynaecological) Book of Aetius—a physician of the sixth century, and with a certain midwife's handbook, in vogue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, known under the name of the "Gynaecia Muscionis." This handbook was current in Latin; but there was also a Greek rendering under the name of Moschion. Now Valentine Rose shewed that the Greek edition was not the earlier but a later form of it; and Ilberg confirms this opinion. 'Moschion' therefore is worthless for literary tradition, and we are to rely upon the Latin original, of which the best MS. is at Brussels and dates apparently from the IX-Xth century. It is then on the reconstruction of 'Muscio' that one chief source of Soranus depends; for it would seem that this author had before him, besides the work of Aetius, two of the genuine works of the masters. How interestingly and thoroughly in this treatise these and other evidences are worked out we have not space here to illustrate; we must be content cordially to recommend its perusal not to medical readers only, but also to scholars in general. The book is handsomely printed, and contains photographs of two of the sheets of the Parisinus MS. and of certain anatomical figures of the pregnant uterus, derived not improbably from the hand of Soranus himself.

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

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**Les Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Égée : études de protohistoire orientale.** By RENÉ DUSSAUD. Pp. 314. 207 figs., 2 pll. Paris: Geuthner, 1910. 12 f.

M. Dussaud has already contributed some careful papers to the discussion of prehistoric Greek antiquities, and his present volume sums these up, at the same time providing us with a very acceptable general description of early Aegean civilization. The book is not quite up to date, since we find no reference to the important discoveries of Prof. Doerpfeld in the Late Minoan I. *tholoi* at Kakovatos (old Pylos). Nor do we find any mention of the explorations of Mr. Wace and his companions in Thessaly and Phokis, which have revolutionized our ideas of the development of civilization in Northern Greece, and must necessarily have affected M. Dussaud's conclusions very materially. We do not even find any description of the previous discoveries of Prof. Tsountas at Dimini and Sesklo, or of M. Sotiriadis at Chaironeia and Drachmani. These are curious omissions, when we find M. Dussaud so well posted as to the progress of work in Crete as not only to republish and comment on the Phaistos Disk, but also to describe Mr. Seager's discoveries at Mochlos and even publish an illustration of the fine ring, with a goddess (?) standing in a boat, found there, which has not yet been published by the discoverer himself! Such anticipatory publications (when effected without the leave of the discoverer) are strongly to be deprecated.

There is not much that is particularly original in M. Dussaud's work. He follows the lines already proposed by others with little variation from type, even when he mildly criticizes Mr. Evans. On one occasion at least (in speaking of the origin of the spiral decoration) he accepts an old view of Mr. Evans's which we believe has long been abandoned by its author, the view that the spiral was of Egyptian origin. This idea is now known to be erroneous: it was Egypt which borrowed the spiral from the Aegean. The best chapter is probably that on Cyprus, where we find some new ideas. M. Dussaud goes with Mr. Hogarth (though he does not quote *Ionia and the East*) and most modern opinion in depreciating the Phoenicians: he traces the Nimrud ivories to Cyprus, in some agreement with an old suggestion of Ohnefalsch-Richter's that deserves examination. In dealing with the Phoenicians in the Aegean M. Dussaud is perhaps too modern in denying their presence altogether, but we are disappointed in not finding (what we had hoped for) a trenchant criticism of the fantasies of M. Victor Bérard. The last chapter, 'Les Peuples Égéens,' which ought to sum up what precedes and give us an original view of the whole subject, is disappointing. It

is thin and scrappy; it is too cautious in treatment, and does not make one think. On the all-important subject of race and language the author has nothing new to say. He is often good when discussing separate points, such as the Minoan ships, the origin of the alphabet, and so forth; but gives no striking general impression. The book will be most useful to French readers, for whom it provides an (in spite of defects) authoritative description of the whole subject of Aegean antiquities, whereas the less authoritative work of Père Lagrange dealt with Crete alone.

**The Land of the Hittites: an Account of Recent Explorations and Discoveries in Asia Minor.** By JOHN GARSTANG, with Introduction by A. H. SAYCE. Pp. xxiv+415. London: Constable, 1910. 88 Illustrations. 12s. 6d. net.

Prof. Garstang has lately varied his excavations in Egypt with exploration in Asia, and has discovered the interesting Hittite site of Sakjegovü (he spells it 'Sakje-Geuzi') in Northern Syria. A summary archaeological description of Sakjegözü has appeared in the *Annals* of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology. The site is important as the first in that part of the world to be carefully excavated down to the neolithic strata. The neighbouring Sinjirli was by no means so carefully dug, it would appear, and Carchemish, the important Hittite site on the Euphrates, has merely been tapped, and the results 'published' in the 'Graphic!' However, that was thirty years ago: we do things differently nowadays.

Prof. Garstang's book is written round Sakjegözü, and the notes which he took on a visit to Boghaz Köi, the great Hittite centre (Pteria) east of the Halys, which has lately been excavated by Dr Winckler and Macridy Bey. These excavations have resulted in the discovery of inscribed tablets of the highest historical value, which have told us much of the history of the Hittite state for two centuries, for they are written in Babylonian cuneiform, which we can read. But the equally important pottery seems, perhaps, to have been somewhat neglected by the explorers, and Prof. Garstang does not appear to have collected much information as to the strata in which it was found. Dr. Winckler is a literary Assyriological scholar, not primarily an archaeologist, and it is a pity that he did not have an archaeologist trained in the school of Prof. Doerpfeld associated with him in this work.

Prof. Garstang gives a summary of the new knowledge of Hittite history which Dr. Winckler's discoveries of tablets have revealed, but the main body of the book is taken up by a geographical chapter and a long description of the Hittite monuments, the first of which we cannot help thinking unnecessary. One is beginning to doubt the value of these elaborate geographical details, which in some books take up so much room that one never seems to be getting to the history at all. After all, a good map should be sufficient equipment for any intelligent person to draw his own conclusions as to the lie of land and the way rivers run, without long pages of description. But the chapters on Boghaz Köi, Sinjirli, and Sakjegözü, as well as the 'Story of the Hittites,' will be read with much interest and attention. We hope that Prof. Garstang will be able in future years still further to extend the strict archaeological methods which he has learnt in Egypt to the excavation of sites in Asia Minor and Northern Syria, where there is so much virgin soil to be explored, and where there is room for all to work side by side.

The introduction is fitly written by Prof. Sayce, since the original diagnosis of the Hittite monuments as such was made by Sayce and Wright. Prof. Sayce is now busy with the task of interpreting the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, in which we wish him success. Prof. Garstang tentatively adopts some of his interpretations, a course which the historians are at present too cautious to follow.

The photographs in the book are good, but often hardly appropriate.

**La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Hérodote en Égypte.** By C. SOURDILLE. 259 pp. Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1910.

**Hérodote et la Religion de l'Égypte.** By the same. 419 pp. Same publisher and date.

M. Sourdille has set himself to work over a very well-worked field. He has done his task with the most painful minuteness ; but it is not surprising that his harvest of novelties is small. His two books bear the same date, and as each is referred to frequently in the other they must be taken to be coeval. The one which we put first, is an elaborate re-statement of the theory that Herodotus spent only three or four months in Egypt, arriving during the height of the inundation in August and leaving in early December. M. Sourdille examines the historian's itinerary and, implicitly controverting Sayce, credits Herodotus with the full tour of upper Egypt as far as Elephantine, and with two tours in the Delta. Even though he seeks to show that few halts were called on the way, he makes the tourist cover an astonishing amount of ground in the time, seeing that his only means of transit was the sailing boat. Who will undertake to do the same itinerary in the same vehicle now ? This initial difficulty does not seem to have troubled M. Sourdille. But it is an almost insuperable difficulty, even if we could believe that Herodotus travelled post, or without longer halts than a modern Cook's tourist makes.

In the second book the same author examines side by side, and in great detail, the Herodotean statements on Egyptian religious matters and the statements of modern Egyptologists, but apparently he has not qualified himself to check the latter by first-hand knowledge of the Egyptian scripts and language. He opens with a mysterious hint that there may have been an esoteric religion in the Nile Valley which had much in common with Orphic and Pythagorean doctrine and practice, and ultimately passed into the West under the Roman Empire : but that this religion is not that which Egyptian official monuments have revealed to us. He interprets the famous reticence of Herodotus as referring to this Esoterism, and after detailed study of the rival statements derived from the Greek historian and from Egyptologists sums up against Herodotus so far as his account of official Egyptian religion goes. But in his conclusion M. Sourdille again hints that Herodotus may have been partly confused by knowledge of the Esoteric religion, which appealed to his Hellenism, partly more correct than we think about things still unknown to us.

The two books are both suggestive handlings of a historian whose text has been studied profoundly by their author. But they lack the value which they would have had if the latter had been a first-hand Egyptologist. Neither book contains evidence that its author is himself a competent archaeologist whether on the Egyptian or Greek side ; yet the matter of which he treats can hardly be elucidated further at this time of day by purely literary study. Both books betray, at times, an imperfect acquaintance with the more recent results of research in Egypt.

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**Die Ilias und ihre Quellen.** Von DIETRICH MÜLDER. Pp. xx+368. Berlin : Weidmann, 1910. 10 m.

This is one of the most amusing and vigorous books that have appeared for many years on the Homeric Question. Dr. Mulder has not perhaps sufficiently studied the normal processes of growth in Traditional Books and sometimes speaks too much as if ancient books were printed off in large editions of a thousand identical and unalterable copies. But he has studied his problem from a fresh and very valuable point of view and has advanced our understanding of a number of the main issues of the question. It is also a sign of good omen that, while he calls himself a unitarian, a large part of his book is such as the more advanced critics may be able to accept without difficulty.



He starts from the position that the *Iliad* is a unity, conceived on a uniform plan; the numerous contradictions, anachronisms, and general 'Anstösse' are to be explained from the peculiar character of the task the poet set before him, namely, the working up of masses of older poetry into a unity. The *Iliad* comes at the end, not at the beginning, of a great period of epic creation; its sources are the epics, elegies, and lyrics of this period, which, however, were only to a slight extent concerned with Troy. A great part of the poet's work, therefore, lay in adapting to his Trojan War poetry that originally belonged to other contexts.

Dr. Mulder's analysis of the style and professional artifices of the poet is exceedingly clever, though his wish not to fall into stupid Homerolatry sometimes leads him into the opposite error. He discovers one chief 'source' in the Thebais; as it is several times quoted in the *Iliad*, this is at least a *vera causa*. Hence comes the idea of a great city beleaguered by Argeioi (and Danaoi?); hence also Diomedes, who is a reflex of Tydeus, as Neoptolemus is of Achilles. Another clear source is a Herakleia, naturally of a rather comic character. Hence come the *Διὸς Ἀπάρη* and the assumption as a matter of course of enmity between Zeus and Hera. Another source was of course an Achilleis; hence come the Achaiioi and a war in the Troad and thereabouts, though not a siege of Iliou. The death of Patroclus may be taken from a death of Achilles in an attack on Dardania. Curiously enough it is in the treatment of the Achilleis as a source that Dr. Mulder becomes least convincing.

The poet of the *Iliad* lived about 625 B.C., and was an Ionian. Pisistratus in the *Odyssey* is a reference to the Athenian tyrant; the earlier poem is inspired by a Pan-hellenic idea and opposition to the Persian Empire.

Apart from details, the objection in principle to this conception is that it oversimplifies the whole process. For instance, if Dr. Mulder's account of the indiscriminate use of 'Argeioi' and 'Achaiioi' for all the Greek army is true—as it very likely is—it needed more than the work of one man or one generation to make such use natural. And again, though the hypothesis of a highly gifted and eccentric poet about 625 B.C. will account for the mixed use of material from various dates up to that time, it will not account for changes later than that time, *e.g.* the fluid state of the text as late as the fourth century. But nevertheless Dr. Mulder has written a brilliant and useful book.

**Homer and the Iliad.** By F. M. STAWELL. Pp. 328. London: Dent, 1909.

The object of this work is two-fold. It seeks, first, to prove that the original basis upon which the *Iliad* was built represents a considerably larger portion of it than is allowed by the holders of the theory that the true Homer is the poet who described the *Wrath of Achilles*, and that everything extraneous to that topic must be assigned to a later date. In particular the author claims the inclusion of Books xxiii. and xxiv. in the original poem. Her second object is to shew that the author of the *Odyssey*—which she maintains, against Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz, to be a single work—is the same as the author of the original *Iliad*. It by no means follows that, if her views about the *Odyssey* are to be rejected, a different criticism may not be passed on her views about the *Iliad*. And it will probably be found by many that when she discusses the *Odyssey* she is far less convincing, though her æsthetic criticism is equally full of interest.

Her arguments are mainly of two kinds. By the first it is sought to shew that large portions usually ascribed to a later date are in reality necessary factors in the artistic value of the poem. In dealing with this subject the author, who in her treatment owes something to Professor Murray, displays considerable power as a sympathetic critic. She points out that scholars have often suffered from excessive familiarity with the *Iliad*, and so have forgotten that parts of acknowledged authenticity would often lose much of their beauty, and even of their *raison d'être*, unless read in connexion with others usually excluded. The rout, in xi. 670-761, of prominent heroes, whose prominence is only known to us from iii.-vi., is an example.

The book displays admirable insight into the characters of the Epic persons, particularly of Achilles. Some charming touches in the treatment of Homer's women remind us of the writer's sex.

In a work of this character which stands or falls by the verdict which we must pass on a mass of accumulated evidence there is little advantage in criticizing the arguments piecemeal. It must be observed that many of them are such that they can be used for or against the author. For instance a slight difficulty, if it is a difficulty at all (*αὐτὸν δὲ ἀμφὶ γέροντες* etc.) is found on page 25 to justify a considerable excision; while a much greater one is thought to be very logical in page 38. It may be that here the theory inspires the interpretation instead of the interpretation the theory.

The writer has occasionally failed to recognize that a Homeric Epic does not require such a sustained continuity as for instance a drama, and also that the requirements of the audience in the two cases are different. The latter is heard in its entirety, the former only in portions. The application therefore of A. C. Bradley's remarks on Shakespearean methods on page 49 is misleading.

The second set of arguments is mainly linguistic and grammatical. To some this part of the work will perhaps be the most important. To others the fact that the poems were sung by bards at different periods from memory and to different audiences will dispose of much of the apparent cogency of arguments based on differences and resemblances of grammar and phraseology. At least, whatever value we may attach to the appendices to these books, they certainly contain work which is both original and instructive. Some of the reasoning, however, is dubious: *e.g.* the argument (page 94) that because *ἀμφὶ* survives with a certain usage only in poetical style and in Herodotus, 'its frequency in the *Odyssey* would *pro tanto* cut against the theory of a late date for that poem'; and the suggestion (page 309) that *εἰ* with the optative may *eo facto* express *wish* even though followed by an ordinary apodosis.

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**The Comedies of Aristophanes.** Edited, Translated, and Explained by B. B. ROGERS. Vol. I. 1. *The Acharnians*; 2. *The Knights*. 1. pp. lx+237; 2. pp. l+247. London: G. Bell & Sons. Each part, 10s. 6d.

Dr. Rogers' merits as a translator are already well known. To our mind, his versions are much happier in the rhymed parts than in the blank verse. Blank verse is a bad substitute for the comic trimeter: prose or rhymed couplets are much better. A blank verse, easy to write and formless when written, misses τὸ *στρογγύλον* of Aristophanes' style; further, the single word, so pregnant in Aristophanes, ceases to be effective; for instance the fancy Scotch words used in the speeches of the Megarian and the Boeotian would very likely make us laugh if the speeches were rhymed; as it is they are simply inane. Dr. Rogers' blank verse wearies us; his rhymed anapaests, on the other hand, have a pleasing swing, and the words tell; and some of his choric songs are excellent.

The notes and introductions are admirable, full of humour, personality, and sound sense. Dr. Rogers' note on *Ach.* 1156 gives clearness and consistence to a passage which has hitherto been misunderstood. His explanation of the difficult puppy-dog incident in 541 is satisfactory, and so of the address to Diallage in 993 ff., where he rightly rejects the efforts of earlier commentators to import an unsightly meaning into a passage which is as free from indecency as the similar address in fr. *Georgoi* 109. Though he clings to the Vitruvian stage, his notes on *ἀνάβασις* in *Ach.* 732 and *Kts.* 149 show that such passages cannot be used as evidence for its existence in the time of Aristophanes. The most interesting textual alterations are in *Ach.* 127, where Dr. Rogers reverts to the old *στρατεύομαι*, which improves the sense, and *Kts.* 375, where, by the transference of a comma, he makes the image clear. In the introductions attention may be called to the discussion of Kleon's character (*Kts.* pp. v ff.) and of the reminiscences of Aristophanes in Thucydides (*Ach.* pp. xxxi-xxxii).

Elmsley's edition of the *Archamians* gives Dr. Rogers the pretext for an appendix in which he defends that scholar from the charge of plagiarism referred to by Porson's biographer and unhappily repeated by Dr. Sandys in his *History of Classical Scholarship*. Dr. Mayor has already protested in a pamphlet which deserves wider circulation.

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**Greek Saints and their Festivals.** By MARY HAMILTON. 8vo. Pp. viii+211. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1910. 5s. net.

'Mary Hamilton' (Mrs. G. A. Dickins) has lived long enough in Greece to be familiar with the language and people: consequently a large portion (and we may add the most important and interesting portion) of the book under review is derived from first-hand observation. The question of survivals from classical times is of secondary interest, since most of the problems suggested by this line of thought elude proof and are too apt to provoke the wildest kind of guess-work: a comparatively sane example is given on pp. 70 ff. and rightly dismissed as 'not proven.' Anything like certainty is rendered impossible in most cases, as our author remarks, by the dearth of secular writers during the transitional period.

The first half of the book deals with the saints, their functions, and nomenclature, and includes special studies of S. John of the Column and the Panagia of Tenos, the latter a picturesque narrative of personal experience, if a trifle out of keeping with the rest of the book. In regard to the saints of the Eastern Church we are struck by the lack of 'departmentalism' in the Orthodox (as opposed to the local) view of them. Extremely few saints are regarded all over the Orthodox area as having a definite sphere of action, such, *e.g.*, as S. Nicolas enjoys in the sea-faring world, though many are specialists locally. The chief reason is probably to be found in the decentralization of the orthodox area, S. Nicolas being naturally an exception to the rule as the patron of the one class unaffected. The superiority of S. Nicolas to his whilom rival S. Phocas (p. 30) may be due to local causes: S. Phocas was a Black Sea saint, while the church of S. Nicolas stood on a notoriously dangerous piece of coast passed regularly by every pilgrim-ship whether from Constantinople or the West. An important point which would repay further study is touched on at p. 23, where the position of the Carmel monastery is given as one reason for the dedication of mountain-tops to S. Elias. It would probably be found that the local and other conditions of the best-known church of a given saint (especially if this church were in the Holy Land) often affected subsequent dedications in similar places. Cape S. Angelo (Malea) is a case in point: there is not (and probably never has been) a church of S. Michael there, but western pilgrims always asserted that there was, perhaps because his shrine on Monte Gargano was revered by Venetian sea-farers, and consequently capes were considered appropriate to him.

The second half of the book deals with festivals and superstitions, and depends more on printed sources ancient and modern. The material is well arranged, and doubtful 'survivals' are treated with commendable caution. The book as a whole should be welcomed by English students of folk-lore: no other work covers the same ground, and many of the printed sources are modern Greek publications not easily found in English libraries.

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**Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion, a Study in Survivals.** By JOHN CUTHBERT LAWSON, M.A. Pp. xii+620. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1910. 12s.

In this book Mr. Lawson has studied modern Greek folklore and superstitions for the light which they throw upon ancient Greek religion. The material he has partly gathered himself during a residence of two years in Greece, and partly taken from

published sources, chiefly the books of Bernhard Schmidt and Professor Polites. On these lines he treats of the survival of ancient, Hellenic and pagan traditions, traces the reminiscences of Zeus, Poseidon, and other gods and supernatural beings now to be found amongst the Greek peasantry, and deals with such topics as the communion of gods and men, the relation of soul and body, and their condition after death. The value of these researches for the study of ancient Greek religion is undoubted, but the evidence given for the direct descent from the ancient world of certain modern beliefs is less cogent. In particular the present writer finds the relation of the modern Callicantzaroi to the Centaurs and the survival of Demeter under the name *ἡ Δέσποινα* or *ἡ Κυρά τοῦ κόσμου* not convincing. The value of the modern for the study of the ancient seems to be due to its being part of a general survival of a great mass of paganism, not all of it necessarily Greek, rather than to any transmission of the *corpus* of ancient Greek popular religion as such.

After all deductions have been made, the book, however, remains very valuable and suggestive. Where there is so much that is excellent it is difficult to select, but the pages on divination and the benefit to the dead man of the dissolution of the body shew how fruitful Mr. Lawson's method can be. Also the mass of material, which has been recorded since the Greeks have begun to take an interest in themselves, and not only in their ancestors, is very great and much scattered in books and periodicals not very easily to be found outside Greece, and it was a good service to collect and arrange it. Mr. Lawson's sympathetic insight into the Greek character also is both deep and kindly, and he has written with a good deal of poetical feeling, which, however, is never allowed to interfere with the clearness of the argument.

**Le procès de Phidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore d'après un papyrus inédit de la collection de Genève, déchiffré et commenté par JULES NICOLE.**  
Pp. 50. 1 fac simile. Geneva: Kündig, 1910.

The mutilated fragments of two columns of a papyrus which are here published do not at first sight look very promising; but they fortunately contain names and other indications which, pieced together with the utmost ingenuity by M. Nicole, have enabled him not only to identify the fragments, but to gather at least the substance of the events which they record. They evidently belong to a life of Pheidias, whose name occurs three times, once at least perfectly clearly in the fac-simile. Their main interest is in the light they throw on the accusation and trial of Pheidias. It appears that he was accused of stealing the ivory, not the gold, as stated by Plutarch; that he was released upon heavy bail (40 talents) paid by the Eleans, who wanted him to carry out their commission of the Olympian Zeus; and that on his condemnation about four years later the Eleans gave him privileges of citizenship as a compensation—a proceeding quite in accordance with the honours they conferred later on his descendants; and there is a record, immediately after this, of the dedication of the Olympian Zeus. Some of the details in this record may be uncertain or conjectural; but there seems to be no doubt that M. Nicole's reconstruction must be right in the main, and that it settles finally the relative dates of the Athena Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus. At the beginning of the fragments is a reference to the owl by Pheidias, dedicated on the Acropolis: this appears to belong to the date of the Samian troubles in 440-439 B.C.

**Exploration Archéologique de Délos**, faite par l'école française d'Athènes, publiée sous la direction de THÉOPHILE HOMOLLE et MAURICE HOLLEAUX. Fascicule I. : Introduction ; Carte de l'île de Délos au 1 10,000 avec un commentaire explicatif, par ANDRE BELLOT. Pp. 44. Tableaux I-IX and Map. Fascicule II. : la Salle Hypostyle, par GABRIEL LEROUX, avec la collaboration de HENRY COUVERT et ALBERT GABRIEL. Pp. 76. Planches I-IX. 108 Figs. in text. Paris : Fontemoing, 1909.

These are the first two instalments of the long expected official publication of the excavations at Delos, and as such they will be welcomed by all archaeologists. It is to be hoped that the publication will now continue regularly and rapidly ; for there is a vast amount of either unpublished or only partially published material of the highest interest that has resulted from the French excavations.

As regards the first number, including the map, it is somewhat difficult to understand why either a new map or a new survey was necessary, after the much larger map, on a scale 1 2000, published in 1902 after the survey by M. Couvert in 1893-4. The reason for the new survey is stated to be that it was impossible, after an interval of fourteen years, to identify M. Couvert's marks ; and also that the new survey was intended to aim at a standard of geodesic accuracy much higher than that M. Couvert had set himself, and so to fit in with the scientific survey of Greece generally. The commentary and tables give in considerable detail all the readings and corrections employed in the survey ; they do not, except in their results, concern the subjects included in the *Hellenic Journal*.

The second fascicule is entirely concerned with the publication of the most recent results of the French excavation in the great columned hall discovered close to the French house in 1907 and 1908. This was about 55 metres by 33, and its roof was carried by five rows of nine columns each, arranged so as to leave an open space in the middle with a clerestory over it. Its plan has obvious analogies with the Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis and with the Thersilion at Megalopolis. The architectural details have been fully recovered, including the Ionic capitals, which were only roughed out and painted ; the date appears to be about 200 B.C. The records of this building, of the Roman and Byzantine remains that were found above it, and of the antiquities found upon its site, appear to be full and accurate, and promise well for a similar publication of the earlier discoveries.

**British Museum. The Sculptures of the Parthenon.** With an Introduction and Commentary by A. H. Smith, M.A. Pp. vii+70. 92 Plates in portfolio, and 133 Figures in the text. London : printed by order of the Trustees, 1910.

The project of an adequate publication of the Elgin marbles has long been contemplated by the authorities of the British Museum. The work was begun by Dr. A. S. Murray, and continued by Sir Cecil Smith, who planned the inclusion of all available fragments in Athens or elsewhere ; his successor, Mr. A. H. Smith, has now completed the publication. It is superfluous to say that the work is thorough and accurate ; the text and plates contain all the available evidence, whether in extant marbles, in casts, or in drawings, for the reconstruction of the sculptures of the Parthenon ; but no attempt is made to give complete references or to discuss all questions of controversy or interpretation. The only thing to be regretted is that the work was so far completed that it was impossible to include in it Mr. Smith's recent re-mounting of the figures of the West Pediment ; for they have gained immensely in life and vigour by the change to their proper positions ; possibly this omission may be remedied by some supplementary plates.

It is to be hoped that this fine publication of the Elgin marbles will be followed by other volumes and portfolios dealing with the unrivalled series of sculptures in the

British Museum. The Phigaleian sculptures, the Nereid Monument, the two Ephesian temples, the Mausoleum, not to speak of numerous smaller or more isolated sculptures, call for a publication in accordance with modern requirements; and other classes of antiquities also await their turn.

**Walter Headlam, his Letters and Poems.** With a Memoir by CECIL HEADLAM and a Bibliography by L. HAWARD. Pp. 163+171. 3 Plates. 8vo. London: Duckworth, 1910. 7s. 6d. net.

**The Plays of Aeschylus.** Translated from a revised text by WALTER HEADLAM, Litt.D. and C. E. S. HEADLAM, M.A. Pp. xvi+319. 1 Plate. 8vo. London: Bell, 1909.

Those who knew Walter Headlam best were of opinion that he was cut off on the very threshold of a truly great achievement in Greek scholarship, and after reading Mr. Cecil Headlam's memoir one feels convinced that in calling his death 'a loss to Greek letters not easily to be measured' he speaks no more than truth. Headlam had reached his forty-second year when he died, but he had so lofty an ideal of the qualifications necessary to the editor of a Greek classic (nothing less indeed than a first-hand acquaintance with the whole of Greek literature), and in taking Aeschylus for his life-study he had set himself so exacting a task that it is scarcely wonderful if the harvest of his labours ripened somewhat slowly. Only the firstfruits remain to us in the shape of an edition of the Agamemnon, announced as in the press; it will be looked forward to with extraordinary interest, for even the notes to the necessarily homely translation in Bohn's series give earnest of Headlam's excellence as his beloved poet's interpreter. For the rest, his English poems (of which some fifty are printed in the volume under notice) prove clearly that Greek was his true medium of expression. His translations of book vi of the Odyssey and Pindar's second Pythian are disappointing, and still more so the quotations from his letters, in view of his reputation as 'the complete letter-writer.' Mr. Cecil Headlam's painstaking memoir unfortunately quite fails to make its subject live, at least to one who never knew Walter Headlam personally.

**Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens.** VON MATTHIAS GELZER. [Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen, Heft XIII.] Pp. 107. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1909. 3 m. 60.

Papyrologists, like historians, have hitherto for the most part treated the Byzantine period with a neglect which its importance in the evolution of mediaeval civilization does not deserve, and it is matter for congratulation that more attention is now being paid to it. Students in this field have long felt the want of some book to do for the Byzantine period what Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka* did for the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The present volume is much more limited in its scope than Wilcken's monumental work: but within its own sphere it makes a very valuable addition to our knowledge and will materially lighten the task of those engaged in editing Byzantine texts. Of the three chapters into which the book is divided the first deals very carefully with the provinces into which, after Diocletian's re-organisation, Egypt was divided. The various steps in their development are well and clearly traced: indeed this chapter gives us for the first time a chronological conspectus of the sub-divisions of Egypt, and may prove of considerable value in dating texts. The second chapter describes the taxation system: the summary account of this on p. 61 is to be especially commended, though it may perhaps be suggested that 'die Verteilung der verschiedenen Steuern auf Stadt und pagi,' was rather carried out by the praeses than by the exactor civitatis; in Arab times at all

events the division was made by the central government, not by the local authorities, who would correspond to the exactor. The third chapter describes the general economic and political development (and decline) of Egypt under Byzantine government. Throughout the author makes ample use of the various authorities and writes clearly and critically. Among subsidiary subjects dealt with by him may be mentioned his discussion (p. 23 ff.) of the dates of Justinian's Edict XIII. and of the Cairo Aphrodito Papyrus I. in which he is almost certainly right as against Maspero. On p. 53 it may perhaps be suggested as an alternative explanation to that given of the plural *ἐξάκτορες* 'Ερμουπόλεως that there were separate exactores for the *Βορρινή* and for the *νοτινὴ μερίς* of Hermopolis; cf. Pap. Fior. 75, l. 5. The volume contains several misprints, and the index is quite inadequate.

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**Kultübertragungen.** Von ERNST SCHMIDT. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, vii. 2.] Pp. 124. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1910. 4 m. 40.

The result of the author's examination of the stories about the translation of the cults of Magna Mater, Aesculapius, and Sarapis, is to make it clear that there are very serious objections to accepting any of them, the various versions being irreconcilable or in themselves improbable. He concludes that they are legends concocted with a purpose: the Magna Mater story was invented with a political object, to give Rome a stronger footing in Asia; the Aesculapius story, to increase the dignity of the Sanctuary on the Tiber-island; the Sarapis story, to provide a point of religious union for conquerors and conquered. The name Sarapis, he considers, was borrowed from the Babylonian deity whose oracle was consulted during Alexander's last illness; but the god, as worshipped in Egypt, was a new invention, like the story of his translation from Sinope. He rejects the theory that this story arose out of a confusion with the *Σινώπιον ὄρος* at Memphis; rather did this mount receive its name from the legendary origin of the god. (One is reminded of the transference to the Phoenician Byblos of the Isis-legend, which really belonged to the Egyptian place of the same name.) The author's theory of the Magna Mater cult is certainly in keeping with Roman methods: a similar theory, we know, has been evolved to explain the alleged Roman guardianship of young Ptolemy V. Perhaps the most interesting part of this monograph, which is characterized by great thoroughness, is the fourth chapter, with its analogues from Christian hagiology: the parallelisms are remarkable, but due rather to the uniformity of human methods in myth-making than to actual borrowing from ancient sources.

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**De Graecorum Deorum Partibus Tragicis** scripsit ERICUS MUELLER.  
Pp. viii + 146. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1910. 5 m. 20.

This useful book belongs to the series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* founded by Dieterich and Wunsch and is based on Dieterich's well-known article on *Die Entstehung der Tragödie*. (Archiv für Relig. XI.) The author discusses the treatment of the gods as characters in drama by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and reaches conclusions which the present reviewer has long held to be right. In Aeschylus divine persons appear freely, while some plays *διὰ μόνων οἰκονομοῦνται θεῶν, καθάπερ οἱ Προμηθεΐς*, as the Vita Medicea puts it. Sometimes the epiphany is concentrated at the end of the trilogy, as in the Eumenides and Danaides; sometimes it occurs in other parts of the drama, the gods mixing with the human characters. Such an epiphany is essentially a part of the '*ludus sacer*' on which tragedy is based, and we generally find it used to expound the *ἄκρον* of the play. Occasionally, however, under epic influence, a god appears not as an object of religion but merely as a character in the story.

Sophocles greatly reduced the divine element, as he in general reduced the elemen

of the *ludus sacer*. (This should probably be taken in connexion with his general loosening of the stiff form of tragedy.) In some few of his plays he has at the end a regular epiphany in the style of Euripides.

Euripides, while varying and modernising the content of his plays, returned to an archaic stiffness of form, but kept his gods separate from his human beings; especially he made a practice of ending his plays with an epiphany. His motives, according to Dr. Mueller, were partly the desire for a splendid scenic effect, such as was now made possible by the invention of various *μηχαναί*, partly a wish to satisfy popular superstition by an exhibition of the gods in their majesty and a formal explanation or justification—not always very satisfactory—of their dealings with man.

The above précis perhaps hardly does justice to the book, which is full of careful observation of detail as well as of sound judgment. G. M.

**Der Reliquienkult im Altertum.** Erster Halbband: das Object des Reliquienkultes. Von FRIEDRICH PFISTER. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, V.] Pp. 397. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1909. 14 m.

As the author explains in his preface, the subject is interpreted in its widest sense, and with as much care for the cult as for the relic. Indeed the greater part of the volume is occupied with an analysis of the heroic mythology of the Greeks. The legends are grouped according to their different forms, first those of the native heroes of certain states, then of others whose inclusion in the cult was explained by various devices, refuge in flight, war and wandering, and translation after death; and parallel examples are quoted to show that the religious and historical legends of Roman and Christian times tended to develop in the same forms, though from different beginnings. There follows a similar classification of localities, graves, and material relics such as houses, images, weapons, and parts of bodies. In this last respect it is notable that the few human relics among the Greeks were not exposed to view, but were preserved in tombs—the two apparent exceptions, Medusa's hair at Tegea and the skin of Marsyas at Kelainai, being of barbarous origin; while in the Christian cult it has become the practice to collect, divide, barter, and exhibit such remains: a practice which is referred to Oriental influence. The instances are cited mainly to illustrate the legendary types, and are therefore not exhaustive; but so much valuable material has been collected that, notwithstanding the careful and logical arrangement, its use must be considerably hindered by the want of an index. In a short chapter on the doctrine of Euhemerus the author anticipates the subject of his second volume, shortly to be published, which will examine the Greek legends in the light of historical and philosophical criticism.

**L'Astrologie chez les Gallo-Romains.** Par H. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT. Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi, Fascicule VII. Pp. 182. Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1904. 10 f.

Although the author claims that the practice of astrology, introduced into Gaul from Greek and Roman sources, was strongly rooted there during the first six centuries of the Christian era, the references which he quotes from writers of the period will hardly convert many readers to his opinion. Except Ausonius, whose grandfather was an accomplished astrologer, there is none that makes any definite contribution to our knowledge of the science, though allusions may be found anywhere, as is but natural. The author would explain the general silence of ecclesiastical writers upon this topic as an attempt either to cover the unhappy persecution of Priscillian and his sect, or to kill the wide-spread vice of astrology by ignoring it. The book is in fact an interesting



review of the literature of the Gallo-Roman period ; and as students of literature are more numerous than those of astrology, the unrealised hope of the title is not likely to cause much disappointment.

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**Lexique des Antiquités Grecques.** Par PIERRE PARIS, avec la collaboration de G. ROQUES. Pp. 477. Nombreux dessins inédits. Paris : Albert Fontemoing, 1909.

It is hard to imagine what purpose this book could serve, even if it were quite free from errors. There may have been some special need in France for a small dictionary of exclusively Greek antiquities ; but an ordinary Greek Lexicon would surely contain all that is here, except the illustrations, and would give in addition some etymological information. In a small dictionary of antiquities there is always the fault that no references can be given ; the substitution of Greek for Latin in the headings has no practical advantage, but the great disadvantage that many students to whom a book of this kind is likely to be of service do not know enough Greek to use it. It would seem far simpler to include an account of Greek dress under the heading *Vestis*, than to scatter the various articles of clothing through the pages under such names as ἄμπεχόνη (where a Doric chiton is illustrated), Διπλοῖς, Ἐξωμίς (where there is a picture of a chlamys), etc. The table of contents arranged by subjects is a good feature ; but the other possibility of success, in the illustrations, has not been attained.

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**Die Münzen von Pergamon.** By DR. HANS VON FRITZE. Berlin : Reimer, 1910. Pp. 108. 4to. With nine colotype plates.

The mills of the Berlin *Corpus Nummorum* grind slowly, but they do their work with exemplary thoroughness. This excellent and admirably illustrated monograph on the coins of Pergamum is a special study, based on the mass of material which has been accumulated but which is as yet accessible only to the editors. Without entering into details regarding individual examples, it discusses in turn each of the great classes issued from the mint—the autonomous, the regal, the imperial—noting the chief varieties and the various indications that throw light on moot points of chronology. Imhoof's stylistic arrangement of the coins of the kings is rightly maintained unaltered. But a fresh distribution among the different rulers is proposed ; and the change is for the better, inasmuch as Attalus I. now secures something like his due proportion of the whole. Dr. von Fritze's treatment of the cistophori and of the copper that served as small change for the regal silver is equally judicious and careful. On one point connected with the latter he seems, indeed, to be unduly cautious : if he had cited the striking analogy of the coins of the 'new style' at Athens, it might have helped him to a more satisfactory view of the relation between the symbols on the silver and the types on the reverses of the copper (p. 34). Special attention is very properly devoted to the imperial age. The types then become extremely interesting, and the systematic examination to which they are here subjected yields some highly instructive results. In particular, students of the imperial cult will find in them not a little that is illuminating. It is to be regretted that room has not been found for an index.

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**Selections from the Greek Papyri.** Edited with Translations and Notes by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D. Pp. xxxii + 152. 1 facsimile. Cambridge : University Press, 1910. 5s. net.

The title of Dr. (now Prof.) Milligan's little volume might perhaps lead the reader to expect a more comprehensive introduction to the study of Greek papyri than is actually

the case. Dr. Milligan approaches the papyri from the point of view of the New Testament scholar, and his interest in them is primarily linguistic, and is concerned with their contents only so far as they illustrate the New Testament writings. The administrative, financial, legal, and sociological aspects of the papyri are consequently either passed by, or illustrated only incidentally. Nevertheless his book, though primarily useful to the New Testament student (to whom it should be most instructive), will also be of service to anyone who is beginning the study of the papyri; for it furnishes him with a considerable number (fifty-five in all) of characteristic texts, adequately translated and explained, and (what is of more importance to a budding student) furnished with references to the more important publications bearing on the subject. In date the texts range from the earliest dated Greek papyrus at present known (310 B.C.) to the sixth century, but the large majority belong to the Roman period. Rather an excessive number of them are letters, but Dr. Milligan has aimed at bringing out the human side of the papyri.

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**Kordax**: Archaeologische Studien zur Geschichte eines antiken Tanzes und zum Ursprung der griechischen Komödie. Von HEINZ SCHNABEL. Pp. 66; two plates. Muenchen: C. H. Beck, 1910. 3 m.

The literary evidence for the movements of the Kordax and its related dances is slight, but enough to interpret the representations which occur chiefly on the well-known Corinthian aryballoi. To these is added a comic scene from an early Attic red-figure amphora, which is reproduced from drawings in the plates. The grotesque dancers of the Corinthian vases are identified as daemons or their human imitators in the worship of the primitive Artemis, and it is shown that they were influenced and ultimately displaced by the Dionysiac satyrs from Ionia. In one of these vase paintings the author sees an analogy with the rites of the Orthia cult at Sparta, and in another the beginning of the comic drama in the Peloponnese. The remarks upon the origin and nature of the Kordax are well founded, and will be generally accepted as a valuable contribution to the history both of the dance and of Attic comedy; but the later arguments in regard to the Peloponnesian drama, though ingenious and interesting and quite possibly true, are at present nothing more than bare conjecture.

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**Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθανασακίῳ Μουσείῳ τοῦ Βόλου ἀρχαιοτήτων.**  
By A. S. ARVANITOPULLOS. Pp. 464. Athens and Volo: Eleutheroudakes, 1909.  
6.50 dr.

The first volume of this catalogue has already been noticed in this *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> It contains a summary account of the history of Greek painting culled from literary sources, and is practically a shortened reprint of the author's paper in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, in which he seems to exaggerate the importance of the stelai of Pagasai in representing motives derived from the works of famous artists. It is followed by a paragraph on Byzantine painting and the Neo-Hellenic revival, and an account of the excavation of the stelai, which though too long is nevertheless useful in giving us some information about the walls of Pagasai. The other three volumes contain a catalogue of the stelai as arranged in the new museum at Volo. Without illustrations the catalogue is not very useful to those at a distance, while to those on the spot the descriptions of the stelai are far too long for the book to serve as a guide to the museum. But in spite of these faults the catalogue is welcome, for catalogues of Greek museums are few. It is to be hoped that in succeeding volumes the author will give us a catalogue of the other sculpture and inscriptions at Volo.

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<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 386.

**Greek and Roman Methods of Painting.** Some Comments on the Statements made by Pliny and Vitruvius about Wall and Panel Painting. By A. P. LAURIE. Pp. 124. With 4 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

Dr. Laurie's book should be valuable alike to archaeologists and painters. He collects the main passages in Pliny and Vitruvius bearing on the methods and materials of ancient painting and his interpretation is controlled by experiment. In particular his experiments in fresco-painting, in the protection of pigment by wax on such surfaces as the nude portions of marble statues, and in the method of painting with wax, are of great interest. He distinguishes between *γάνωσις* as the treatment of the finely finished and coloured marble surface by waxing and rubbing with cloths, and an encaustic process which is needed only on granular plaster surfaces. The main pigments in use in classical times are rapidly enumerated, but greater space is given to the more interesting and difficult problems of mediums. Dr. Laurie regards the use of drying oils in Graeco-Roman painting as unproven, and consequently denies the practice of oil-painting in a strict sense. In method the essay is cautious and admirable.

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**Le Siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565.** Par P. GENTIL DE VENDOSME et ANTOINE ACHÉLIS. Publié en français et en grec d'après les éditions de 1567 et de 1571, par HUBERT PERNOT. Avec vingt reproductions. 8vo. Pp. xvi+198. Paris: Champoin, 1910. 10 f.

M. Pernot here edits the extremely rare Greek epic of the Cretan Antonios Achelis together with a contemporary French version of his Italian original. The main interest of the Cretan poem is linguistic, and it is fully indexed from this point of view. The author himself was not at Malta during the siege, and as to his style, the editor relegates him rather cruelly to the 'numerous category of Greek authors who ought to have written in prose' but conformed to the conventions of their age and school. In his interesting preface M. Pernot quotes references to the famous siege from the current Greek folk-poetry of Thasos and Cyprus. It may not be out of place to note here that in the latter island there still exists a native school of epic bards who compose long poems on local events and chant them at fairs and other gatherings.

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**The Sea Kings of Crete.** By Rev. JAMES BAIKIE, F.R.A.S. London: A. & C. Black, 1910.

Mr. Baikie has already produced a 'Story of the Pharaohs,' a story that never should be written but by an Egyptologist (if it is to be of the slightest value), and now he presents us with a book on Minoan Crete. We are not quite sure what qualifications he possesses for doing this beyond an obviously keen interest in the subject; whether this is a sufficient justification for writing a book may be a matter of opinion. He has worked with the best will in the world; he has taken great pains to be up to date; but he is not always critical in his selection of authorities, or discriminating in his treatment of them. The illustrations are well chosen, and though in view of the recent publications of Prof. Burrows and Mrs. Hawes (both archaeologists and one an actual excavator in Crete), the book may be considered rather unnecessary, yet it may serve to spread interest in the Cretan discoveries. It would not be a bad book to give to a boy.

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**Catalogus eener Verzameling Egyptische Grieksche Romeinsche en andere Oudheden.** Door C. W. LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER. Pp. 274, 54 Plates. 's-Gravenhage, 1909.

This publication is a work of great merit, and an example which may well be imitated by amateurs. The collection consists of some six hundred pieces, selected to illustrate the history of Greek art. Marbles, bronzes, terracottas, and the smaller miscellaneous objects in glass, ivory, gold, and silver are included, but the strength of the collection lies in the Greek vases. Of these, the archaic fabrics, Mycenaean, Geometric, Rhodian, Proto-Corinthian, and Corinthian wares, are remarkably well represented; and there are examples of most phases of the Attic styles. The text is full, with useful references, and the plates, which are bound in a separate volume, consist of good half-tone prints from photographs.

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**Greece in Evolution.** Studies prepared under the auspices of the French League for the defence of the rights of Hellenism. By TH. HOMOLLE, HENRY HOUSSAYE, TH. REINACH, ÉD. THÉRY, G. DESCHAMPS, CH. DIEHL, G. FOUGÈRES, J. PSICHARI, A. BERL, M. PAILLARÈS. Edited by G. F. ABBOTT, with a Preface by Sir CHARLES DILKE. Pp. xi+315. London: Fisher Unwin, 1909.

A collection of lectures (many originally delivered with lantern illustrations) which deal with modern Hellas and Hellenism under various aspects. Those by Frenchmen are naturally more critical of the modern Greeks than those by Greeks themselves. Perhaps the most useful of these discourses are those on *Greek Economics* and on *Greece Rediscovered* by MM. Éd. Théry and Th. Reinach respectively. The least useful is certainly that of M. Michel Paillarès on *Hellenism in Macedonia*.

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**Ἐπίτομος Ἱστορία τῆς Κρήτης** ὑπὸ Στ. Ἀ. Ξανθοῦδιδου. Pp. iv+173. Illustrated. Athens: Hellenic Publishing Co. 1909. 2·75 dr.

The author of this handy history is the second Ephor of Antiquities in Crete, and unusually well qualified to summarize the results of recent discovery in the island. He carries on the story through the classical age to mediaeval times and the present day, ending with the Commission of Monsieur Zaimis, of whom he gives a portrait. Most of the illustrations are from photographs taken either on ancient sites or in the Museum of Candia, and are well reproduced considering the quality of the paper. The author's Greek is of a very superior quality, as far removed from Romaic or the Cretan vernacular as from Homer; and the classical scholar will have no difficulty in reading it.

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**Les Adversaires de l'Hellénisme à Rome pendant la Période républicaine.** Par ALFRED BESANÇON. Pp. xviii+361. Paris: Alcan et Payot, 1910. 6 fr.

The title gives no idea of the contents of this book, which is a diffuse account of the attitude towards Greece and the Greeks of many of the leading men of Rome from Cato to Cicero, whether friendly or unfriendly to Hellenism. Cicero occupies a third of the whole book. There seems to be little method; the author wanders from person to person as the spirit moves him. The treatment is confined for the most part to externals: the attempt to discover the real meaning of Hellenism and its effect on Roman thought and character is unsatisfying. The author does not appear to claim for himself any originality; he gives the facts as he finds them in the ancient authorities, often accepting partisan statements, and for commentary he relies usually on the views of modern writers. The references are very full throughout. There is no index.

**Les Voyageurs Français en Grèce au xix<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1800—1900).** Par EUGÈNE LOVINESCO. Pp. vi+228. Paris: Champion, 1909. 4 fr.

This book contains a *catalogue raisonné* of French travellers in Greece between the dates named, with shorter notes on their forerunners beginning with Deshayes (1621). The order is chronological, and a brief historical note is prefixed to each period. Purely archaeological authors are excluded, the writer being mainly interested in the development of the *voyage littéraire*, in the views of the Greeks and their development presented by his authors, and in the corresponding variation in tone of European Philhellenism. We notice that he does not seem to realise the intensely 'literary' (to put it charitably) character of the Stephanopoli. There is no alphabetical index, even of authors, a deplorable omission in a work chronologically arranged; but any bibliographer is a public benefactor.

**Traditional Methods of Pattern Designing.** An introduction to the study of Decorative Art. By A. H. CHRISTIE. Pp. 327, with 380 cuts and 31 Plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mr. Christie's book contains little of special value to the student of Hellenic Art, most of his examples being drawn from other sources; but it can be commended to every one interested in the history or practice of design. He does not go into the question of the symbolism of patterns; fortunately so, if we may judge of his probable opinions by one or two incidental allusions. The drawings are as a rule bold and effective; but colour is an essential element in many patterns, and the black and white rendering of such patterns is apt to give a false impression.

**Comptes Rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique. 2<sup>me</sup> Session.** LE CAIRE, 1909. Pp. 316.

Contains besides the official *acta* of the congress, brief abstracts of the communications, of which we may mention: Der Charakter der alexandrinischen Kunst (Th. Schreiber); La civilisation mycénienne à Céphalonie (P. Cavvadias); Der Meister der neuen Niobiden (B. Sauer); Un relief votif de la fin du v<sup>e</sup> siècle, concernant le mythe d'Ion (Staïs); Les temples de Sélinonte (G. Fougères); La topographie des anciens ports du Pirée (Angelopoulos); Les relations commerciales entre l'Égypte et les colonies grecques situées sur le bord septentrional de la Mer Noire (E. de Stern); Les rapports de la Crète et de l'Égypte à propos du Sarcophage de Hagia Triada (A. J. Reinach); Les Monnaies de Tyr (E. Babelon).

**Aristotle.** The Works, translated into English, under the Editorship of J. A. SMITH and W. D. ROSS. De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus. By L. D. DOWDALL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 2s. net.

We are glad to see this excellent enterprise of the Jowett memorial translations of Aristotle progressing steadily, if slowly. The entertaining, if un-Aristotelian, 'marvellous stories' have rightly been included, and will be very welcome to Greekless readers. Mr. Dowdall's translations and notes are usually careful; but he should not have stated that the Pantheon which contained the *καλλιστέφανος ελαία* was at Athens. And in his note on §101 he seems to confuse the Lipari (Aeolian) with the Ionian islands. The remark in the text about the two crows of Crannon should be noted by numismatists in connexion with the better known statement of Antigonus of Carystus.

**Religion and Art in Ancient Greece.** By E. A. GARDNER. [Harper's Library of Living Thought.] Pp. 121. London and N. York : Harper Bros. 1910. 2s. 6d. net, cloth ; 3s. 6d. net, leather.

Professor Gardner's little book deals with the relation of religion to art, mainly as illustrated by the history of Greek sculpture. The question is hardly one which can be satisfactorily answered in 120 pages ; and the author wisely does not attempt to do much more than state the obvious considerations which present themselves to any student of Greek art in the present state of our knowledge. This he does clearly and succinctly.

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**Nomisma.** Heft IV. Pp. 42, 3 Plates. Berlin : Mayer u. Müller, 1909. 5 m.

This part of the now well-known numismatic publication contains articles by G. F. Hill on the Alexandrine coinage of Phoenicia, and H. von Fritze on the autonomous coinage of Ainos and the Attis cult at Cyzicus. The first two are of almost purely numismatic interest, dealing with classification and chronology. But the third brings together a most interesting series of coins of the Antonines illustrating a later development of the Attis cult (reclining figure of the god, with fettered feet, almond tree, the taurobolium, etc.), and connects the puzzling coins, on which men are seen erecting poles carrying baskets of pine-branches, with some sort of bonfire ceremony of the same cult.

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**The Codex Alexandrinus in reduced photographic Facsimile: New Testament and Clementine Epistles.** London : Trustees of the British Museum, 1909.

This reduced facsimile of the famous codex is greatly to be welcomed. The photographs are excellent, and, except in a few places where the original MS. is damaged, remarkably clear and legible. Indeed, for ordinary purposes this edition will serve as well as the MS. itself ; the tone of the photographs being lighter, they are in many cases (*e.g.* f. 159) actually clearer than the larger facsimile. It contains a useful introduction by Mr. Kenyon giving a history and description of the codex. It is to be followed by a similar facsimile of the Old Testament.

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*For other books received see List of Accessions to the Library.*



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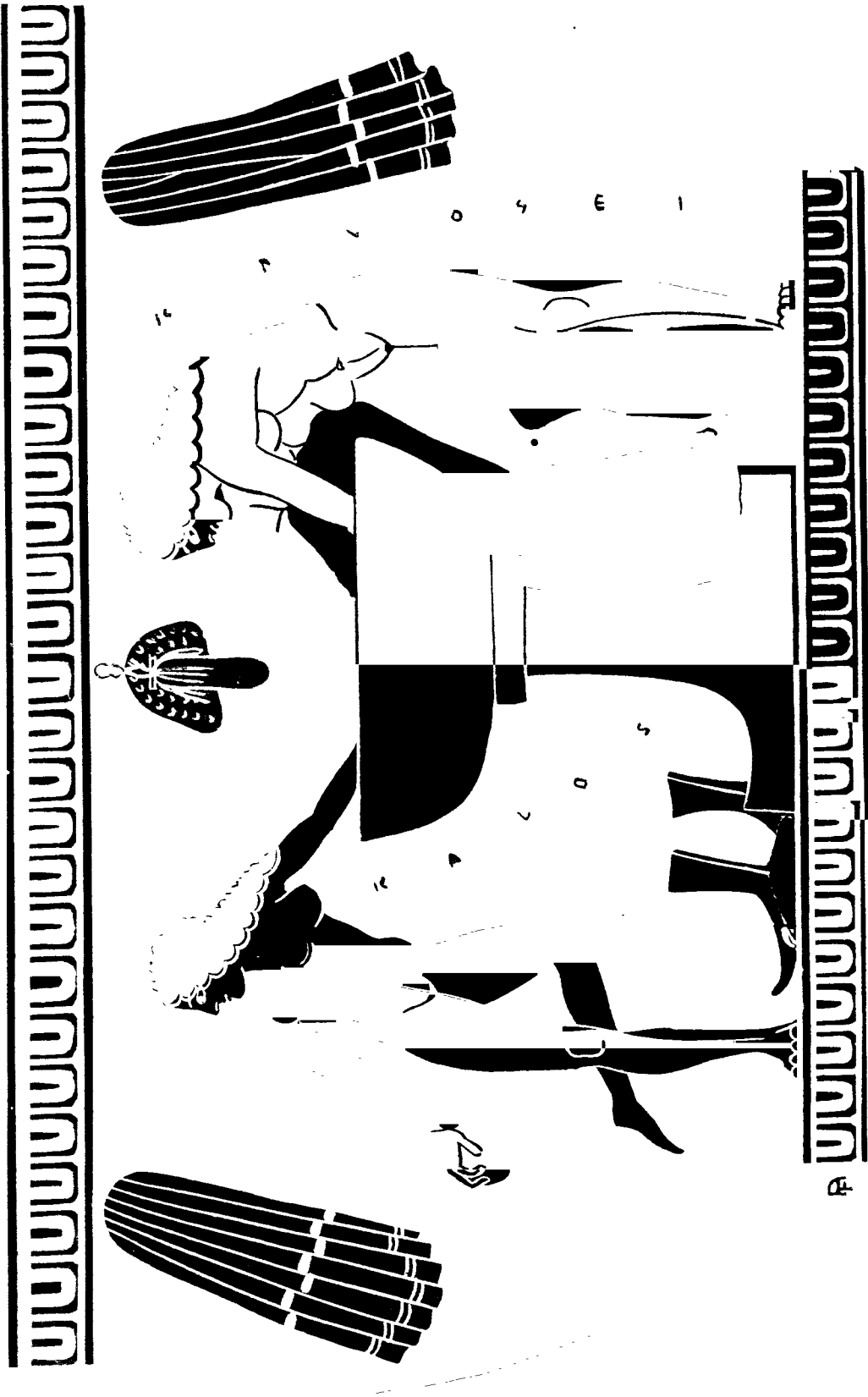
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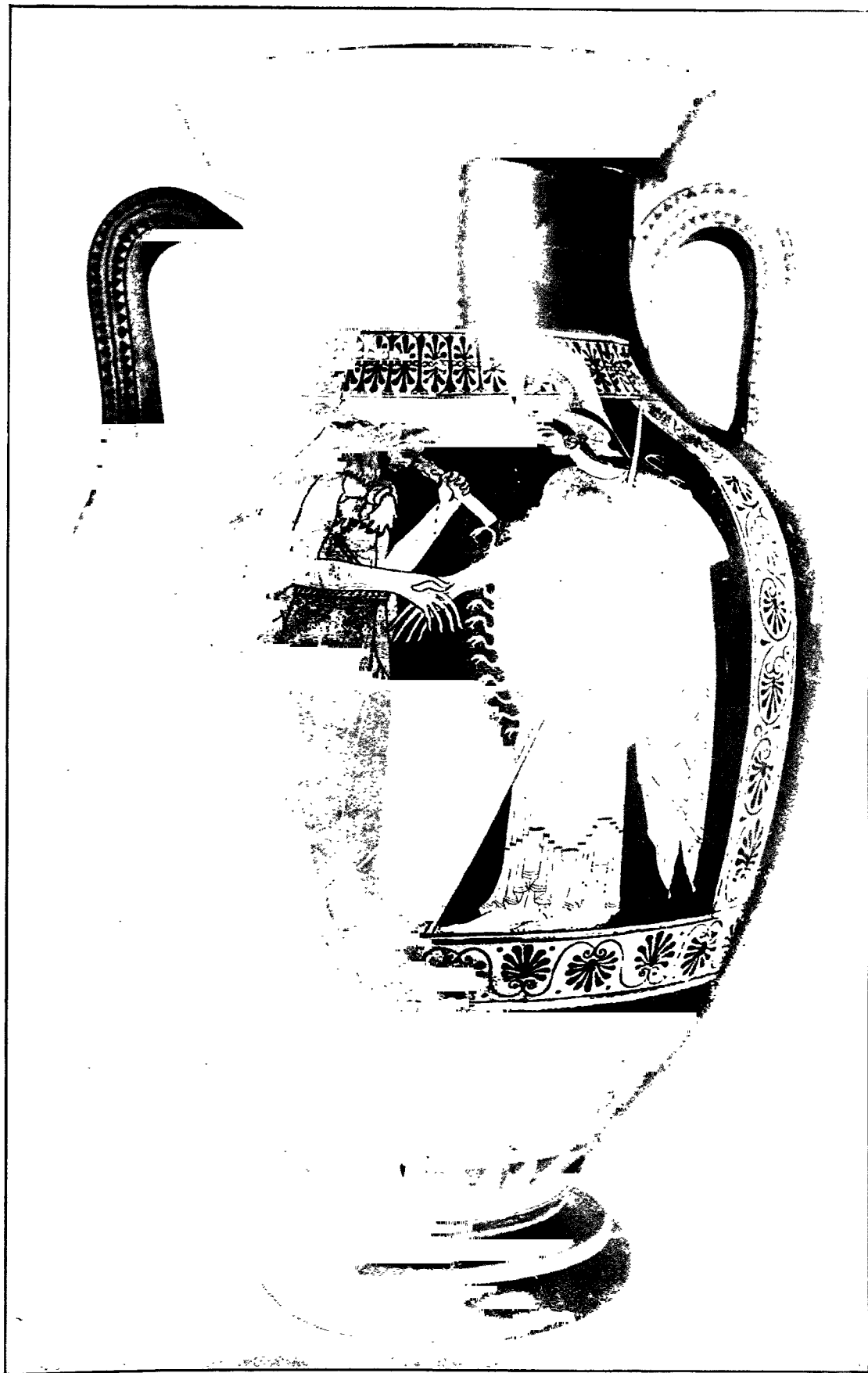




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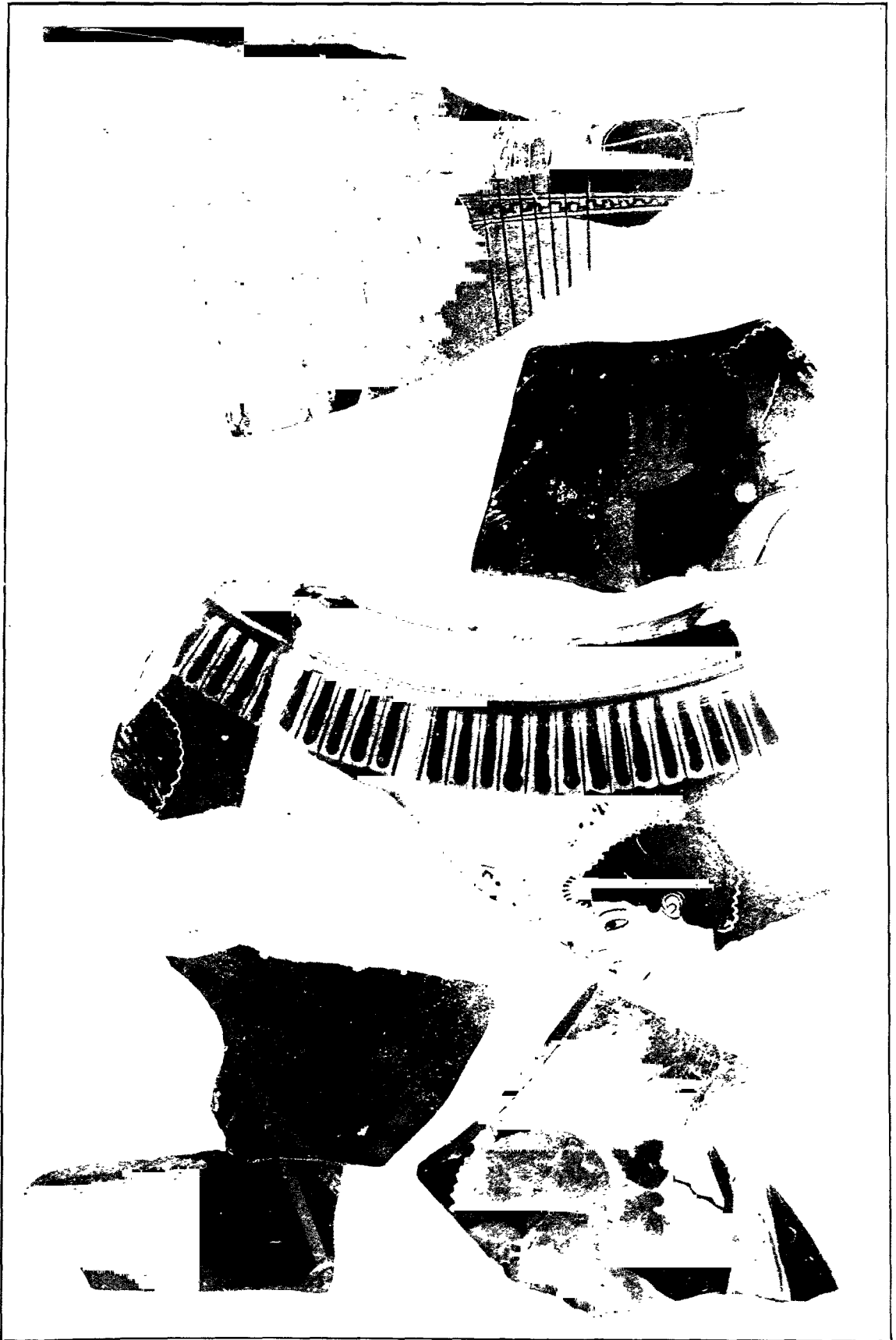






AMPHORA IN THE VATICAN.





VASE-FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

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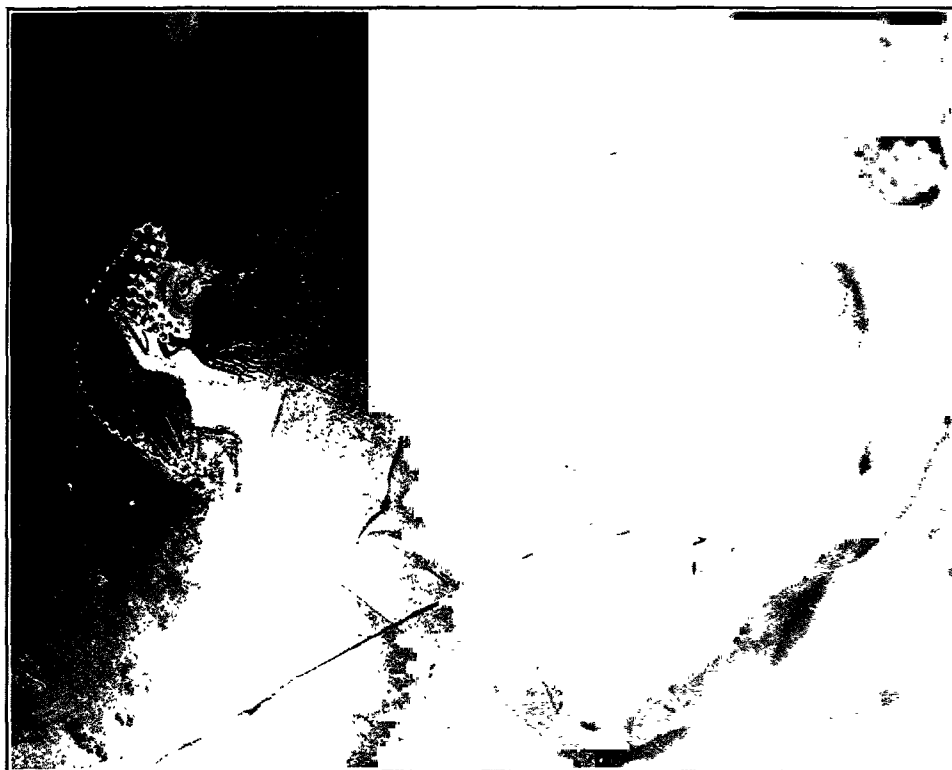
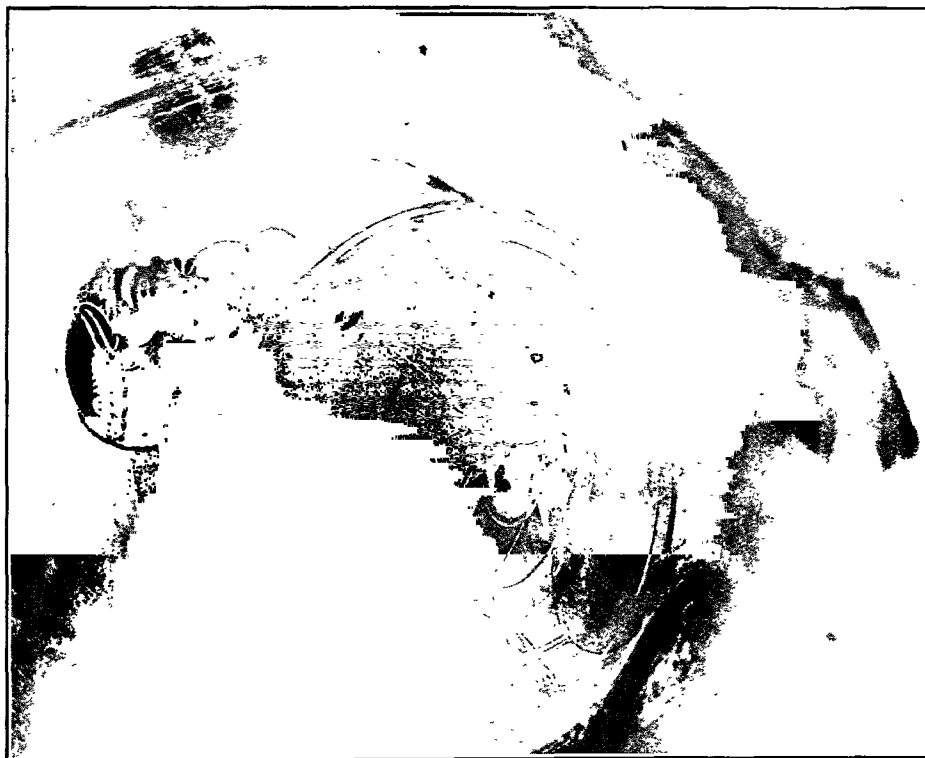
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AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE IN LEYDEN.



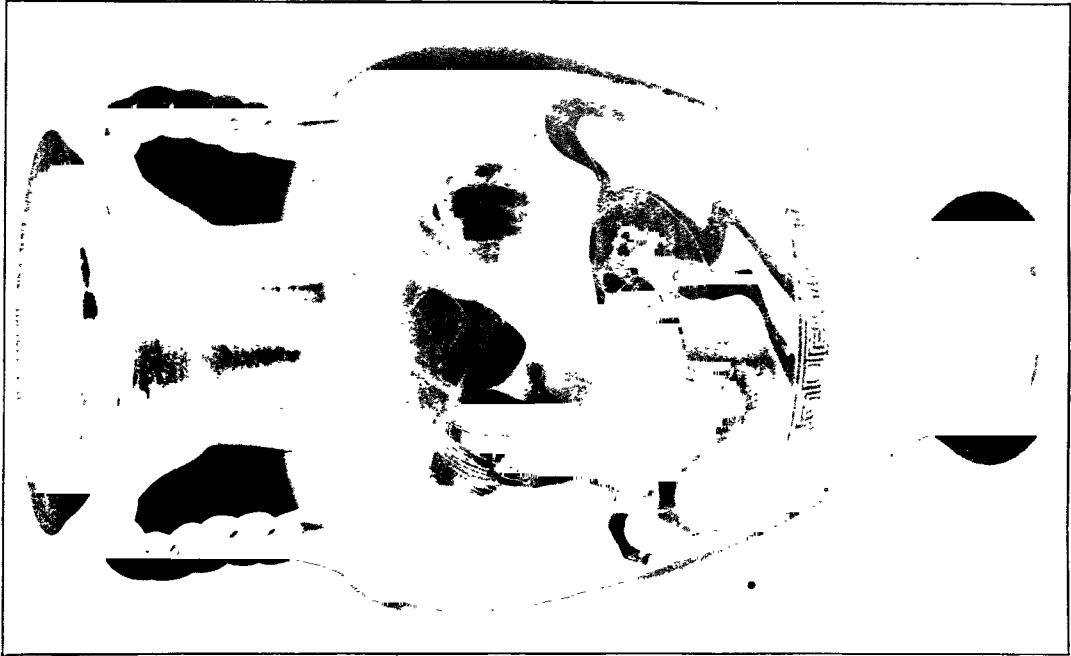




AMPHORA WITH TWISTED HANDLES IN HARROW SCHOOL MUSEUM.







AMPHORA WITH TWISTED HANDLES IN MUNICH.



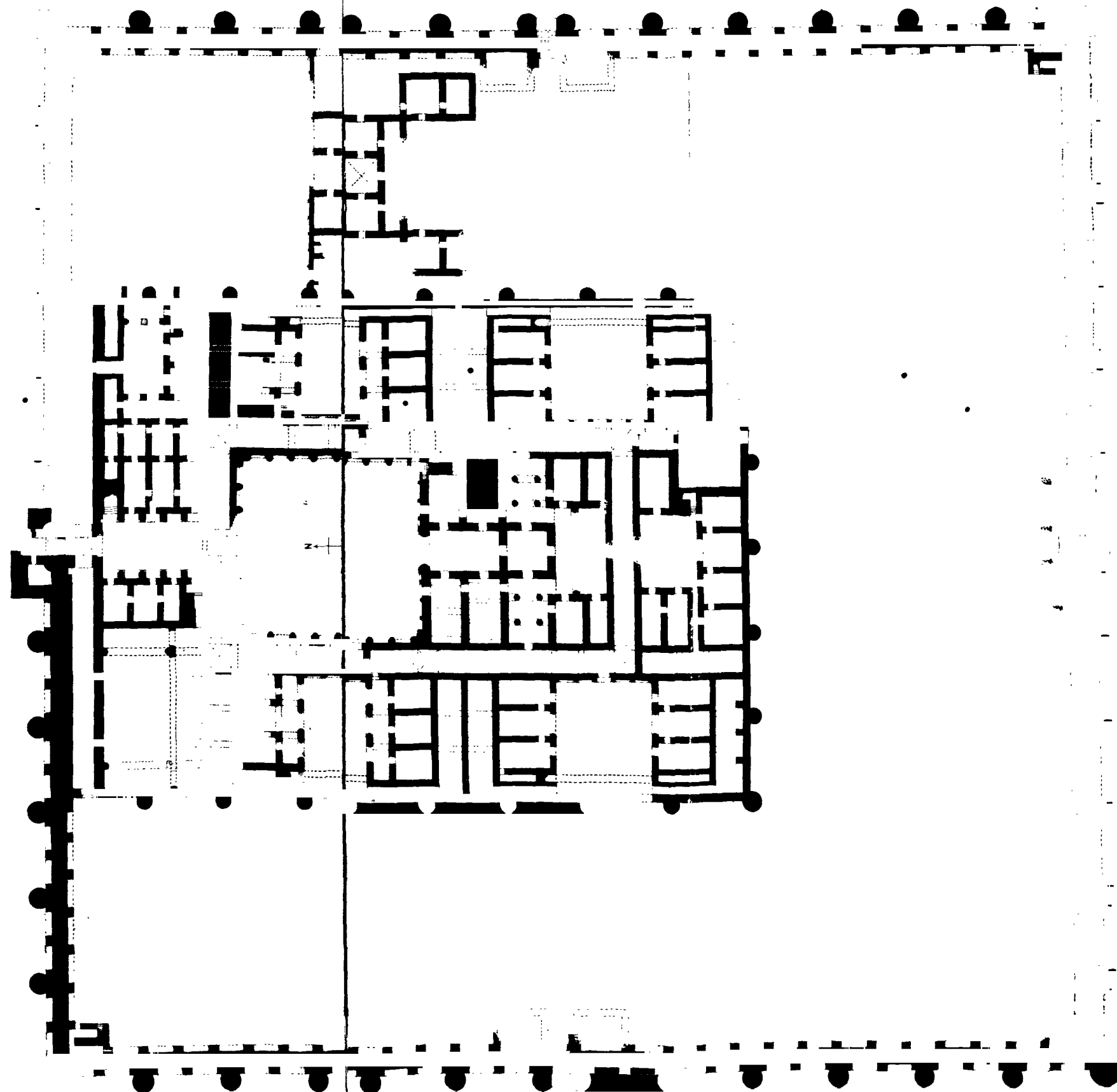
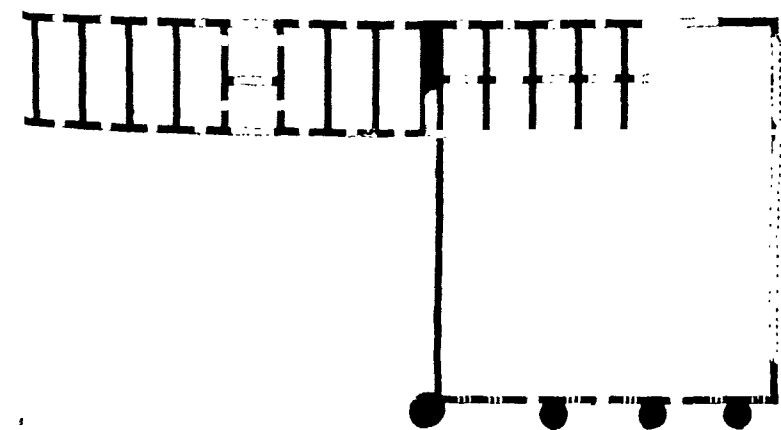


2. Stamnos in Corneto.



1. Hydria in Munich.





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GROUND-PLAN OF PALACE AT UKHEIDAR.



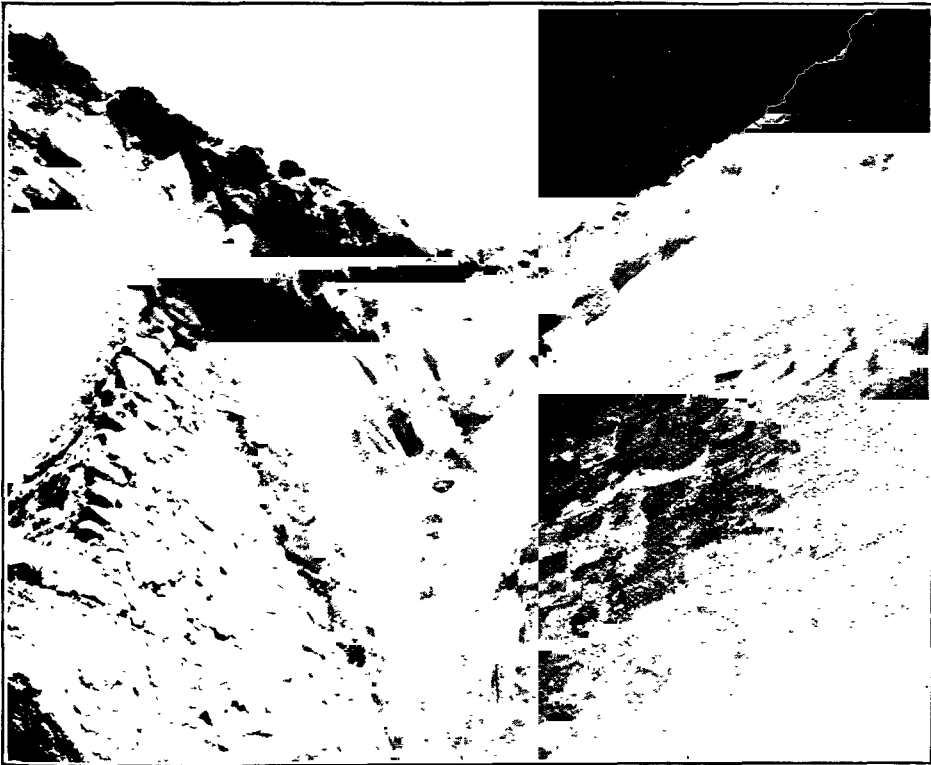


Fig. A. GROIN IN EAST ANNEX.

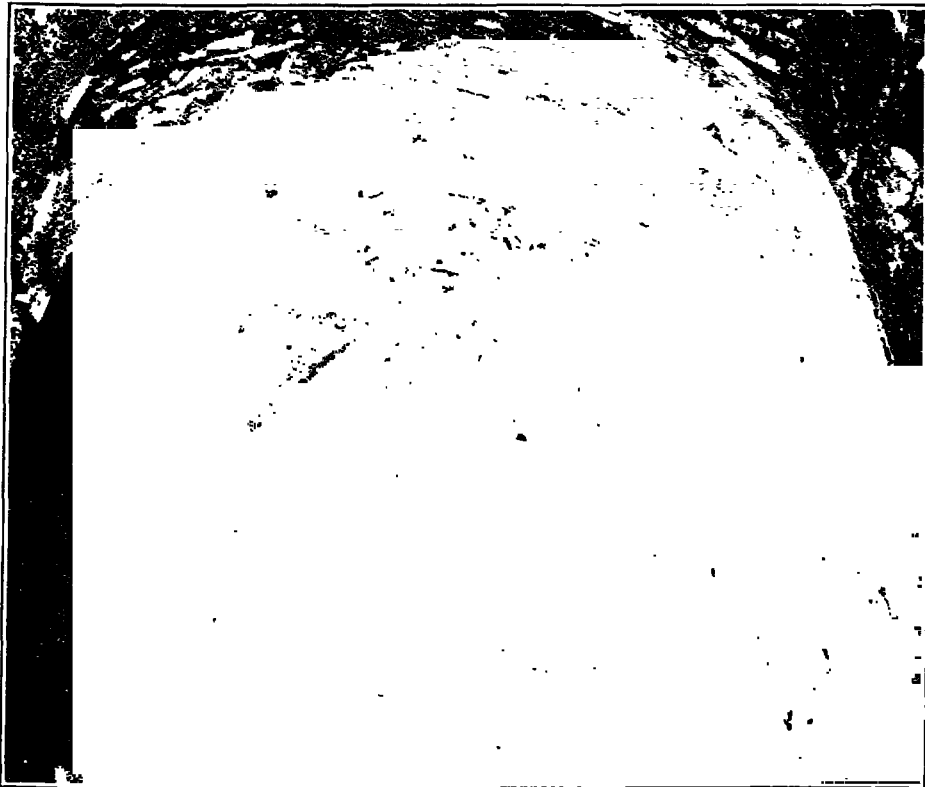


Fig. B GROIN IN CORRIDOR.

PALACE AT UKHEIDAR.



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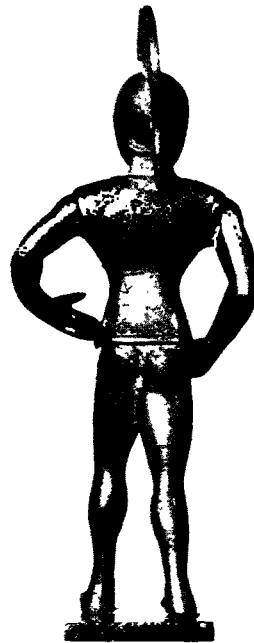
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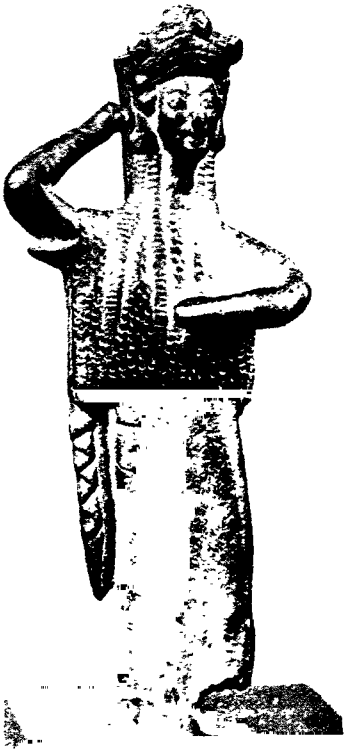
2a



2b

BRONZES IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.





1a



1b



2a



2b

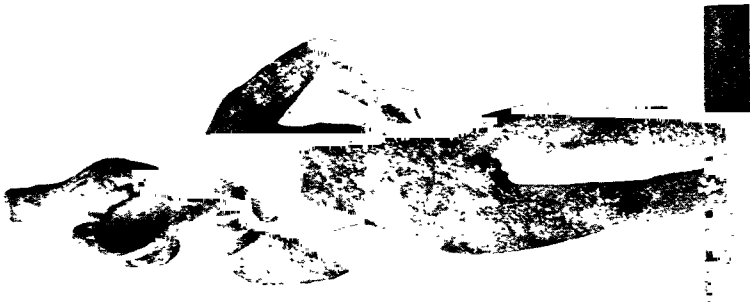
BRONZES IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.





BRONZE IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.





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2 a

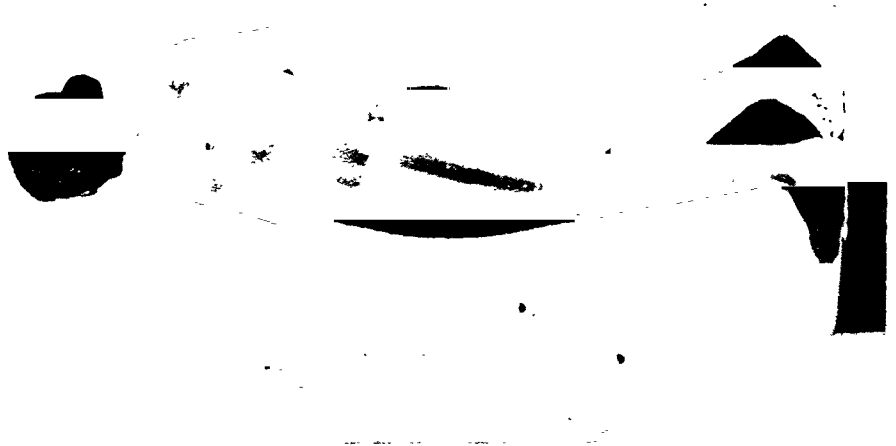


2 b

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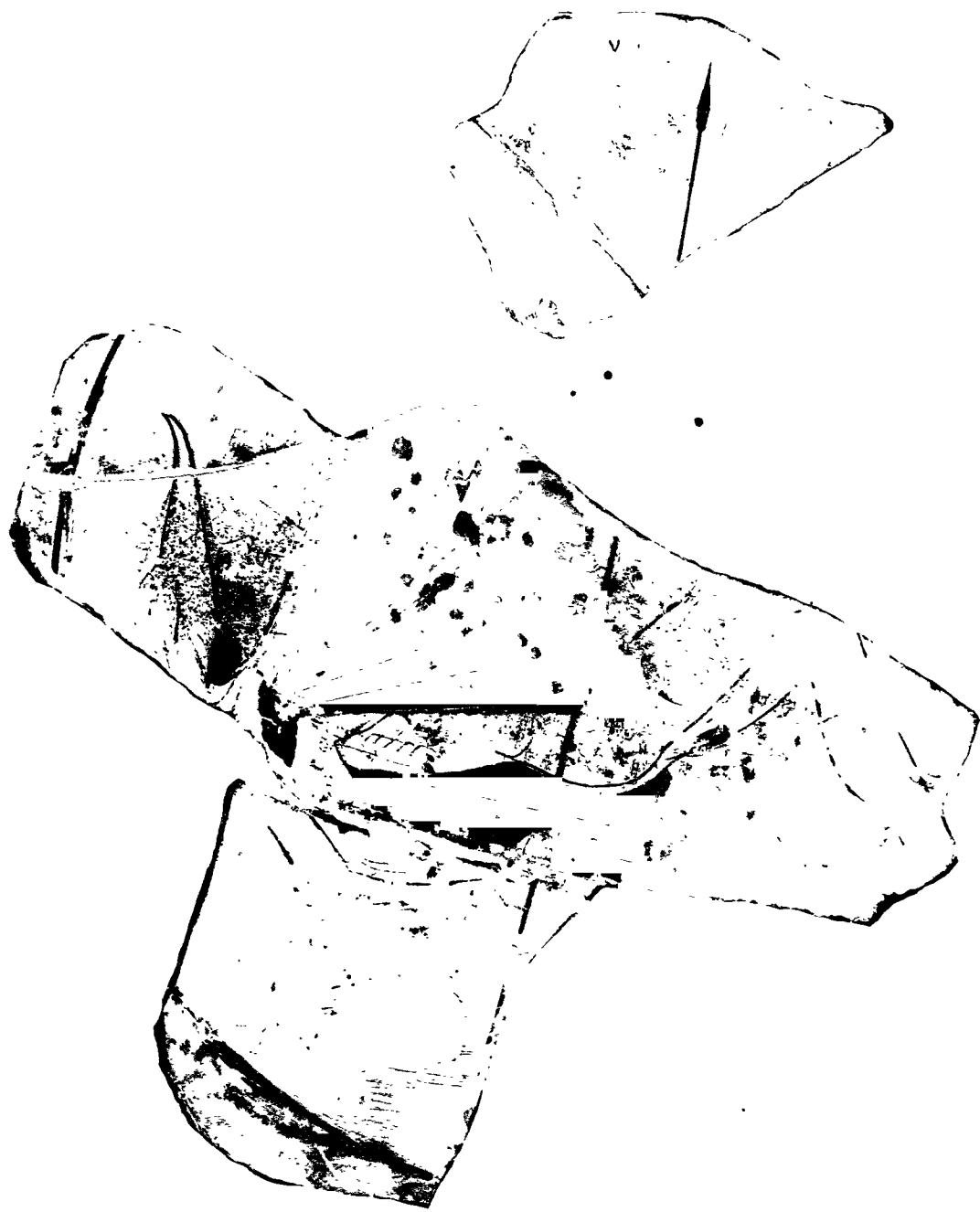






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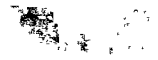


KYLIX IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

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N.C.

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